

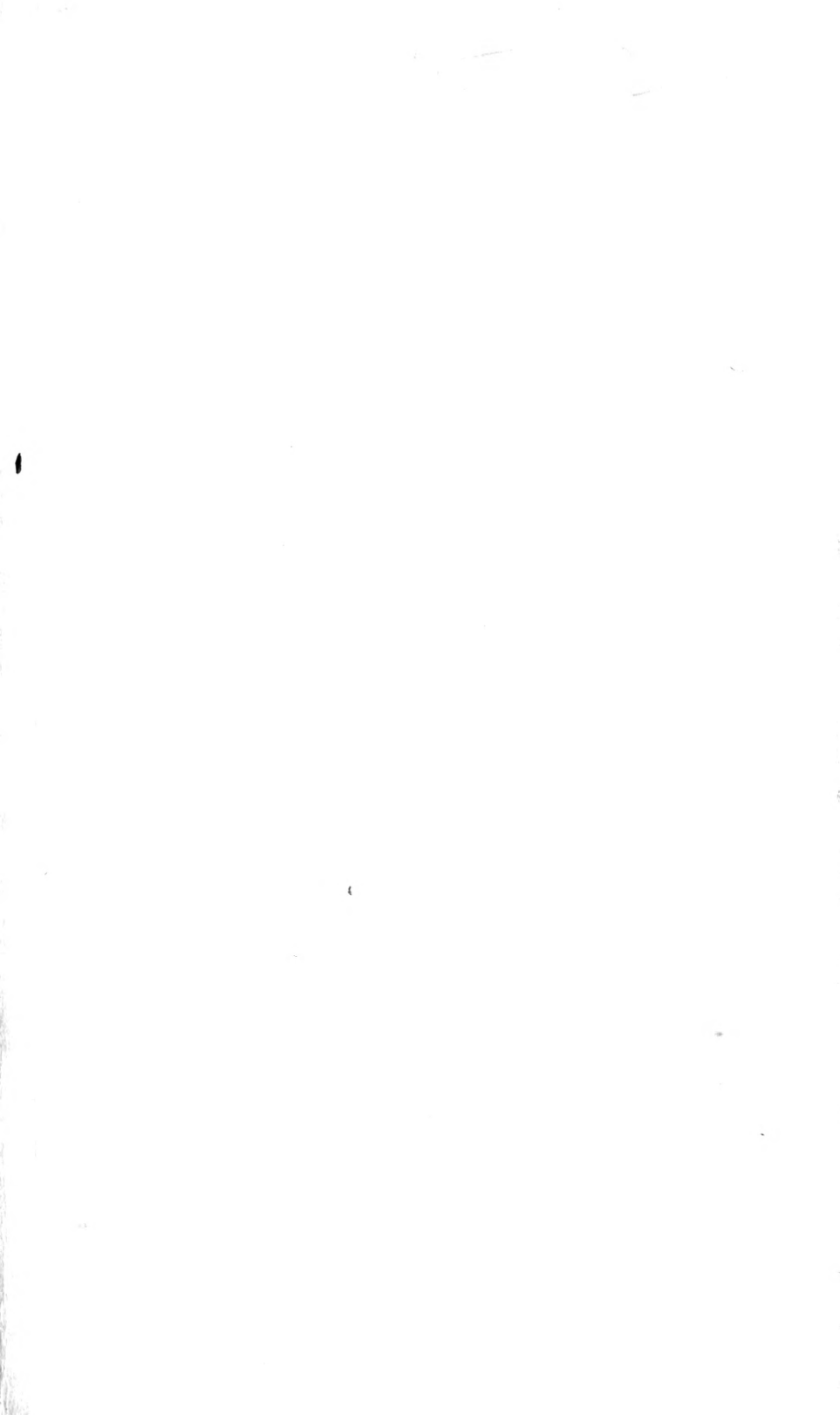


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**HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT**

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**HEARINGS**

*U.S. Congress House*  
**BEFORE THE**

**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**EIGHTIETH CONGRESS**

**SECOND SESSION**

---

**Public Law 601**

(Section 121, Subsection Q (2))

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**JULY 31; AUGUST 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18,  
20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30; SEPTEMBER 8 AND 9, 1948**

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities





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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



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NOTE.—These hearings begin with page 501, in accordance with the system of consecutive numbering adopted by the committee during the second session, Eightieth Congress. Page Nos. 1-500 are contained in Hearings on Proposed Legislation to Curb or Control the Communist Party of the United States.

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# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
Washington, D. C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m., in the committee room of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), Richard M. Nixon, John McDowell, Karl E. Mundt, John E. Rankin, J. Hardin Peterson, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis Russell, William Wheeler, Donald T. Appell, and Robert Gaston, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The record will show that those present are Mr. Mundt, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Rankin, Mr. Peterson, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas, and a quorum is present.

Mr. Stripling, the first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley.

Miss Bentley, will you stand and be sworn?

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Bentley, please stand and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BENTLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, before you start asking questions, the Chair would like to make a short statement.

Over a year ago this committee started to investigate espionage in the Government. We have had many witnesses in executive session, all of whom testified on this subject.

The testimony received by us confirms in great detail the conclusions drawn by your investigative staff, and confirms the fact that there is a tremendous need for such an investigation and exposure and a conviction in many cases in this country.

We regret that the matter has not been prosecuted long before this. We believe that the matter should be prosecuted without further delay, and the committee recommends that a special grand jury be convened in Washington, D. C., in order to give special attention to the matter of espionage in the Government, and to bring the matter to an early conclusion.

Mr. RANKIN. Let me say at this point that this committee exposed years ago those Communists who have been indicted in New York and showed by their own testimony that they were members of the Communist Party, which was dominated by the Communist International, and dedicated to the overthrow of this Government.

That has been known to President Truman and Governor Dewey of New York all this time. It is about time that they got behind this committee and helped to clean this proposition up and drive these rats from the Federal, the State, and the municipal pay rolls.

So I agree with the chairman that these prosecutions should be speeded up as much as possible in order that we may weed out those enemies within our gates here and in New York and everywhere else who are plotting constantly for the overthrow of this Government. That includes the members of the New York council as William Z. Foster, and everyone else who has joined in this international movement to wreck this Government. I think the grand jury should be convened at once.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to have included in the record this statement: That the evidence which is before the grand jury in New York and the recent disclosures it has made and findings being made on the other side of the Capitol in connection with espionage in Government and the sale of war materials to Russia, and the information we are going to get this morning indicate that the provision of the so-called Mundt-Nixon bill, reported unanimously by this committee, passed by the House by 319 to 56 and now before the Senate, may have to be revised in the nature of strengthening those provisions instead of weakening them in order to make them fully effective.

It is entirely possible that the Eighty-first Congress will pass a version of this bill which is much more stringent and which is strengthened considerably even over that portion which has already passed the House, and that some of the "bleeding hearts" of the country refer to as having been too drastic a measure.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, do I understand from your opening statement that you will use this testimony today as the basis of a formal presentation to the United States attorney in the District of Columbia to request him to convene a special grand jury?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct. This testimony today and other testimony we have received from other witnesses.

Mr. HÉBERT. Coming from this committee the United States attorney will be formally requested to convene a special grand jury to investigate the matter of communism in the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct. Does any other member have anything they would like to say?

Mr. MUNDT. I think in connection with that request, Mr. Chairman, we should also request the Attorney General to consummate these hearings being held in New York and have the proper indictments at this time, because there is a very obvious effort to delay and slow down the findings of that New York case until after November.

The CHAIRMAN. I think, Mr. Mundt, that is one of the main reasons—I don't say after November—but one of the main reasons why we want a new grand jury convened in the District of Columbia is because nothing has been handed down by the grand jury up in New York.

Mr. HÉBERT. You don't mean a grand jury, but you mean a special blue-ribbon grand jury.

The CHAIRMAN. Special blue-ribbon grand jury.

Mr. HÉBERT. That will devote its efforts entirely to this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, in that connection let me make this inquiry. The gentleman from Louisiana says investigate the Communists connected with the Federal Government. Some of these Communists that have been indicted are connected with the State governments, or the city government in New York, and if they are on any pay roll of the Federal Government, State government, or city government, or county government and plotting the overthrow of this Government, they ought to be investigated by this grand jury.

Mr. HÉBERT. Of course, that statement is accepted because the District of Columbia is a Federal Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, gentlemen, we have a witness here and we had better start.

Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Very well.

#### TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH TERRILL BENTLEY

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, you are here in response to a subpoena which was served upon you on July 23 in the St. George Hotel by Mr. Donald T. Appell; is that correct?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. To appear before the committee last Wednesday; is that correct?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. At your request—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The Chair would like to say that we are going to finish this at this session if we have to stay here all day and all night and all day tomorrow. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. At your request the subpoena was continued until today; is that correct?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here before the committee in response to that subpoena?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please state your full name?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; Elizabeth Terrill Bentley.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Miss BENTLEY. My present address is the Hotel St. George in Brooklyn.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Miss BENTLEY. I was born in New Milford, Conn., 1908.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you give the committee a résumé of your educational and occupational background?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Don't go into too much detail.

Miss BENTLEY. I graduated from high school and then from Vassar College. I have an A. B. from Vassar College.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year did you graduate from Vassar?

MISS BENTLEY. 1930. I have a master's from Columbia University in 1935. I had a year's study at the University of Florence in Italy, and a summer's study at the University of Perugia in Italy. I think that completes the educational qualifications.

I taught 2 years in the Foxcroft School in Middleburg, Va.

Positions which I held in the business world were secretary in import-export firms, publicity firms, translating. I was vice president of United States Service and Shipping for 6 years. For the last year I was secretary in an import house.

MR. STRIPLING. Have you ever been out of the United States?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes. I have been out of the United States.

MR. STRIPLING. What countries did you travel to?

MISS BENTLEY. I have been in England, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Italy, one day in Algiers.

MR. STRIPLING. When did you travel in Europe?

MISS BENTLEY. The summer after I graduated from Vassar I went on a guided musical tour. That was the one that took me to most of the countries. Then in 1931, I think it was, I studied in Perugia. In the year 1933-34 I was in Florence.

MR. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, were you ever a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I was.

MR. STRIPLING. When did you join?

MISS BENTLEY. March 1935.

MR. STRIPLING. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

MISS BENTLEY. The two people who signed my membership card were Mrs. Lee Fuhr and Dr. James P. Mendenhall.

MR. STRIPLING. Will you please spell Mrs. Fuhr's name?

MISS BENTLEY. F-u-h-r.

MR. STRIPLING. Will you identify Mrs. Fuhr?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. Would you do so?

MISS BENTLEY. I don't know where she is just now, but she was a nurse and, as I understand it, the first American nurse who went to Spain during the Spanish civil war. I have lost track of her for many years and don't know exactly where she is now.

MR. STRIPLING. Could you identify Dr. James Mendenhall?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes. At that time he was a professor in the Lincoln School, which is a part of Teachers College, Columbia. Since then I believe he went into the OPA, but I have also lost track of him recently.

MR. STRIPLING. Would you tell the committee the circumstances under which you were recruited into the party?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes. I had come back from a year in Italy quite upset about Fascist conditions there. On my return I met a number of Communists of whom those two are a part, and they got me into the American League Against War and Fascism, which was interested in my impressions of Italy.

After that they gradually got me into the Communist Party.

MR. STRIPLING. Were you active in the Communist Party or were you a rather passive member?

MISS BENTLEY. I would say just about medium; not too active, just an average run-of-the-mill member.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did your activity increase at any particular period?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; but not open party activities, if that is what you mean.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, are you acquainted with an individual or were you acquainted with an individual named Jacob Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Jacob Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. In October 1938.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give us the circumstances under which you met him, please?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I think about 3 or 4 months before I met him I had, through Columbia University, obtained a position with the Italian Library of Information, which I had discovered to be a part of the Italian Government Propaganda Ministry. I had discovered they were circulating Fascist propaganda, and I had gone to Communist Party headquarters and requested someone who could use this information to be distributed to anti-Fascist organizations for their use.

I was then introduced to Mr. Jacob Golos.

Mr. STRIPLING. At that time what was Mr. Golos' occupation?

Miss BENTLEY. I didn't know until a year after I met him, but actually he was at that time and up until his death, president of World Tourists, Inc.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you describe briefly the type of organization World Tourists was? What did it do?

Miss BENTLEY. My understanding is it was set up in 1927 with funds supplied by the Communist Party as a travel agency, and that Mr. Golos came into the organization in the early thirties, when it was financially on the rocks, took it over, made its prime purpose sending individuals and tourists to Russia, and made quite a bit of money during those boom travel years.

Then in the late thirties, when travel fell off, they got a concession from the American office of Intourist, which is the Soviet agency in charge of parcels and packages going to the U. S. S. R., and their main business became sending packages to individuals in Russia.

Mr. STRIPLING. In connection with World Tourists, Miss Bentley, did you ever know a person by the name of Gerhart Eisler? Did you ever meet him?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I didn't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever know of anyone by the name of Samuel Liptzen?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mention that, Mr. Chairman, because in the hearing before this committee on Gerhart Eisler it was brought out that Mr. Eisler traveled to the Soviet Union under a passport in the name of Samuel Liptzen. He carried with him a letter signed by Jacob Golos which he presented to a Soviet agent in Paris, which arranged for him to go to the Soviet Union. The passport which he obtained under the name of Samuel Liptzen did not indicate that he intended to go to the Soviet Union.

I have the letter here and would like to read it into the record at this point in order to identify Mr. Golos and World Tourists.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. The letter is dated June 17, 1935, addressed to In-tourist, Inc., Paris, France. It reads:

DEAR MR. TOLOTRAV: This will introduce to you Mr. Samuel Liptzen, a good friend of mine, who will ask you to arrange a trip for him to the Soviet Union via the Soviet steamer from Dunkirk, France, to Leningrad. Will you kindly use your influence to secure the best accommodations for him and give him your best attention.

With personal best wishes, I remain,  
Very truly yours,

WORLD TOURISTS, INC.,  
JACOB GOLOS, *Manager*.

Mr. RANKIN. That is the same Eisler that the Negro witness Nowell testified was an instructor in the Communist School of Revolution in Moscow when he was over there; isn't that right?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; that is the same one.

Mr. RANKIN. Where is this Golos now? That is what I would like to know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Golos is deceased.

Mr. RANKIN. Oh, he is dead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, you say you first met Mr. Golos in October 1938?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did your acquaintance with him in connection with the activities of World Tourists increase to any degree, or was he a casual acquaintance of yours?

Miss BENTLEY. At first he was only a person to whom I gave information about the Italian Library of Information and its Fascist activities. After I left there in the spring of 1939 I continued to have him as my contact. I suppose now because he thought I was valuable material that could be used in the future.

I did odd jobs for him like collecting material in the library for use in what he said were articles in the New Masses, or receiving mail at my address for him, and that sort of thing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall whether or not you ever received any mail from Mexico addressed to Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Addressed to you but to be delivered to Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. No. Canada, not Mexico.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did any of that mail come from Fred Rose?

Miss BENTLEY. I can't state of my own knowledge, Mr. Stripling, because I didn't look inside the envelopes, but I suspect it may have been.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall what year it was you transmitted mail from Canada to Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I can tell you almost exactly. It was 1939, 1940.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Golos ever ask you to perform any special duties for him in connection with any work that he was doing for the Communist Party in behalf of the Soviet Union?

Miss BENTLEY. Later on, yes; but do you mean in this period?

Mr. STRIPLING. Any period.

Miss BENTLEY. Later on; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was that?

Miss BENTLEY. At about the start of the Russian-German war which would be around June or July of 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did he ask you to do?

Miss BENTLEY. He asked me to take charge of individuals and groups. This was a gradual process, not all at once. It was to take charge of individuals and groups who were employed in the United States Government and in positions to furnish information.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of information?

Miss BENTLEY. All sorts of information—political, military, whatever they could lay their hands on.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he operating or had he set up a so-called espionage organization to obtain information from Government employees and Government officials to be transmitted to the Soviet Union?

Miss BENTLEY. I think that he set it up. I rather doubt that he had operated it before that. Of course, I can't state definitely.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was in operation, however, when you knew him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you tell the committee how this espionage organization operated and your participation in it?

Miss BENTLEY. It started with actual Government employees in about July 1941, when he told me that he had received from Earl Browder the name of a man working for the United States Government, who was interested in helping in getting information to Russia and who could organize a group of other Government employees to help in this work.

Mr. RANKIN. What kind of employees?

Miss BENTLEY. Government employees.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he tell you the name of the individual?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the individual?

Miss BENTLEY. N. Gregory Silvermaster.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him also as Nathan Gregory Silvermaster? Was that his first name?

Miss BENTLEY. I think he told me his first name was Nathan, but he had never used it. I believe that is it.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what agency of the Government was Mr. Silvermaster employed at that time?

Miss BENTLEY. He was with the Farm Security Administration in the Agriculture Department, and then in 1943, briefly, perhaps 6 months or so, he was in the BEW.

Mr. STRIPLING. The Bureau of Economic Warfare?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have Mr. Silvermaster's employment history, which I would like to put into the record at this point. However, I do not want to interrupt her testimony right now.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask a question right there for the record?

Was Mr. Silvermaster ever a witness before this committee or a subcommittee of this committee in executive session?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster—Do you mean was he ever a witness before this committee?

The CHAIRMAN. In executive session.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster testified before the committee, Mr. Chairman, on May 25 of this year. If you would like, I can read his own testimony as to his employment history in the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to just put it in the record?

Mr. RANKIN. I want to know where he is now.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, put it in.

Mr. RANKIN. Read it. Is he on the Federal pay roll now?

Miss BENTLEY. I have been told he is out of the Government. I think Mr. Stripling would know more about it than I.

Mr. RANKIN. Let's bring the investigation down to date.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rankin, he resigned last year when his salary was cut from \$10,000 a year to \$8,000.

Mr. RANKIN. He resigned what position?

Mr. STRIPLING. I will give you that. At the time he resigned he was in War Assets.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean he was a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. An agent of the Communist International?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I think you would call it that.

Mr. RANKIN. And was employed by the War Assets Administration here in Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. He was employed by the War Assets Administration after I knew him.

Mr. RANKIN. I am talking about last year, within the last year. As I understand from your testimony, this man was on the Federal pay roll, was employed by the War Assets Administration and was a member of the Communist Party and an agent of the Communist International; is that correct?

Miss BENTLEY. I haven't seen him since the end of September 1944. I can only tell you what he was up to that date. He was, during the time I knew him; yes.

Mr. RANKIN. He was an employee, then, of the War Assets Administration.

Miss BENTLEY. Not at that time; no. He was back in the Agriculture Department when I said good-bye to him.

Mr. RANKIN. But he was in the employ of the Federal Government?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. RANKIN. He was a member of the Communist Party, you say?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. And an agent of the Communist International?

Miss BENTLEY. Probably an agent of the NKVD would be more correct.

Mr. RANKIN. That is the Russian Communist secret police?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. And the Communists are dedicated to the overthrow of this Government; is that right?

Miss BENTLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read that, please?

Mr. STRIPLING. This is in regard to the question asked about his employment in the Government.

He was first employed in the California State Relief Administration. Then, he testified that in August of 1935:

I was offered a position in Washington with the Resettlement Administration. I was with the Resettlement Administration from 1935 on. In 1937, I believe, I left Resettlement to accept a position with the United States Maritime Labor Board, and then in 1938 I went back to Resettlement, which was then the Farm Security Administration, where I headed the Labor Division. Then, I believe it



was June of 1942 or 1943, I transferred to the Office of Surplus Property of the Procurement Division, and from there, by administrative changes, to the Commerce Department Office of Surplus Property, and from there by reorganization to RFC.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you say "by reorganization"?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes. Surplus Property Administration has gone through a series of administrative evolutions, you might say, and the Office of Surplus Property of Procurement was moved from Procurement. It had handled consumer goods. The consumer goods was in one agency and capital and producer goods was in another agency. I was with the consumer goods in Procurement, Treasury Procurement, in the Office of Procurement, and then the Commerce Department, and then RFC, and finally War Assets, which integrated all of the units under one administration.

Mr. RANKIN. Did the investigator ask him at that time if he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; he was asked that question.

Mr. RANKIN. What did he say?

Mr. STRIPLING. He refused to answer that question, Mr. Rankin, on the grounds that he might incriminate himself.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know where Mr. Silvermaster is employed now?

Mr. STRIPLING. He is not employed in the Government. He is under subpoena of this committee, and I think the committee will have him here.

Mr. MUNDT. Has he any connection with the United Nations?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

Now, Miss Bentley, will you continue with your testimony?

We were at the point where Mr. Golos had told you there was an individual in the Federal Government who was to furnish information to him.

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were there other people in the Government in this group that Mr. Golos referred to?

Miss BENTLEY. This was the first group of Government employees, the first Government employees which Mr. Golos had taken on, and which I, in the position of courier—

Mr. STRIPLING. You were a courier?

Miss BENTLEY. I was the person who made trips to Washington and picked up the material and brought it back to Mr. Golos.

Mr. STRIPLING. How often did you come to Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. About every 2 weeks.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you name any other individuals that you know of your own knowledge were members of this group, this espionage group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. Mrs. Silvermaster aided in it, although she gave no information. She helped with the photography end of it. William Ludwig Ullmann.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he in the Air Corps at that time?

Miss BENTLEY. The first time I knew Lud he was in the Treasury Department.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know what position he held in the Treasury Department?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I don't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he was ever in the Air Corps or not?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he was.

Mr. STRIPLING. During the war?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he was stationed in the Pentagon most of the time.

Mr. RANKIN. Is he a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you name any other members of the group who were employed in the Government?

(No response.)

Mr. RANKIN. May I ask where this man Ullmann is now?

Is he still with us?

Is he still operating in the Pentagon?

Mr. STRIPLING. From the investigators who have been working on his case, I learn that he is no longer in the Treasury Department.

May I ask you, Miss Bentley, was one Solomon Adler a member of this group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a rather active participant?

Miss BENTLEY. Rather remotely, Mr. Stripling, because at the time I had charge of that group he was in China.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Stripling—

The CHAIRMAN. We had better continue.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to find out about this.

The CHAIRMAN. We had better let the chief investigator ask her any questions, and then we can ask questions later, because we have got a long way to go.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, did you collect the Communist Party dues for Mr. Adler and turn them over to Mr. Silvermaster? Do you recall doing that?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Silvermaster gave me the dues for his complete group and I take it for granted those included Mr. Adler. Since he was in China, I am not too sure about it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Mr. Adler yourself?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I never did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you understand that he at any time worked with this group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did understand that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know where Mr. Adler is employed at the present time?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I am afraid I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, according to our investigation Mr. Adler is presently employed by the United States Treasury Department in the Office of International Finance.

Are there any other persons who were employed in the Government at that time who were members of this espionage group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. William Taylor.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. William was in the Treasury.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know what position he held in the Treasury?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I don't. He had a number of positions and he was also sent abroad at various times. I believe he went to China; I believe he was sent to Portugal at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. By the Treasury Department?

Miss BENTLEY. By the Treasury; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were there any other individuals in the Treasury Department who were working with your group?

Miss BENTLEY. With the Silvermaster group?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; Harry Dexter White.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was Mr. White's position?

Miss BENTLEY. I believe he was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Is that correct, or do you call him an Under Secretary? I am not sure.

Mr. STRIPLING. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury—

The CHAIRMAN. The witness says she believes. What was he? We want to know.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and head of Monetary Research, as I recall.

Mr. RANKIN. Is he a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know whether Mr. White was a card-carrying Communist or not.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the extent of his cooperation with your group?

Miss BENTLEY. He gave information to Mr. Silvermaster which was relayed on to me.

Mr. STRIPLING. At this junction, give us the mechanical operations of the Silvermaster group. Before you do that, in order to clarify the expression "Silvermaster group," were there other groups operating within the Government collecting information on behalf of the Soviet Union?

Miss BENTLEY. I had one other group that I handled, and I had every reason to believe there were other groups also.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the other group that you handled?

Miss BENTLEY. We called it the Perlo group. It was actually an ex-Communist Party unit that I believe had been set up in Washington in the early thirties, and I gather, from what the members of the group told me, that they had been in a minor way collecting information for some years but not in an organized fashion.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know this other group that you refer to which you said was set up in the early thirties—was that the group, or did you ever hear it was the group, set up by Hal Ware?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I never heard of that angle of it before.

Mr. MUNDT. You call it the Perlo group?

Miss BENTLEY. I call it the Perlo group because the ostensible leader of it was Victor Perlo.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was Mr. Perlo employed at that time?

Miss BENTLEY. In the WPB.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you tell us what kind of position he held in the War Production Board?

Miss BENTLEY. I can't tell you the title which I didn't know, but he was in a position that was handling aircraft production figures, because he had ready access to those.

Mr. MUNDT. Did he supply you with those figures?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Were any Members of the Congress, House or Senate, in that group?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I am sorry; no.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, when was this you were in contact with Victor Perlo when he was in the War Production Board—'43 and '44?

Miss BENTLEY. I took that group over in about, I think, March of 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, if the committee desires, I shall read into the record the employment history of Mr. Perlo.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee would like to have the employment record of each one of these read.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I shall read other information regarding his background, which has been obtained by the investigation conducted by the staff of this committee:

Victor Perlo: The above-named individual was born on May 15, 1912, in New York City. His parents were both born in Russia. His father's name was Samuel and his mother's name was Rachel. Mr. Perlo attended school in Flushing, N. Y. In 1931 he received an A. B. degree from Columbia University, and in 1932 he received an M. A. degree. From June until July 1930 Mr. Perlo was employed as a bank clerk in New York City. In 1931 and 1932 he was employed by a boys' camp in Massachusetts. From September 1933 until June 1935 Mr. Perlo was employed by the NRA. From June 1935 until October 1937, Mr. Perlo was employed by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. From October 1937 until September 1939 Mr. Perlo was associated with the Brookings Institution. From September 1939 until September 1940 Mr. Perlo was employed by the Department of Commerce. From November 15, 1940, until February 17, 1943, Mr. Perlo was employed by the Advisory Council on National Defense of the OPA. From February 17, 1943, until May 1, 1945, Mr. Perlo was employed by the War Production Board. From May 1, until December 14, 1945, Mr. Perlo was employed by the Civilian Production Administration. Beginning December 14, 1945, Mr. Perlo was employed by the Treasury Department, Office of Monetary Research, which was the agency Harry Dexter White headed.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. STRIPLING. We do not.

Mr. RANKIN. Was he a Communist all during that time?

Miss BENTLEY. I would rather imagine so, Congressman, from what he told me when I met him in '44. He told me he had been a Communist over 10 years, so I imagine so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Victor Perlo turn information over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Information which had been obtained from people who were employed in the Government?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; either he or members of his group turned it over; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you name other members of his group before we go on with the Silvermaster group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I will try to remember them. Allan Rosenberg.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know where he was employed?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he was in the FEA.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know what those initials are.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it the Board of Economic Warfare?

Miss BENTLEY. It was originally BEW, but then it became FEA, Foreign Economic Administration. It was an amalgamation, I understand, of several agencies.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you name any other member of the group?

MISS BENTLEY. Donald Wheeler.

MR. STRIPLING. Was that Donald Niven Wheeler?

MISS BENTLEY. I don't know his middle name; I am sorry.

MR. STRIPLING. Was it Donald or David?

MISS BENTLEY. Donald.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know where he was employed?

MISS BENTLEY. OSS.

MR. STRIPLING. Office of Strategic Services?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. STRIPLING. Any other members of the Perlo group?

MISS BENTLEY. Charles Kramer.

MR. STRIPLING. His real name was Charles Krevitsky. Did you know that?

MISS BENTLEY. I have been told that; yes.

MR. STRIPLING. Where was he employed at that time?

MISS BENTLEY. I believe at the time I first met him he was in between jobs. Then I believe he went with—is it Senator?—Kilgore. I am not sure whether he was a Congressman or Senator. Later he went with Senator Pepper.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he now?

MR. MUNDT. Is that Kramer the man you are talking about now?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. MUNDT. Is Kramer a Communist?

MISS BENTLEY. Oh, yes; of long standing, according to the story he told me.

MR. STRIPLING. I think that is rather certain, Mr. Chairman. If I may read from the testimony which we took from him on July 2—I believe Mr. McDowell took the testimony—

MR. MUNDT. I would like to have that testimony.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer first gave his employment record. He said:

My last Government employment was with the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate. Prior to that I worked for the Office of Price Administration, and prior to that I worked for the National Labor Relations Board, and prior to that for the United Mine Workers of America; prior to that for another subcommittee of the United State Senate Committee on Education and Labor; prior to that for the National Youth Administration; prior to that for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and prior to that for the Institute of Social and Religious Research; prior to that for New York University.

Mr. Kramer, when asked if he was a member of the Communist Party, refused to answer on the grounds that he might incriminate himself.

MR. MUNDT. The two who were named just before Kramer—you neglected to ask if they were Communists.

MR. STRIPLING. Allan Rosenberg and Donald Wheeler.

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; they were.

MR. MUNDT. Both of them were Communists?

MISS BENTLEY. They were both Communists.

MR. STRIPLING. Can you name any other members of the Perlo group?

MISS BENTLEY. Edward Fitzgerald.

MR. STRIPLING. Edward J. Fitzgerald?

MISS BENTLEY. I don't know his middle initial, either.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know where he was employed?

Miss BENTLEY. WPB.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any other members of the Perlo group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I don't recall his first name, because I only met him once—Magdoff.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry Magdoff?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. At the time I first met him he had just returned from the Mayo Clinic in Rochester after a serious operation, and I believe he didn't take any job for a bit, and then he went into the Commerce Department.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have his employment record.

Mr. MUNDT. Was that during the time Henry Wallace was head of the Commerce Department?

Miss BENTLEY. I think probably part of the time; yes. I am not too clear on when Mr. Wallace went in there.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you know if this man is now employed in the United States Government service?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I wouldn't know. Most of these people I have completely lost track of, but I imagine the committee probably knows where they are.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, are you going to develop what kind of information was turned over by these groups to this witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, Mr. Chairman; but I want first to identify the people that comprised these groups. Then we will move from that to the type of information turned over; what the witness did with the information after it was turned over.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Stripling, will you be able to show that these groups are still operative?

Mr. STRIPLING. I would rather not say at this time, Mr. Rankin. I would like to complete this testimony.

Mr. RANKIN. That is what I am mostly interested in.

Mr. MUNDT. I think we should take it up in chronological order and not jump to conclusions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, do you want the employment record of Mr. Magdoff?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. April 1936—rather, from October 11, 1934, until May 31, 1935, Magdoff was employed by the Silk Textile Code Authority, NRA, New York City. In the year 1935 he is reported to have been ill. From April 1936 until May 1940 Magdoff was employed by WPA as a statistician and on the national research project. From October 1, 1940, until August 15, 1941, he was employed in the Statistical Division of the War Production Board and Office of Emergency Management. August 16, 1941, until May 17, 1943, he was employed by the War Production Board in its Bureau of Research and Statistics. From May 18, 1943, until July 3, 1944, he was employed by the Tools Division of War Production Board. July 4, 1944, to March 1946 he was employed in the District of Columbia by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Magdoff was em-

ployed by the Office of the Secretary of Commerce about April 1946 until December 17, 1946. Since the latter date he has been employed by the New Council of American Business in New York City.

Did you ever collect any dues from Mr. Magdoff?

MISS BENTLEY. The dues were brought to me by whichever member of the group came to New York City, and Mr. Magdoff's dues were among them; yes.

MR. STRIPLING. What did you do with his dues when they were turned over to you?

MISS BENTLEY. I turned them over to Mr. Golos during his lifetime.

MR. STRIPLING. Now, have you named all the participants in the Perlo espionage group?

MISS BENTLEY. No. There was Harold Glasser, of the Treasury.

MR. STRIPLING. All right.

MR. MUNDT. Is Harold Glasser a Communist?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; they all were. This was an ex-Communist Party unit, which means automatically they were Communists.

MR. MUNDT. "Ex"—that means previous.

MISS BENTLEY. It means before that they had been tied up only, as I understand it, with the Communist Party, but then they were turned over to me. Maybe I am using the wrong phraseology.

MR. MUNDT. Thank you.

MR. STRIPLING. Would you like his employment record?

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. This is Harold Glasser. This individual was born November 23, 1905, Chicago, Ill. His parents were Myra Glasser and Rachel Olswang. Both of them were born in Russia.

From 1922 until 1928 Glasser studied at the University of Chicago. From 1929 until 1930 Glasser studied at Harvard University. From 1930 to 1931 he studied at the University of Chicago. During part of 1931 until 1932 Glasser was attached to the Brookings Institution in Washington, D. C. From 1932 until 1933 Glasser was attached to the Labor Bureau of the Midwest in Chicago. From 1933 until 1935 Glasser taught at the Peoples Junior College in Chicago. On August 16, 1935, Glasser became employed by the WPA. This employment lasted until April 16, 1936. On May 1, 1936, Glasser became an employee of the Department of Agriculture, Minneapolis, Minn. November 21, 1936, Glasser's employment with the Department of Agriculture ceased, and he became an employee of the Treasury Department in Washington. He was attached to the Division of Monetary Research. On June 15, 1940, Glasser was loaned by the Treasury Department to the Government of Ecuador. He served in this capacity until May 1942, at which time he returned to the Treasury Department. On November 30, 1942, Glasser was loaned to the War Production Board, where he remained until January 10, 1943. From February 1943 until September 1943 Glasser was an adviser on the North African Affairs Committee at Algiers, North Africa.

Are there any other members of the Perlo group that you have not named, Miss Bentley?

MISS BENTLEY. There is just one more who didn't give any information, but I know he belonged to the group, and that is Lischinsky—Sol Lischinsky. He was with UNRRA.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his first name?

Miss BENTLEY. Sol. I suppose it would be Solomon.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you name everyone in the Silvermaster group?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you continue to name them?

Mr. RANKIN. Let's get something on this last man she named. Let's get the facts on him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rankin, we don't have any information on this gentleman ourselves.

Mr. RANKIN. Maybe she has some.

Miss BENTLEY. I have very little. I did not meet him personally. I just know what they told me about him and he never produced any information, so we didn't consider him too valuable.

Mr. RANKIN. You don't know where he is now?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I know where very few of these people are right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the chief investigator get this information?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. PETERSON. I would like to ask a question. We want to be sure we are not unfair to anyone.

With reference to the employment of Kramer, I believe the statement was made that he had been employed by Senator Kilgore and Senator Pepper. I believe the employment record did not refer to that but referred to a committee. Do you know whether they were employed individually by the Senators or by the committee of which they were members?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know that. I know he simply referred to it in that way, and I don't know exactly whether he was an employee of the Senators personally or of the committee.

Mr. PETERSON. You don't know of your own knowledge that he was employed by either of the Senators?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. If I recollect, Mr. Peterson, he testified he worked in Senator Pepper's office.

Mr. PETERSON. I didn't hear that testimony at the time, but I notice in that he referred to committee employment.

Mr. RANKIN. When was that testimony taken?

Mr. McDOWELL. While you were out.

Mr. RANKIN. This morning?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. I didn't hear it.

Mr. STRIPLING. According to our investigation, Mr. Kramer actually worked in Senator Pepper's office while he was on the pay roll of the Subcommittee on Education and Labor. I think you will find that he was quite active.

Mr. RANKIN. Didn't he work in some other Senators' offices and wasn't he instrumental in trumping up the charges for the persecution of Senator Bilbo?

Mr. STRIPLING. I don't know a thing about that, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. I think we should have some information on that point.



The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, you may proceed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, will you now go back to the Silvermaster group and name any individual who was a part of that group that has not already been previously mentioned?

Miss BENTLEY. George Silverman.

Mr. STRIPLING. George Silverman?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. Originally in, I think you call it, the Railroad Retirement Board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Miss BENTLEY. And when the war came he was given a quite important post with the Air Corps as a civilian in The Pentagon. I believe he was offered a colonecy, but he turned it down and remained a civilian employee there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Silverman a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You collected dues from him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he furnish information to your group?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, quite prolific information.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before we go on with what was furnished, would you tell the committee whether or not there is anyone else in this group that you have not named?

Miss BENTLEY. Frank Coe.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. In the Treasury.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know what his position was?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I am sorry. All these people Mr. Silvermaster took care of, and I simply knew they had important jobs in the Treasury, but I couldn't tell you what it was.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was a member of the Communist Party, according to your information?

Miss BENTLEY. According to my understanding; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Anyone else?

Miss BENTLEY. William Gold.

Mr. STRIPLING. G-o-l-d?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. I believe it was then the FEA. I can't recall whether BEW or FEA, but it was that same outfit.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he furnish information to your group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is there anyone else you haven't named?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; his wife, Sonia Gold.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was she an employee of the Government?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; in the Treasury.

Mr. RANKIN. Let me ask about this man Kramer. I was out when you were testifying about him. Do you say Kramer was a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. He told me he had been a member for a good many years.

Mr. RANKIN. That is all I wanted to know. My recollection is he was one of the chief men who dug up those charges for the persecution of Senator Bilbo, who was dying of cancer and fighting on the floor of the Senate against this communistic program they are trying to put through now, and I think this man Kramer was one of the chief men in that conspiracy.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any other members, Miss Bentley, of the Silvermaster group?

Miss BENTLEY. Let's see, now, did I mention Irving Kaplan?

Mr. STRIPLING. You did not mention Mr. Kaplan. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. He was employed in the WPB. He was in a very peculiar position because he was paying his dues to the Perlo group and giving his information to the Silvermaster group. Somehow the two groups got a little scrambled at that point.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any others?

The CHAIRMAN. When you have an employment record on any of these people, we would like to have it read.

Mr. RANKIN. Wasn't this man Kaplan a member of this so-called FEPC that was set up here in Washington by Executive order?

Miss BENTLEY. I am sorry, I don't know that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Herbert Schimmell?

Miss BENTLEY. No, I am sorry.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know John Abt?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a member of either group?

Miss BENTLEY. John Abt was the man who took charge of the Perlo group before I had it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether John Abt was employed in the Government?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I know very little about him except I believe he was with the PAC at one time. Or the PCA.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is with Mr. Wallace now.

Mr. RANKIN. Get that PAC. That is very important. You mean the CIO-PAC? Is that what you are talking about?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Is he still with them?

Miss BENTLEY. I know very little about Mr. Abt. I only met him twice and then only for the purpose of his introducing me to the members of the Perlo group so that I could take it over.

Mr. RANKIN. You do know he was a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any other members of the Silvermaster group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, Norman Bursler.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether John Abt was ever employed in the Department of Justice?

Miss BENTLEY. I know practically nothing of John Abt's background, I am sorry.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, before it slips my mind I would like to suggest that our staff bring the employment record on all names

mentioned here today down to date, including the present positions they hold either in public or private life.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have certain information here on Mr. Abt, but with the Chair's permission I would like to present it to the committee in executive session, because of an investigation which we have going on.

The reason, Mr. Mundt, that we do not have the employment record of all these people is we have not previously interviewed this witness in any way. We have not been in touch with her at all. The reason these matters coincide is because we already had through our investigations the information that these people were involved.

Mr. MUNDT. I am interested, Mr. Stripling, in getting their employment records down to date, because our experience on another committee of the House has been that, especially where Communists have been employed in the State Department and then removed because of loyalty charges, they have gravitated to the United Nations. I want to find out if some of these other people have had similar experience.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir. We will begin working on that.

Are there any other names, Miss Bentley, of the Silvermaster group that you have not mentioned?

Miss BENTLEY. Just one. The man was not a Communist but he did give information. Lauchlin Currie.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of information did he give?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, being in the position he was in, he had inside information on Government policy.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a secretary to the President of the United States?

Miss BENTLEY. I believe that was his title. I am not sure. I knew he was one of that circle around the President; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was employed in the White House, was he not?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What information did he furnish? What type?

Miss BENTLEY. He furnished inside information on this Government's attitude toward China, toward other governments. He once relayed to us the information that the American Government was on the verge of breaking the Soviet code, various things.

Mr. STRIPLING. But Mr. Currie was not a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Miss BENTLEY. Not to my knowledge; I don't believe so.

Mr. MUNDT. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. In the White House.

Mr. STRIPLING. Secretary to the President.

Mr. MUNDT. President Truman?

Mr. STRIPLING. President Roosevelt.

Mr. RANKIN. When was that?

Mr. STRIPLING. What year was that?

Miss BENTLEY. That was in 1943, 1944—I believe he was there in 1942 also. I think in 1944 he moved into the FEA. At least, he had a high-up position there.

Mr. RANKIN. As a matter of fact, Mr. McIntyre was secretary to the President at that time, wasn't he?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know what Mr. Currie's title was, but I think he is sufficiently well known so that someone would know.

MR. RANKIN. If I remember correctly, Mr. McIntyre was succeeded by Steve Early.

MISS BENTLEY. Not that type of secretary. If he was a secretary at all, he was an adviser to the President and not a secretary.

MR. RANKIN. I see. You tell the committee that this man Currie, while he was employed in the White House, was giving your Communist organization secret information?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. RANKIN. Why did you wait so long to report that?

MISS BENTLEY. I beg your pardon?

MR. RANKIN. Why did you wait so long to report that information to a committee of Congress?

(No response.)

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. Can we develop that a little later?

MR. RANKIN. It is very important. You were charging that there was a Russian spy in the White House, and I would like to get the facts about it now.

MR. STRIPLING. The reason as to why she didn't report this earlier, Mr. Rankin, we are coming to that.

MR. RANKIN. All right. I don't want to interrupt the gentleman's procedure.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in connection with Lauchlin Currie, we have the file of the Civil Service Commission on Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

THE CHAIRMAN. By the way. How do you spell that name?

MR. STRIPLING. L-a-u-c-h-l-i-n C-u-r-r-i-e. The Civil Service Commission had under investigation Nathan Gregory Silvermaster over a long period of time. We have a file about this tall [indicating].

MR. RANKIN. What was that statement?

MR. STRIPLING. We have a very voluminous file which the Civil Service Commission accumulated on Nathan Gregory Silvermaster. From time to time they would hear him regarding his alleged Communist affiliations. We have a memorandum which states that after hearing Mr. Silvermaster they were referred to Lauchlin Currie to get the true facts on Silvermaster. After conferring with Lauchlin Currie, Mr. Silvermaster remained in his employ. That is according to the files of the Civil Service Commission.

MISS BENTLEY. May I say something, Mr. Stripling?

THE CHAIRMAN. Miss Bentley.

MISS BENTLEY. It was definitely from my own knowledge due to Mr. Currie's influence that Mr. Silvermaster was not ousted from his job in the BEW but was permitted to return to the Agriculture Department without any stigma on him.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, it is quite evident from examination of the file, which I should be glad to place before the committee, that there was some influence involved because the record was very straight as to Mr. Silvermaster's long Communist associations and he was never dismissed from the Government for that reason.

To clarify a point, Mr. Rankin, which we have checked, Mr. Charles Kramer, whose name is Charles Krevitsky, was staff director on the Education and Labor Committee, according to our information, and Senator Pepper was chairman of the subcommittee.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to ask one more question.

Was this man Currie, whom you say was employed in the White House—was he under David K. Niles?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know whether he was under Mr. Niles or whether he worked as a coworker with Mr. Niles.

Mr. RANKIN. But I understand from your statement that they were associated.

Miss BENTLEY. From what I have heard, yes; they were associated, but I don't know the relationship between them.

Mr. RANKIN. Was Mr. Niles mixed up in all this movement that you are talking about?

Miss BENTLEY. Not to my knowledge. From what I have heard of Mr. Niles he wasn't, but I can't state of my own knowledge.

Mr. RANKIN. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman would like to make a statement at this time. The committee will go into executive session at this time and then shortly after that we will recess and convene again promptly at 1:30 with Miss Bentley as a witness at that time.

Miss Bentley, will you stay there, please.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, could we reconvene at 1:15?

The CHAIRMAN. All right, we will make it 1:15.

The committee will now recess. We will go into executive session. (Whereupon, at 12:01 p. m., the committee retired into executive session.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. MUNDT (presiding). The committee will please come to order.

Mr. Stripling, you may proceed with the interrogation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, when the committee recessed at noon, I believe you had just completed naming the members of the Silvermaster espionage group, as well as the members of the Perlo espionage group, who were employed in the Government.

Now, are there any other individuals who were members of either group that you had not named today?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I don't believe so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you tell me whether or not at any time the group attempted to have a Government official transferred to a different job in order that he might secure certain information?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I understand that it was the general policy of that group and also other groups to transfer anyone in what we would call a "nonproductive" job into a job that would be of more use. I understood that in many cases they had conspired or finagled to move people into better spots.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now that we have completed the naming of the personnel which comprised each group, I wish you would describe to the committee the mechanical operation of the group, just how they operated, what you did, what the group did.

Take the Silvermaster group first.

Miss BENTLEY. It was my policy to come down almost regularly every 2 weeks. I would go to the Silvermaster home, very often have dinner with them, spend the evening, and collect from them the information which they had previously collected from the members of the group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did he live?

Miss BENTLEY. I can't remember the exact street. It was out just before you get to Chevy Chase Circle. I think it was Thirty-fourth or Thirty-fifth Street. I have forgotten the address right now.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it in the District of Columbia or was it in Maryland?

Miss BENTLEY. It was within the District line; yes. I will tell you, it was just about a block from Mr. Curley's—

Mr. STRIPLING. Curley, C-u-r-l-e-y?

Miss BENTLEY. The former Governor of Massachusetts, was he not?

Mr. McDOWELL. You mean Congressman Curley.

Miss BENTLEY. I believe it was just about a block from his house. Is that Thirty-second Street?

Mr. McDOWELL. There is no attempt here, I judge, to link Mr. Curley—

Miss BENTLEY. No. It is just that it is hard for me to remember streets. I remembered how to get there, but it is hard for me to tell you the street.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would it be Thirty-fifth Street?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I think it would be nearer Thirty-second. I think it would be Thirty-second Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. We have it here, Mr. Chairman; we will locate it.

Miss BENTLEY. I could take you out there, but I cannot remember the number of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of information did Mr. Silvermaster turn over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. He turned over whatever members of his group secured, which was varied, depending on the spot the person was in.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of information was actually turned over to you, and which you transferred to Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Military information, particularly from the Air Corps, on production of airplanes, their destinations to the various theaters of war and to various countries, new types of planes being put out, information as to when D-day would be, all sorts of inside military information.

Mr. STRIPLING. How would you transmit this information, yourself, acting as a courier for the group?

Miss BENTLEY. That depended. In the very early days they either typed it out or brought me documents. Later on they began photographing it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was the photographing carried out?

Miss BENTLEY. In the basement of the Silvermaster house.

Mr. STRIPLING. They had the equipment there to do it?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; they did. They had a Contax camera, and had the set-up all ready for putting the documents in and holding the documents in place.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you do with the photographs or documents once you received them?

Miss BENTLEY. I gave them to Mr. Golos.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean, how did you take them back to New York?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, whatever way was practical. If I had a large pocketbook and there was room in that, I took them, or in a knitting bag or a shopping bag or whatever was handy, depending on the size of the collection.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you have large packages of material to take, or were they usually small?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; toward the end; yes. Toward the beginning it was just starting, as you realize, and there was not too much material. Also at that time we did not have anybody in the Pentagon, but then, as the war progressed, and as we got people into the Pentagon, the volume increased quite heavily.

MR. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with any specific plans or documents which came from the Pentagon which you delivered to Mr. Golos?

MISS BENTLEY. Most of those documents were photographed and, therefore, I do not remember the documents.

MR. STRIPLING. Well, do you recall any particular photograph, any particular plans for any aircraft?

MISS BENTLEY. I remember information on the B-29, some of which was photographed, some of which I typed out.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, to go back to the address of Mr. Silvermaster, it was 5515 Thirtieth Street.

Is that correct?

MISS BENTLEY. It was a street next to Thirtieth Place; that would make it Thirtieth; yes.

MR. STRIPLING. How many trips would you say you made to Mr. Silvermaster's home to collect information?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, I went every 2 weeks, and I knew them until the end of September 1944. I don't know how many that would make, added to which oftentimes they came up to New York in the meanwhile, and when they came they brought things, so it is, I mean, hard to figure out exactly how many it would be.

MR. MUNDT. Where would they meet you in New York?

MISS BENTLEY. Various places. Very often, one or the other of them stayed in the Hotel Victoria or the Hotel Times Square, and I would meet them there, or I would have breakfast with them at Schraffts on Times Square, you know, at Forty-third Street—all sorts of places we went. We didn't always go to the same place.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you meet anyone in Washington besides Mr. Silvermaster in relation to the Silvermaster group?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I met his wife, Mrs. Helen Silvermaster.

MR. STRIPLING. Where did you meet her?

MISS BENTLEY. At the house.

MR. STRIPLING. Now, you stated that photographs were made—

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. In the Silvermaster's basement.

Do you know who made these photographs?

MISS BENTLEY. When Mr. Ullmann was available, he did it, because he made himself into an expert photographer. When he was away, or if it was just too much for him to handle, Mrs. Silvermaster worked with him.

MR. STRIPLING. Did any of these people mentioned in the Silvermaster group ever come to the Silvermaster home while you were there?

MISS BENTLEY. Just once.

MR. STRIPLING. Who was that?

MISS BENTLEY. George Silverman.

Mr. STRIPLING. George Silverman? When you obtained the material, you went to New York and you turned it over personally to Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; until his death; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did Mr. Golos do with the material?

Miss BENTLEY. If the material was nonmilitary, of a political character, he first took it down to Mr. Earl Browder to show it to him, and then passed it on to his Russian contact.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the Russian contact?

Miss BENTLEY. I think that his Russian contact was called Charlie, but I don't know anything about that. We never knew them by any other names than these nicknames.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you see Charlie?

Miss BENTLEY. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any idea where Mr. Golos met Charlie?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I don't. He was very discreet about his connections.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know by what means Charlie relayed this information to the Soviet Union?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I don't.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, your job ended when you delivered it to Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Golos ever discuss with you in any detail the method through which he transferred information?

Miss BENTLEY. No; he was very close-mouthed.

Mr. STRIPLING. During your activities in the Communist Party and also during the period you were active as a courier in this espionage ring, did you have any connection or contact with Louis Budenz?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was the general manager of the Daily Worker?

Miss BENTLEY. I think that was his title. I thought he was one of the editors.

Mr. STRIPLING. Managing editor. I am sorry.

Miss BENTLEY. He was one of the editors, I know.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your relationship with Mr. Budenz in connection with this work?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, I was introduced to him about 6 months or so before Mr. Golos' death, because Mr. Golos was getting quite feeble then and could not take care of it. He told me that Mr. Budenz was of great value inasmuch as he had access to contacts who might be useful to us, and also that he was in contact with people who could give us useful information.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you thereafter meet Mr. Budenz at any time?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he give any information to you or did you give any to him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he did give me information.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you do with the information?

Miss BENTLEY. Brought it back to Mr. Golos as long as he was alive.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of information was it that Mr. Budenz gave you?

Miss BENTLEY. He was a friend of Louis Adamic, the well-known Yugoslav writer, and Mr. Adamic had some unofficial—I don't believe



he was paid—connection with the OSS which was then interested in Yugoslavia; and Mr. Adamic gave this information to Mr. Budenz. Mr. Budenz relayed it to me.

Mr. RANKIN. What is the name of that man we mentioned this morning?

Mr. STRIPLING. Charles Kramer.

Did you have any personal contact with Earl Browder himself?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, I did; but in a business capacity only, after Mr. Golos' death. Before that it was purely social. In other words, when Mr. Golos went up to visit Mr. Browder at his summer place at Monroe he would take me along, and I would talk to Mrs. Browder and have dinner, but there was no business involved.

Mr. STRIPLING. Going now to the Perlo espionage group, who turned the material over that that group collected?

Miss BENTLEY. I did not quite get that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was it in the Perlo group who turned the material over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, it depends. Whoever was coming to New York on business or to see their family, or who was selected, came up.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you did not come to Washington for the purpose of collecting information from the Perlo group?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Only the Silvermaster group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who, in the Perlo group—

Miss BENTLEY. Well, I met Victor Perlo, Harry Magdoff, Edward Fitzgerald, Charlie Kramer, Donald Wheeler, Allan Rosenberg.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet these people, do you recall? Did you have a regular meeting?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I first met them, at least the four I first mentioned, I met the first time in Mr. Abt's apartment on Central Park West.

Mr. STRIPLING. John Abt?

Miss BENTLEY. About One Hundred and Third Street, I think it is, I don't know the exact number.

Mr. STRIPLING. But your regular job, so to speak, as a courier, was in collecting the information from the Silvermaster group here in Washington.

Miss BENTLEY. From the Silvermaster group and various individuals.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you elaborate on the military information which you secured from the Silvermaster group?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, the military information came largely from George Silverman and Ludwig Ullmann, and, as I said, it was information of the most varied things you could think of. We had complete data as to almost all of the aircraft production in the country, as to types, how many were being produced, where they were allocated, and so on. We had all sorts of inside information on policies of the Air Corps. As I said, we knew D-day long before D-day happened, and we were right. Practically all the inside policies that were going on inside the Air Corps. We got quite a bit of information about the General Hilldring's activities.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you identify General Hilldring?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, I am not quite sure myself what his status was in there.

MR. STRIPLING. What was the type of information that you got regarding General Hilldring?

MISS BENTLEY. Mostly inside policy data on what we were planning in the way, as I said, of invasions and action in Europe.

MR. STRIPLING. Going back for a moment, you gave John Abt's address as Central Park West. Was it 444 Central Park West, New York City?

MISS BENTLEY. It could have been. I don't remember. I only went there twice I think it was. It was around One Hundred and Third Street. Would that be about right?

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual by the name of Edward Newhouse?

MISS BENTLEY. No; I am sorry.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual by the name of Louise Bransten?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I went to college with her.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you have any subsequent acquaintance with her after you left college?

MISS BENTLEY. Not in any way that would affect this. I bumped into her, I think in 1935, down in Communist Party headquarters, where we both expressed mutual surprise, and I know that she was a very good friend of Helen Silvermaster, because Helen Silvermaster was always telling me about Louise and her past acquaintance with her.

MR. McDOWELL. You went to Vassar College?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes. I understand, from what Louise Bransten told me, that she went there 2 years and left at the end of the second year. I don't remember her too well from college.

MR. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, did any of the people who were involved in any of these groups receive any money from the Communist Party or from yourself or from Mr. Silvermaster that you know of?

MISS BENTLEY. No; they received no money. They received only traveling expenses if they had to come to New York.

MR. STRIPLING. They did receive traveling expenses?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

MR. STRIPLING. From whom did they receive money?

MISS BENTLEY. Mr. Golos gave it to me, and I gave it to them.

MR. STRIPLING. Why were these people furnishing information to Mr. Golos?

MISS BENTLEY. Because they had been told that it was their duty as Communists to do it, and they had been told that Russia was our ally, that she was bearing the brunt of the war, that she was not being properly treated as an ally, and it was their duty to do something about it.

(The Chairman, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas, assumes the chair.)

MR. STRIPLING. Did you receive any money from Mr. Golos in connection with your activities?

MISS BENTLEY. No; only expenses.

MR. STRIPLING. Where were you employed during this period?

MISS BENTLEY. In the United States Service and Shipping Corp.

MR. STRIPLING. What was the United States Service and Shipping Corp.?

MISS BENTLEY. That was an organization which had a contract with Intourist Moscow for the forwarding of packages to individuals in the U. S. S. R.

MR. STRIPLING. You have no information as to how this information was transmitted to the U. S. S. R. other than that it was turned over to an individual by the name of Charlie?

MISS BENTLEY. That was during Mr. Golos' lifetime.

MR. STRIPLING. Yes. After Mr. Golos died, what did you do with the information?

MISS BENTLEY. During the years 1941, 1942, and 1943, before Mr. Golos died, he made alternate arrangements for me to meet contacts, off and on, just in case anything happened to him and I would have to carry on, and I had an appointment with one of these individuals a few days after Mr. Golos' death. Then I met her, and she said that she had a new boss for me to meet, and introduced me to an individual who called himself Bill.

MR. STRIPLING. Bill?

MISS BENTLEY. And I continued to give the stuff to Bill.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know now who Bill was?

MISS BENTLEY. No; I don't.

MR. STRIPLING. Have you seen him in recent years?

MISS BENTLEY. No.

MR. STRIPLING. When did you break with the Communist Party?

MR. MUNDT. Was Bill a Russian or an American?

MISS BENTLEY. I would say from his accent and his physiognomy that he was a Russian, although I could not swear to that.

THE CHAIRMAN. Bill who?

MR. STRIPLING. That is the only identity the witness has. Where did you meet Bill?

MISS BENTLEY. I met him on Park Avenue, about Fiftieth Street, and he was coming one way on the street and we came the other, and we met there.

MR. STRIPLING. And you handed the information to him then?

MISS BENTLEY. That night I had no information. I had simply to meet him in order to establish future relations.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you meet other individuals who you were to work with in the event something happened to Mr. Golos?

MISS BENTLEY. I had up to the end of September 1944, two contacts, Bill and the original girl who had introduced me to Bill, an American who went under the name of Catharine. I usually saw Bill, but when Bill could not make it, Catharine got there.

MR. STRIPLING. During this time did you visit the Communist Party headquarters?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I went down ever so often to see Earl Browder.

MR. STRIPLING. Was it in connection with these espionage activities or not?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; it was. It was in connection with these, because whenever I received material I continued Mr. Golos' practice of taking it to show to Earl Browder.

MR. STRIPLING. You showed all this material to Earl Browder?

MISS BENTLEY. Except for the military. He did not wish to have the military.

MR. STRIPLING. The military was turned over to Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, I understood you were speaking about after Mr. Golos' death.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, let us get this straight now. Before Mr. Golos died you turned everything over to him.

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. After he died—

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You turned only political material over to Mr. Browder?

Miss BENTLEY. I did not turn it over to him. I took it down and let him look at it, and then I brought it back, and put it back with the rest of the material, and passed it on to the Russians.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you did not show him material that was military, any military material?

Miss BENTLEY. On his own request.

Mr. McDOWELL. It would be interesting to know why he did not want to see military material.

Miss BENTLEY. There probably are a number of reasons, one of which was that he did not want to be involved too deeply in it. I don't know.

Mr. McDOWELL. He had knowledge, however, that you had that material?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, yes; but he just did not want to know it.

Mr. RANKIN. That is the reason the Cominform ordered him removed and this fellow William Z. Foster was put in his place. That is testimony brought out before this committee.

By the way, who is this Catharine you referred to?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know.

Mr. RANKIN. You do not know her other name?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. RANKIN. Was she Russian, too?

Miss BENTLEY. We never knew the other names, and as far as I know, no one knows.

Mr. RANKIN. What did she look like?

Miss BENTLEY. She was either Scotch or Irish, of Scotch or Irish extraction. I would say she was about 5 foot 8, long and slender, blond curly hair done in one of these—what do you call them—wind-blown bobs, light hair, light eyes.

The CHAIRMAN. If you saw a picture of her, you would recognize her?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. MUNDT. While Mr. Stripling is getting ready for another question, Miss Bentley, you said a little while ago that when you came to Washington you contacted either Mr. Silvermaster or other individuals, indicating there might be some individuals outside of the Silvermaster group whom you contacted.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, there were.

Mr. MUNDT. Were they in the Government?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; they were in the Government.

Mr. MUNDT. Have you given us those names this morning?

Miss BENTLEY. No; Mr. Stripling has not asked me for them yet. I was waiting for him to ask.

Mr. MUNDT. I think we ought to complete the roster, if the list is not too long, and I think you should furnish those names now so we will have the names before us.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are referring now, Mr. Mundt, to Government employees who were not members of either the Silvermaster or the Perlo group.

Miss BENTLEY. Would you like for me to start with that?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; give those names to the committee.

Miss BENTLEY. Duncan Lee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Duncan Lee?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. He was one of the legal advisers to Gen. William Donovan in the OSS.

Mr. MUNDT. Was he a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. And he was an assistant to whom?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, there was a circle of lawyers around General Donovan in the OSS, and he was one of them. He had worked with General Donovan in his law firm before he went into the OSS.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question at this point. This is with regard to the names on the list that have already been covered. I would like to ask a question about the list that has already been covered. I would like to ask that before you go ahead with this list, if you want to.

The CHAIRMAN. We would rather follow in chronological order and continue with this list.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that all the information you have on Duncan Lee, Miss Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. What else would you like to know about him?

Mr. MUNDT. What kind of information can you give us?

Miss BENTLEY. All types of information were given, highly secret information, on what the OSS was doing, such as, for example, that they were trying to make secret negotiations with governments in the Balkan bloc, in case the war ended, that they were parachuting people into Hungary, that they were sending OSS people into Turkey to operate in the Balkans and so on. The fact that General Donovan was interested in having an exchange between the NKVD and the OSS, all sorts of information.

Mr. MUNDT. Inasmuch as Duncan Lee was not a member, apparently, of the Silvermaster group, how did you establish the first contact with him?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, Duncan Lee was a member of the IPR, or Institute for Pacific Relations, in New York, and through that he knew Mildred Price, who was Mary Price's sister. And when Duncan Lee was sent down to Washington to join the OSS, Mary came to us, told us about him, and we were to take him on. Mary took care of him for awhile, and then Mary left Washington, and I took him over at that point.

Mr. MUNDT. Just how did you establish your first contact with Duncan Lee when you first came down? You said, "I am the gal who is going to be your contact?"

MISS BENTLEY. Well, he had been dealing with Mary. He knew Mary personally, you see, through her sister, and Mary had told him about me, and the name I had gone by, which was Helen, and I just walked into his apartment and said, "I am Helen," and spoke about things that only the two of us would know, and that is how we made our contact.

MR. MUNDT. So you met him in his apartment to get the information?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, all of this varied. It started with his apartment, and then he got very nervous and wished to meet me in the street, so we would meet in drug stores, and so on. All of this varied. There was no standard practice. Sometimes it was one place and sometimes another.

MR. MUNDT. Who else, then, besides Duncan Lee, in this group of miscellaneous individuals, belonged to neither group?

MISS BENTLEY. Helen Tenney. She worked in the—well, I would guess you call it the hush-hush division of the OSS, in the Spanish Division, and then when that sort of dried up, why, she was handling the Balkans, too, at one time.

MR. MUNDT. She was a Communist?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. MUNDT. Who else?

MISS BENTLEY. J. Julius Joseph.

MR. MUNDT. Where did he work?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, originally he was in the predecessor to the War Manpower Commission. Then he went into the War Manpower Commission; then, when he was about to be drafted, he pulled strings through a friend of his, whose name I don't know, and got himself pulled out into the OSS, where he was in the hush-hush Japanese Division, which was right next door to the Russian Division, so in addition to things on Japan, he also had information on what they were doing about Russian activities.

MR. MUNDT. Is he a Communist?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. MUNDT. Did you collect dues from him?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; his wife also worked for the OSS, for about 6 months, in the Publicity Division, the division where they used to put together these films to show to the General Staff.

MR. MUNDT. She also was a Communist?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. MUNDT. Who else?

MISS BENTLEY. Maurice Halperin. He was head of the Latin-American Division. He was head of the Latin-American Division Research and Analysis Branch of the OSS.

MR. MUNDT. Was he a Communist?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. MUNDT. Did you collect dues from him?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. MUNDT. What kind of information would he give you?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, in addition to all the information which the OSS was getting on Latin America, he had access to the cables which the OSS was getting in from its agents abroad, world-wide information of various sorts, and also the OSS had an agreement with the

State Department whereby he also could see State Department cables on vital issues.

Mr. MUNDT. How did you establish your first contact with Mr. Halperin?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, Mr. Halperin got stranded in Washington without a contact, and he was a friend of Willard Park, who has not yet been mentioned, and the two of them got together and got in contact with Bruce Minton, whose real name is Richard Bransten, and asked him what to do, and he came to New York, and saw Mr. Golos, and arrangements were made for me to go to Mr. Park's house and meet the two of them.

Mr. MUNDT. Bruce Minton made that arrangement?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Who is Bruce Minton?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know what he is right now, but at that time he was writing for the New Masses.

Mr. McDOWELL. He was one of the editors of the New Masses.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in connection with Willard Z. Park, our investigation shows that he resides at 36 Poplar Avenue, Takoma Park, Md. He was employed at the time in the office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and a cousin of Richard Bransten, alias Bruce Minton, formerly editor of the New Masses.

On January 2, 1944, Louise Bransten was a guest at his home; he was also active in the American Peace Mobilization in 1940, which organization, as you recall, was picketing the White House.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you also make a contact with Mr. Park?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, I did, but he did not last too long. He was in the CIAA, that Nelson Rockefeller outfit, and he was not a Communist Party member. He was what we called a sympathizer, and was not too ready to help, and he was rather temperamental, and his information was not too valuable, besides which we had two other people in the same office, so we did not carry on with him very long.

Mr. MUNDT. Who were the other two people?

Miss BENTLEY. One was Robert Miller, who was the head of the Research Division of the CIAA, and the other was Joseph Gregg, who was one of his assistants.

Mr. MUNDT. Was Mr. Miller a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you collect dues from him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. How did you spell Gregg?

Miss BENTLEY. G-r-e-g-g.

Mr. MUNDT. Was he also a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, yes; he had fought in the Spanish civil war.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you collect dues from him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. How much dues would these fellows pay?

Miss BENTLEY. That depended entirely on their income, and on the Communist Party scale of dues at that time. Both of them changed considerably.

Mr. MUNDT. In general terms, what was the donation, small or large, that they made?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, they had a sliding scale, going up to about \$5,000 a year, and after that they imposed a surtax of about 20 percent, I think it was.

Mr. MUNDT. That is an excess-profits tax? [Laughter.]

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. What would be Silvermaster's payment on \$10,000?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know. He was paying quite a bit, and he was paying certainly over \$5 a month. He figured out the whole amount of dues, and collected the dues from his interior group, and we left it up to him to be sure that it came out right, but he was our heaviest contributor to our fund.

Mr. RANKIN. What was the name of Gregg?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Joseph Gregg.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know his wife Ruth?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to introduce—have you completed naming the outside members?

Miss BENTLEY. Not quite.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any others that you have there?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; Bernard Redmont.

Mr. STRIPLING. If you have a list there, you may refer to it if you want to refresh yourself on it.

Miss BENTLEY. I was trying to, it is too hard to remember all. Bernard Redmont, who worked for the CLAA, but the information he gave me I would not classify as being secret, because he was in the press division, and I don't believe they had anything that was secret.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, we also have certain information here regarding Mr. Remington, but the committee of the Senate under Senator Ferguson is holding hearings on that matter, and so, if the Chair desires, we will not go into that at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any other names?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't believe so. I think that just about completes the list of Government employees.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you read anything, I just would like to suggest to the members of the committee that we go on in chronological order, and that we let the chief investigator ask as many questions as he has there, and after that bring in any other questions we may have, but if you have got something special here, why, go ahead.

Mr. MUNDT. This deals with the employment record of Maurice Halperin, which I think we should have in the file. From 1941 to 1946, during that period, he was Division Chief in the Office of Strategic Services, and also in the Department of State, in charge of Latin American research and analysis. I think that you told us that much.

Also that he maintained under him an active direction of 50 staff members—specialists, including political scientists, economists, geographers, historians, and anthropologists; research planning and supervision of over 600 reports dealing with basic political, economic, geographic, and military problems and conditions in all Latin-American countries.

He has a long list of employment with the Government, Mr. Chairman, and I think it should be placed in the record.



The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.  
(The data on Maurice Halperin is as follows:)

MAURICE HALPERIN

Office: Room 1401, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. Telephone MU 2-7197.  
Home: 438 Crown Street, Brooklyn 25, N. Y. Telephone: SL 6-9658.

*Personal:*

Born in Boston, Mass., 1906. A. B., Harvard, 1927; A. M., University of Oklahoma, 1929. Doctorate, Sorbonne (Paris), 1931, major: Letters; minor: International relations, economics.

Family: Wife, 2 children (age 11 and 16).

*Employment*

University teaching (1927-41): American lecturer, Sorbonne (Paris), 1930-31 (North American Civilization), instructor, assistant and associate professor of Romance languages; University of Oklahoma (specialization: Latin American civilization, modern French literature and civilization); visiting professor, University of Florida, summer, 1941 (resigned before assuming post to enter Government war service).

War service (1941-46): Division Chief in Office of Strategic Services (September 1941-October 1945) and in Department of State (October 1945-June 1946), in charge of Latin-American research and analysis.

Maintained active direction of staff of 50 regional and functional specialists, including political scientists, economists, geographers, historians, and anthropologists; research planning and supervision of over 600 reports (approximately 75 of major scope) dealing with basic political, economic, geographic, and military problems and conditions in all Latin-American countries.

Chairman of special joint Army-Navy-OSS intelligence project, under direction of Joint Chiefs of Staff. Addressed plenary session of Inter-American Defense Board; lectured at Military Government School, University of Virginia; served on several interagency committees. Participated in United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, April-May 1945.

Consultant to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations representing the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations (American Jewish Conference, Board of Deputies of British Jews, South African Jewish Board of Deputies).

Concurrently secretary of the coordinating board; foreign relations specialist, American Jewish Conference.

As United Nations consultant, attends sessions of major United Nations bodies; maintains liaison with the delegations of the member states and with officers of United Nations Secretariat.

Prepares and submits memoranda on human rights, genocide, status of refugees, and related matters to various United Nations bodies and specialized agencies such as IRO and UNESCO.

Presented oral statements on proposed international group libel statute at second session of the Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and the Press, Lake Success, January 21 and January 28, 1948.

Initiated with the Department of Public Information, and assisted in organizing the first United Nations broadcasting service in the Hebrew language, beamed to Palestine.

As secretary of the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations, organized New York secretariat, negotiated with United Nations for consultative status, under provisions of article 71 of the United Nations Charter; maintains secretariat of the board and liaison with its American, British, and South African affiliates.

As foreign-relations specialist of the American Jewish Conference, advises on drafting of submissions to governments in matters relating to the peace treaties, restitution of and indemnification for loss of life and property in German-dominated Europe, the Palestine question, etc.

Maintains liaison with Department of State, including direct contact with Secretary of State and chief officers of the American delegation to the United Nations. Represents conference at meetings of American voluntary organizations, including Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, American Association for the United Nations, Common Council for American Unity, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, go ahead, Mr. Stripling, and keep going.

MISS BENTLEY. Excuse me, Mr. Stripling, there was one more that I forgot about, Michael Greenberg.

MR. STRIPLING. Michael Greenberg. Where was he employed?

MISS BENTLEY. He was working for Mr. Currie, and whatever Mr. Currie—

MR. STRIPLING. Lauchlin Currie?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; he was a specialist on China.

MR. MUNDT. Was he a Communist?

MISS BENTLEY. He was not a member of the party here because he was an Englishman, English born, and subsequently, I believe, became an American citizen. But at that time the Communist Party would not accept aliens—for what reason, I do not know—and, therefore, although he had been a member in England, I understand he was not a member of the American [Communist] party at that time.

MR. MUNDT. They would not accept aliens. Of course, those aliens could not become American citizens under our statutes, and for that reason they did not and do not take them as members.

MISS BENTLEY. That is right.

MR. RANKIN. What is his name?

MISS BENTLEY. Michael Greenberg.

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question or two. In the first place, I don't think we ought to skip this fellow Remington. We have long since depended on the other body—too long now—to make these investigations. This committee has had to do such investigating, and I am in favor of going on through with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin, I assure you that Mr. Remington will not be skipped.

MR. RANKIN. I do not think we ought to skip him today. Another committee called for information on people in his category, and gave information on every one of them except this man Remington. He is on the Federal pay roll, and I understand he is on the pay roll, and if he is a Communist, I think we ought show it up.

The CHAIRMAN. How long will it take you to take up Remington?

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, as you know, we issued a subpoena for Mr. Remington for July 8, but since the committee of the Senate is investigating, I think we should examine their record before we proceed with what we have here.

MR. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I think our chief investigator is absolutely right. As long as a committee of the Senate is dealing with this matter, there is no reason for us to intrude ourselves in that particular case and we should let them go ahead and dispose of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I agree with that, but there is one very special reason why I agree with Mr. Rankin. Mr. Remington lived in my congressional district, and I don't want anybody to think that for one moment we are not taking up Mr. Remington because he lives in the town next to mine. In fact, if I had my way, we would start off with Mr. Remington.

Now, how do you feel about it?

Do you want to take up Mr. Remington now?

MR. RANKIN. I want to say this: When Senator Bilbo was dying of cancer, standing on his feet, wearing his life away fighting this so-called "civil rights," this Communist program, this element trumped

up a persecution over there because of his fight against this communistic movement, and some of the names that have been mentioned here today were mixed up in it.

Now, the Senate, the majority of the Members of the Senate, at that time participated in that lynching of Senator Bilbo, and I am not willing to turn over to a Senate committee the prerogatives of this committee to investigate people on the Federal pay roll who are known to be Communists and plotting the overthrow of this Government. If this man Remington is a Communist, I think we ought to bring the facts out here. Communists picketed Senator Bilbo's residence, within 2 blocks of the Senate Office Building, for months and months and months, and nothing was done about it. I am not willing at this time to abdicate our prerogatives and pass them on to a committee that has waited all these years and let the Dies committee and this Committee on Un-American Activities do the investigating. I think this man Remington should be investigated now, and I want to see it done.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I think we are aware of the fact that the Senate committee is investigating Mr. Remington and his connection with this group at the present time, and in view of the fact that they are conducting that investigation, I think that in the interest of getting as much information as we can on matters that are not under investigation that it would serve our purposes best to go ahead with other items and other individuals, rather than Mr. Remington, and then come back to him in the event that we have additional information that is not brought out in the Senate investigation.

There are certainly no members of this committee who want to leave any stone unturned in regard to Mr. Remington or any other individual, but I do think, in the interest of getting as much done as possible in the time that we have, that it would be a duplication; so I would suggest that the Chair rule, if possible, that we should go ahead now with other individuals, other than Mr. Remington.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask this question of the chief investigator. Is Mr. Remington under subpoena now?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, I want a subpoena issued for Mr. Remington. How many witnesses are there under subpoena here?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster is under subpoena, Mr. Kramer is under subpoena, Mr. Magdoff is under subpoena, and there are several subpoenas which have already been issued, but we have not been able to serve them.

The CHAIRMAN. All those who have been issued, have them served just as promptly as possible, and I will sign subpoenas for all the other names of the persons that were mentioned here today, who have not already been served, or who we have not subpoenaed, or have not subpoenas made out for them, and we will have them all in, and they can all be heard, and we will have one right after another in a public hearing.

Now, as far as Remington goes, the Chair regrets to have to rule that while the present situation exists we will not take up the Remington case right at this time.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, in connection with your ruling, may I suggest that the Remington employment file be inserted right here the

same as all these other people—I mean the same as all these other people named.

The CHAIRMAN. That is so ordered.

(The employment record referred to is as follows:)

WILLIAM WALTER REMINGTON

This individual was born October 25, 1917, in New York City. He graduated from the Ridgewood, N. J., high school in 1934. He received an A. B. degree from Dartmouth College in 1939 and in 1940 he received an M. A. degree from Columbia University. Remington's parents, Frederick Clement Remington and Lillian Sutherland, were born in Ridgewood, N. J.

From September 1936 until April 1937, Remington was employed by the TVA at Knoxville, Tenn.

From April 1937 until August 1937, Remington was associated with the Workers' Education Committee in Knoxville, Tenn.

From May 1940 until June 1941, Remington was employed by the Natural Resources Planning Board in Washington, D. C.

From July 1941 through January 1942, Remington was employed by the OPA.

From February 1942 until April 1944, Remington was employed by the WPB.

From April 1944 until January 1945, Remington was in the Navy school at Boulder, Colo., from which institution he received a commission as ensign.

From February 1945 until June 1945, Remington was attached to the United States Navy in Washington, D. C., as a Russian translator.

From July 1945 until November 1945, Remington was employed in the American Embassy in London, England, by the Economic Affairs Mission.

From December 1945, Remington was employed by the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

Subsequently, Remington was employed by the Economic Affairs Committee executive office of the President and by the Department of Commerce.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in connection with the people who have been mentioned, who have been named by this witness as being involved in this espionage ring, I should like to point out that we had Nathan Gregory Silvermaster before a special subcommittee of this committee on May 25 of this year. Now, Mr. Silvermaster had been called before the New York grand jury and, I believe, you, Miss Bentley, were also a witness before the New York grand jury: were you not?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to read into the record at this point, Mr. Chairman, the testimony of Mr. Silvermaster, and call your attention to the answers that he gives when we asked him if he knows certain people. I will read from Mr. Silvermaster's testimony.

Mr. HÉBERT. May I, before Mr. Stripling does that, and for the sake of orderly procedure, inquire if you do not think that these parts of the testimony that a man has given before—that he should be confronted with that testimony in open hearing?

Mr. STRIPLING. As a witness?

Mr. HÉBERT. As a witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is testimony before our committee that I am reading.

Mr. HÉBERT. I recognize that. But if you go into what Mr. Silvermaster testified in executive session here, would that have any bearing on what the witness testified about Silvermaster?

Mr. STRIPLING. That ties right in.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am sure Mr. Stripling knows what I have in mind, and I want to avoid that. I want to avoid that if that is going to be brought into it.

MR. STRIPLING. I am not going to ask the witness any questions based on what I shall read.

MR. McDOWELL. You are not going to read all the testimony.

MR. STRIPLING. No.

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, right on that point, we are not supposed to bring all these men who are charged with treason or conspiring to overthrow this Government before this committee. This is a form of grand jury by a committee of the House of Representatives. No grand jury ever calls a defendant. You have not had a single Communist, with the exception of a little group consisting of William Z. Foster and Ben Davis, that crowd, to admit before the committee that they were Communists, but, as a rule, they have refused to testify.

Now, we don't have to bring them in here. If this witness has information that this man Remington or these other men are Communists, we have a right to ask those questions now.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. We want to hear these people; we have got some new names today and consequently we want to have them in as witnesses, just as we have had Silvermaster and these others in executive session. We might as well, now that it has gotten this far in the open—we might as well have the whole thing in the open.

MR. HÉBERT. I want to make this observation. I want to disagree with my colleague from Mississippi that this is a grand-jury investigation. If anybody puts in jeopardy an individual who is charged with being a Communist, I think, in fairness, that this individual should be allowed his day in court here in public hearing as well. Now, if you were in a secret session or in executive session, and these names were used, then we owe them no obligation, but the minute that we allow a witness on the stand to mention any individual, that individual has a right to come before this committee and have his day in court, and every man or woman mentioned here this morning has a right to be subpoenaed to come here.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert, I will promise you that they will have their day in court.

MR. RANKIN. Nobody has asked to come here.

The CHAIRMAN. They will have their day in court.

MR. RANKIN. It certainly is putting the cart before the horse when you have the witness before you who has the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what about this man Silvermaster? What do you want to read from the record?

MR. STRIPLING. I want to read certain excerpts of his testimony in the record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. You know what part Mr. Hébert does not want?

MR. HÉBERT. I am fully aware of that.

MR. McDOWELL. Before we go into that, I am in agreement with the position taken by Mr. Mundt and Mr. Nixon.

MR. STRIPLING. As I say, Mr. Chairman, Silvermaster testified on May 25, 1948: before a subcommittee of this committee. He was asked this question:

MR. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Silvermaster replied:

I beg your pardon?

MR. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question, sir, on the grounds stated previously.

The grounds stated previously, Mr. Chairman, are :

I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that I might incriminate myself.

The testimony continues :

Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the same grounds.

Mr. Russell asked him ?

Do you know Harry Magdoff?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. RUSSELL. William Walter Remington?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Joseph Gregg?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer the question, same grounds.

Mr. RUSSELL. Ruth Gregg?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. John Abt?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Charles Kramer?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. RUSSELL. Louise Brausten?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Donald Niven Wheeler?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. RUSSELL. Harry Dexter White?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. RUSSELL. Maurice Halperin?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have to refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Russell, still questioning the witness, asked :

What was your address when you resided in Washington, D. C. ?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. 5515 Thirtieth Street.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have any of the persons whom I have named ever visited you at that address?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the same grounds, sir.

I should now like to read into the record the testimony of Mr. Charles Kramer, who testified before this committee on July 2, 1948, in executive session.

Mr. NIXON. One moment there. Do I understand that the witness refused to answer questions concerning the various people that you named in this testimony on the grounds that he might incriminate himself?

Mr. STRIPLING. He refused to say whether or not he knew these particular people, most of whom this witness has named and involved in this espionage ring, on the ground that he might incriminate himself, and he was supposed to be the head, according to her testimony—the head of this group in Washington.

Mr. Kramer testified that he also appeared before the grand jury in New York. He was asked by Mr. Russell :

Were you acquainted at any time during your life with an individual named Harold Ware, who is now deceased?

Mr. KRAMER. That is a question that was put to me before the grand jury, and I made the answer then, I make the answer now, that I must decline to answer on the grounds that this might be self-incriminating.

Mr. Russell asked the witness :

Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. The same answer on the same grounds to that question.

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Kramer, did you ever confer with Harold Ware regarding the formation of Communist cells in Government agencies in the District of Columbia?

MR. KRAMER. The same answer to that question.

MR. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Ruth Gregg?

MR. KRAMER. No.

MR. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Daniel Melcher?

MR. KRAMER. No.

MR. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

MR. KRAMER. The same answer to that question.

MR. RUSSELL. Have you ever visited Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

MR. KRAMER. The same answer.

MR. RUSSELL. Did you ever request him to reproduce any documents for you through means of certain photographic equipment which Mr. Silvermaster had in his possession?

MR. KRAMER. The same answer to that question.

He was then asked, Mr. Chairman, was he acquainted with or did he know certain individuals, to which he answered the question if he did or did not know. I see no point in bringing their names into this particular hearing.

But later he was asked whether or not he knew certain people whom the witness has named here today, and he refused to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Miss Bentley, do you know James Roy Newman?

MISS BENTLEY. No.

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, while Mr. Stripling is conferring, I would like to ask the witness a question about this man Currie.

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. RANKIN. Lauchlin Currie was one of the names in the Congressional Directory for 1943, and it shows that he was one of the administrative assistants in the White House. Is that the man you are talking about?

MISS BENTLEY. That is right; that is the man.

MR. RANKIN. Another administrative assistant was William H. McReynolds; others were Lowell Mellett and David K. Niles. They all seemed to hold a coordinate position.

Do you know anything about the records of these other men?

MISS BENTLEY. No; I am sorry; only what I have read in the newspapers or magazines.

MR. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make an observation.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

MR. MUNDT. I think it would be interesting for a matter of record for you to tell us the actual steps you took by which you changed from being simply a member of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and became an actual Communist. You said that a lady, and a former professor at Columbia University under whom I am ashamed to say I once studied as a student at Columbia, introduced you to communism.

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. MUNDT. What were the overt steps you took by which you became a Communist?

MISS BENTLEY. I am afraid that is an awfully difficult question to answer. Thinking back on it, it is rather hard to remember my state of mind at that particular moment. As I said, I was quite infuriated with what I had learned about fascism in Italy, and the only people who would listen to me were the people in the American League Against War and Fascism, and, as I said, I gradually got into that, and

gradually there I met Communists, both in Columbia and downtown, and gradually my ideas began to change. I suppose, in a way, I was a very confused liberal, and, unfortunately, we confused liberals have a tendency to look for guidance some place and a tendency to admire efficient people who know where they are going and seem to be doing a good job in the right direction.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you finally take an oath of allegiance or sign a document, or something of that kind?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I did not.

Mr. MUNDT. You simply started paying your dues?

Miss BENTLEY. I simply started paying dues; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. To the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. I don't think you told us this morning, either, how you established your first contact with Mr. Silvermaster. When you came down here as a courier, how did you establish your first contact?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Silvermaster came to New York to see Mr. Golos at the behest of Earl Browder, and after Mr. Golos had had a preliminary meeting with Mr. Silvermaster, he came back to me and said that Mr. Silvermaster was remaining 2 or 3 days, and that arrangements had been made for me to go to Washington—to go directly to the Silvermaster house and make the acquaintance of Mrs. Helen Silvermaster so that they would know who I was and realize that I was the person who was going to make the contacts in the future, and then later on—

Mr. MUNDT. What did you tell her at that time to identify yourself as the specific person who was to get the information?

Miss BENTLEY. I was told to say I was Helen and I was to tell her that her husband had arranged for me to come down. I went to her house, made her acquaintance, and we talked about various things, and it was arranged that I would come down every week and visit them.

Mr. MUNDT. I have one other question, Miss Bentley. I think—I take it you are no longer a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. MUNDT. When did you quit the party, and why?

Miss BENTLEY. I actually stopped paying dues to the party in July of 1944, but it took me about a year to more or less get it out of my system and get to the point where I could get in the frame of mind of going to the authorities about it. As to why: Having worked with Mr. Golos, whom I took to be a great idealist, a man who was working for what I considered to be the betterment of the world, I had been terrifically shielded from the realities behind this thing, and when he died I was thrown in direct contact with Russians who had just come over from Russia—at least as I understand it.

They thought that I was much more sophisticated than I was.

They thought that I knew what was going on, and unfortunately they landed on me with both feet, made no bones of the fact that they had contempt for American Communists with their vague idealism, no bones of the fact that they were using the American Communist Party as a recruitment for espionage, and, in general, they were about the cheapest type of person I have ever seen—the gangster type. Added to which I had never known anyone high up in the American



party before. But at Mr. Golos' death, I was thrown in contact with Browder. Up to then, I had greatly admired Browder. I was like a lot of people in the American Communist Party, revered him as a wonderful leader and all, and it was quite a shock to find that when I went to him for help, because I did not like this set-up, and I began to realize what it was, and I wanted his help in getting the people that I was taking care of out of it, he hemmed and hawed, and rather pretended to take my side, I think, probably to protect himself. I think he did not like getting mixed up in espionage, and finally Moscow pulled the strings, and he just fell out from underneath me and told me that there was nothing that he could do. He made it painfully obvious just what was going on.

Mr. MUNDT. Shortly after that it was that you quit paying the dues?

Miss BENTLEY. I immediately quit paying my dues. Then came the period of wanting to know what to do about it. Then came the period in trying to see if I could get any of these people out without endangering myself. There came the period of trying to see what could be done there, and then I finally realized that I was one person fighting a vast machine. There was nothing I could do. I could either walk out and forget it had happened, or I could go to the agency that was handling counterespionage, the FBI, and it took me quite a while to make the decision, and I finally walked in there.

Mr. MUNDT. You went to the FBI, then, about 1945?

Miss BENTLEY. August 1945; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. With this information?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. What were you doing during the year after you quit—during that interim?

Miss BENTLEY. I continued with the Russians until I had handed over the contact or else had taken—in other words, had settled up the contact. Either I had told the Russians they were no good, and there was no use continuing or had turned them over, but I was still in contact with the Russians. They wanted to put me on ice for 6 months or a year. They said that Golos had conducted his activities so badly that there were leaks here and there, and that I was in dangerous position, so would I kindly go out of circulation as far as those activities were concerned for 6 months or a year. Then, they proposed to set me up in another little organization, either in a travel business or what not, in some large town, and they would give me other Government contacts to take over.

Mr. MUNDT. Who do you mean "they"?

Miss BENTLEY. The Russians.

Mr. MUNDT. Can you name those Russians?

Miss BENTLEY. The only Russian whose real name I know was the first secretary of the Russian Embassy, and I did not know that until much later on after I had ceased seeing him.

Mr. MUNDT. He talked with you personally in trying to induce you to continue this espionage?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; because after they had tried to bribe me, and had tried all sorts of tricks on me, they finally brought in their highest man to see what he could do.

Mr. MUNDT. What was this man's name?

Miss BENTLEY. Anatol Gromov.

Mr. MUNDT. Where would he contact you?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, about half the time I saw him in Washington, the other half of the time he came to New York.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you see him in the Russian Embassy here?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. MUNDT. Where would you see him?

Miss BENTLEY. In inconspicuous places. I met him at Herzog's, down on the waterfront here.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is a restaurant; is it not?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I met him in a drug store on M Street and Wisconsin in Georgetown. I met him in a movie house on Broadway at about Broadway and One Hundred and Third Street—various spots.

Mr. MUNDT. What have you been doing since 1945?

Have you been employed since, during the period of the last 3 years?

Miss BENTLEY. I was asked to continue on with the U. S. Service and Shipping Corp., because it was feared that that possibly might be a danger spot, a covering-up agency, and I was asked to continue on in there until either something happened or the business broke its contract and liquidated itself, which it proceeded to do in February of 1946.

Mr. MUNDT. Were you asked by the FBI?

Miss BENTLEY. 1947. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. And from 1946 on, what have you been doing?

Miss BENTLEY. I am sorry; 1947.

Mr. MUNDT. Have you had any employment since then?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I walked out of the whole thing and, of course, could not use any business contacts I had made, so I went into an employment agency and got myself a position as a secretary.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have only one or two questions.

You feel that the American Communists have been made suckers of by the Russians?

Miss BENTLEY. With the exception of that small group of people who actually run the American Party, I would say that the vast majority of the rank-and-file people in the Communist Party are; yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Suckers?

Miss BENTLEY. Right.

Mr. McDOWELL. Don't you think, perhaps, that some of America's leading Communists are leading the Communist cause because it pays them to do that? They get pretty good salaries. I noticed you referred awhile ago to Earl Browder going to a summer home. These people are proletariat and are not supposed to have summer homes.

Miss BENTLEY. Well, he also had a car with a private chauffeur.

Mr. McDOWELL. Struggling for the working class.

Miss BENTLEY. That is right. I think it is partly that money; I think for a lot of them—and I think it applies particularly to Browder—they have a particular lust for power. I mean they are show-offs; they love to feel that sense of power that they have.

Mr. McDOWELL. I hope all the foggy-minded liberals in America who are playing with this thing read this evidence.

I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin?

Mr. RANKIN. What year did you say you quit the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. I stopped paying dues in July of 1944.

Mr. RANKIN. You said that you did not get any satisfaction out of Earl Browder at that time?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. RANKIN. It was the next year, was it not, that you understand that Duclos, the leader of the Comintern in Paris, wrote the letter removing Earl Browder and putting William Z. Foster in his place?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I think that was in May of 1945. I am not too sure of the date on it, but it was some time along in there. I think he was actually deposed in July of 1945. I think the final session that put him out was in July of 1945.

Mr. RANKIN. I wonder if that had any bearing on his reluctance to talk with you at that time? Did he know that this change would happen?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I don't believe so, because that was almost a year previous to that. I rather doubt it.

Mr. RANKIN. You say that the majority of the Communists in this country were born in foreign countries?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I did not, because I have no way of knowing.

Mr. RANKIN. Well, a great leader testified before this committee the other day—a short time ago—Mr. Bullitt, that 60 percent of the members of the Communist Party in this country were foreign born. Would you say that that estimate is too large?

Miss BENTLEY. Frankly, Mr. Congressman, I do not know, because I was not too closely connected with the top of the party that would count those statistics. I do not actually know that.

Mr. RANKIN. You knew the Communist Party was dedicated to the destruction of this Government, did you not?

Miss BENTLEY. I did not at the time I was in it. That was one of the reasons I got out.

Mr. RANKIN. When you found that out, you quit. You learned that the Communist Party was plotting the overthrow of this Government?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say that was correct; yes.

Mr. RANKIN. And that that was one of the chief planks—we will say of the platform—or one of the chief elements in their program?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know if it is in their open program, but it certainly is in their basic secret program; yes.

Mr. RANKIN. I am not talking about the open program, because we do not get that, you understand. Now, you knew also that it was dedicated to the destruction of what they called the capitalistic system—that is, the right to own private property?

Miss BENTLEY. That would be correct, yes.

Mr. RANKIN. You learned that in Russia they have taken over the land and that private enterprise has been reduced and that the people of Russia have been reduced to the status of slaves. You found that out before you quit them; is that true?

Miss BENTLEY. I do not know that I exactly found it out; but judging by the Russians with whom I dealt, it would be extremely plausible; yes.

Mr. RANKIN. You know it now, do you not?

Miss BENTLEY. I certainly do.

Mr. RANKIN. You know now that every Russian farmer is a slave of some commissar?

Miss BENTLEY. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN. He is told where he shall live, what kind of work he shall do, and whether or not he shall move. That is correct, is it not?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes

Mr. RANKIN. In other words, it is nothing but a system of abject slavery, dominated by a racial minority that has seized control, as members of the Politburo; is that correct?

Miss BENTLEY. I am not clear about the racial minority.

Mr. RANKIN. I am. Now, I do not know how far I am to go; but as a creative member of this committee, I want to ask you about this man William W. Remington. You say he was a Communist?

The CHAIRMAN. That question is overruled. The committee has decided that the Remington testimony will not be brought up at this time, in deference to the Senate committee.

Mr. RANKIN. The Chair has no right to block the investigation of this man who is in this key position.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not blocking any investigations, and you know how to overrule the Chair if you want to overrule the Chair, and all you have to do is make a motion.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to call attention to that man as being a director of export program, of the staff of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. If he is in this key position and is a Communist, belonging to an organization dedicated to the overthrow of this Government, it is the duty of this committee to investigate that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not think for a moment that we have not investigated it. We have investigated this man Remington thoroughly. The only thing that is embarrassing to me is that Remington comes from my district.

Mr. RANKIN. I was afraid of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we will bring out the Remington testimony and bring it out right here, because we are not going to have a charge against me about covering it up.

Mr. RANKIN. Then I will bring out the Remington testimony.

Mr. McDOWELL. I object; and I believe the majority of the members object, in deference to a Senate committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want Mr. Rankin or anybody else to make any kind of a remark, or intimate that the reason that we are not bringing out Remington is that because he comes from my congressional district we are covering him up.

Mr. RANKIN. I did not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you came pretty close to saying that.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I think that anybody who knows your record in the Un-American Activities Committee is not going to assume even such a charge, and I think your ruling is perfectly sound; but to make it emphatic, I move that it be the sense of this committee that we do not discuss the Remington case—the Remington testimony—at this time, by virtue of the fact that the Senate is presently engaged in such investigation.

Mr. McDOWELL. I second the motion.

Mr. HÉBERT. I want to be heard on the motion. It was my understanding, when I suggested that the Remington employment file be put in at this time, that the Remington matter would be treated in the same way in which the names of every other person mentioned here this morning would be treated, and that is still my understanding. If it is the purpose of Mr. Mundt to move that this witness cannot be asked concerning Remington, then, of course, I cannot support the motion.

Mr. MUNDT. I said "at this time."

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, with all due deference to the Senate, and the knowledge that they have Mr. Remington before them, I think we have possession of this witness at this time; and if she has any knowledge of Remington to submit, or John Brown, or Jones or Smith, or anybody else, she should be permitted to answer questions concerning that.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask this question of the committee: When will it be possible for the committee to sit and hear Remington as a witness?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I will be glad any time after we get through investigating to see whether or not Mr. Remington is a Communist; and if so, if he is still on the pay roll of the Federal Government and in the key position where he can render great injury to the American Government; then if he wants to come and testify, all right. But I think, and I know, that I am not for digging a storm cellar for Remington at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. I get word that Remington is informed by the Senate committee that he will be recalled for testimony before that committee on Monday. Is it agreeable to the committee members to have Remington here on Tuesday?

Mr. RANKIN. I want to hear this witness before we hear Remington.

Mr. HÉBERT. The fact that Mr. Remington is to appear before us does not have any bearing on the present situation, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it has. Not only Remington, but all these other names that were mentioned are such that it is a question of association. You will find that these people were not only associating but they were associating with others that we have had mentioned—that this committee has mentioned from time to time; and before we get through we will find that these others, and these people, are all in the same category. They have all been active in espionage; and some of them about whom we are going to have the public hearings were active unknowingly, we will say, or innocent, but they have been active, and they have been guilty of association.

Mr. HÉBERT. I agree with that; but the point I make, Mr. Chairman, is that we cannot question Remington or probe into Remington's activities as to what this witness knows of her association with Remington unless we have this witness place into the record at this point what her association with Remington is.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; we will recess for 10 minutes, and the committee will go into executive session.

(Whereupon, the committee retired into executive session, after which the following was had in open session:)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I was questioning the witness awhile ago when the meeting broke up.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe, Mr. Rankin, there was a motion. Will you repeat your motion, Mr. Mundt?

Mr. MUNDT. My motion was, Mr. Chairman, that the committee do not go into the Remington case at this time because the Senate is now exploring that case.

Mr. McDOWELL. I second the motion.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to be heard on the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the motion duly seconded. Is there any discussion? Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Yes; I want to be heard. The witness testifying has information which she has presented to the committee which is very alarming. I never saw her before, but the testimony that she is giving here has been most astounding. She has information, I understand, that this man Remington is a Communist. He is now in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Director of the export program staff. I don't know how many people he has under him. All I want to do is to ask the witness some questions about this man Remington's being a Communist, what she knows about his being a Communist, and to bring out the same facts with reference to him that you have brought out with reference to this man Currie, who used to be one of the assistants in the White House, and these other individuals. I want to try to get that information.

To try to block this investigation at this time, when this may be the only opportunity that we may have to question this witness, is certainly back-pedaling so far as the record of this committee is concerned. Her testimony has shown an interlocking with the Communist International of people on the Federal pay roll. Some of them are in key positions and evidently in sympathy with their program to wreck this Government. To say that you are going to refuse to investigate—in the vague hope that a Senate committee will do your work for you—to me, that is pathetic.

During all the years that the Dies committee and this Committee on Un-American Activities have been investigating and exposing these Reds, this is the first time so far as I know that any investigation has been made by a Senate committee, and so far as I am concerned, I am going to vote against the motion. To try to close the lips of this witness on this man Remington, and to prevent the members of this committee from asking questions about him and his affiliation with the Communist Party—if he is in the position that she has described these other Communists, he is dangerous, I mean, if he has the same attitude that they had, and then he is dangerous to the welfare of the Government and ought to be removed.

I am not willing to abdicate my prerogatives to make these investigations merely because the Senate committee proposes to make a similar investigation, seeing that they have gone on all these years without taking such a step.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote against the motion. I only regret that all the other minority members are not here to join us.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other remarks?

Mr. RANKIN. I am waiting for a ruling of the committee. If you want to whitewash this man or dig him a storm cellar, I think it is an outrage, and I will take it before the House at the proper time.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other member desire to be heard?

Mr. McDOWELL. I desire to be heard. With all due respect to the gentleman from Mississippi, I think he has entirely misinterpreted the motion and the desire behind the motion. There is no intent, so far as I am concerned, or I doubt that the other members of the committee have any—there is no effort at all to whitewash any person or to dig a storm cellar for any person. So far as I am concerned—and I shall vote for the motion—this man is not a constituent of mine. If he was, it would not make any difference. If he is a Communist, I think he ought to be removed from the Government, but in deference to the operation now going on on the other side of the Capitol, and in the other body, I feel that the best interest of good government would be served by merely postponing for a day or two or a few hours, if necessary, the investigation into the person whose name has been under discussion.

I shall vote for the motion.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Does the gentleman propose that this witness who has come down for this purpose, going to this committee, does he propose to summon her back to answer the questions that she can answer in 3 minutes now?

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I feel, in view of the high importance of this witness, that she is liable to be available to this committee or any other congressional committee for quite a long time, and that calling her back would cause her to suffer no inconvenience or hardship or be any lack of good proper government.

Mr. RANKIN. It certainly would be a hardship on the committee to have to come back for this one thing which can be settled in 3 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything more to be said on the motion?

Mr. McDOWELL. Question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All those in favor of the motion will signify by answering "aye" when their names are called.

Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Aye.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Aye.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Aye.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The vote is 3 to 2, and the motion is carried.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I think we should apologize to the lady, then, for bringing her down here and wasting her time at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. If it will make you feel any better, Mr. Rankin, I would be very pleased to express my regrets to the lady for not being able to answer all of the questions that you propounded here.

Mr. RANKIN. You do not have to apologize to her. She can answer it if you let her.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any more questions?

Mr. RANKIN. No; if I am going to be dictated to as to what questions I shall ask about these Communists who are here trying to undermine the Government, I submit the committee might as well adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin, you and I have served on this committee for a long time. We have had our disagreements, and we have agreed on many things. You know, Mr. Rankin, well down deep in your heart that this committee is not going to whitewash anybody or anything, and you also know that this committee has done a very big job—a very big job—and especially a big job in the last 2 years. We have been unearthing your New Dealers for 2 years, and for 8 years before that.

Mr. RANKIN. I know the Senate is busy now nagging the white people of the South, and all of the FEPC, and all this communistic bunk.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any questions that you want to ask this witness?

Mr. RANKIN. Not unless I am able to ask her the questions that I want to.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to pursue further the questions that Mr. Mundt propounded in connection with the witness' activities in joining the Communist Party.

Were you persuaded to join the Communist Party by members of the party?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. What arguments did they use with you in persuading you to join? Let me interrupt you and tell you the reason for that question. The reason is this: I believe that the best method of procedure is that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. This committee has been trying to find out what makes the Communists tick, and why they are spreading, as they are spreading. It is my belief that education—we know what appeals the Communists are making to native-born Americans like yourself well able to combat the evil. That is the reason I ask you the question: What persuaded you, a native-born American, an American citizen, a highly educated American citizen, who should have known better, educated in the schools that you were educated in, what persuaded you join up with the Communists?

Miss BENTLEY. It is so long ago that I am trying very hard to remember the arguments that they did put to me at that time. They were the same arguments, I think, that they put to almost any liberal who is dissatisfied with various conditions in this country which, of course, exist, and there is no denying them.

Their final argument was, "If you feel like a liberal, and if you feel that these conditions are bad, then you should ally yourself with the group that will be strong and disciplined and intelligent and that could really do something about these conditions."

As for whether it was American or not, they represented themselves to be an American party.

Mr. HÉBERT. How did they propose to overcome—to impose their system on the American people, without the overthrow of the American form of government?

Miss BENTLEY. That was not mentioned at all in those days, possibly because that was during Earl Browder's regime, at which point you will remember they did not come out in the open with any revolutionary



program. We were told that the only solution was education, that people must be taught, so that we would finally get a majority of American people to vote that particular regime into power.

Mr. HÉBERT. You mentioned that you were very much exercised about the growth of fascism?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I was.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is your distinction between a dictatorship of fascism and a dictatorship of communism?

Miss BENTLEY. I see very little difference right now.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why did you go to communism, when you now call it fascism?

Miss BENTLEY. Because that was not the way communism was represented to me.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then it was purely an idealistic appeal to you?

Miss BENTLEY. That is right. I was told that the Communist Party was a democratic party, that everyone was democratically elected from the bottom up, from the smallest units to the section and the top.

Mr. HÉBERT. And these clandestine meetings, and secret maneuvers, did they appeal to you as something democratic, something in the open?

Miss BENTLEY. No; but you must remember that I had lived a year in Italy, under a Fascist government, where almost everyone sneaked around corners and whispered in everybody else's ears.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you had lived long enough in America, and you had been educated in American schools?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. And that education had so little influence on you?

Miss BENTLEY. I knew so little about American Government, and I was so very little schooled as to the American Government.

Mr. HÉBERT. You say you knew very little about the American Government?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did they not have courses in Columbia?

Miss BENTLEY. No; they did not teach it.

Mr. HÉBERT. What was your elementary education?

Miss BENTLEY. The same as anybody else's, but I changed schools so often due to the fact that my family moved, that I seemed to avoid American history and civics courses.

Mr. HÉBERT. So you grew up as a typical young woman, an American child in American schools, went to a very renowned institution, Vassar, and went to another famous institution, Columbia, and through all those years, you were never exposed, or put in contact with what American history was, what America stands for, and what our form of government was?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I never was.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is what I am trying to find out—where our fault is in the system of education.

Miss BENTLEY. I think it is the fault that runs straight through it because there are numerous people like myself who have been brought up like myself, who have not the slightest comprehension of what America is really like, nor what it means to live in a democratic country under a democratic system.

MR. HÉBERT. I think that is a great contribution which you have made there in that statement, and that is exactly what I am trying to arrive at.

Now, let me ask you one other question. In this desire of yours to live the idealistic life and bring a better world about, did it ever appeal to you, with your intelligence, with your education, even though not educated in the American form of government or the democratic form of government, did it ever appeal to you that you were doing something wrong when you were meeting people and handing them secret information during the war?

MISS BENTLEY. No; it did not.

MR. HÉBERT. That never appealed to you?

MISS BENTLEY. Not until I discovered what sort of a thing I was mixed up in.

MR. HÉBERT. How old were you when you started this maneuvering, this espionage?

MISS BENTLEY. That was about 7 years ago.

MR. HÉBERT. Well, you were above 21—I will not ask you for your exact age—but I want to know whether or not you were a mature individual.

MISS BENTLEY. I think you may be physically mature, but many times you are not mentally mature.

MR. HÉBERT. I do not think that Columbia or Vassar would like that for their graduates to say that they were not mentally mature after their graduation, do you?

MISS BENTLEY. It might be correct in a number of cases.

MR. HÉBERT. And it never did come to you or dawn upon you that you were going to these secret meetings, and this super-duper secret stuff that you engaged in, that you were performing a disservice to your Government?

MISS BENTLEY. No; I was thoroughly sold on the conviction that no matter what happened in my lifetime I was building a decent world in the future.

MR. HÉBERT. Even if it was betraying your own Government in time of war?

MISS BENTLEY. I did not think it was betraying my own Government.

MR. HÉBERT. What did you think these people wanted this information for about our Air Force? Did it not occur to you as a normal individual, with more than normal education, that Russia was supposedly our ally in this war, and they did not have to resort to these means to get secret information?

MISS BENTLEY. It never occurred to me that way because I think the mistake you make when you look at communism is that you take it as an intellectual process. It is not. It is almost a religion and it gets you so strongly that you take orders blindly. You believe it blindly. That accounts for the fact that no real Communist is religious, nor has any religion.

MR. HÉBERT. You say "you" take it. You do not mean to infer that the members of this committee take it that way. We recognize it for what it is, and that is what we are trying to combat. We do believe it is a religion, and a godless religion.

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct, but in the process your intellectual faculties cease to function in a critical sense.

Mr. HÉBERT. But would you say that these confused liberals, as you describe them, lack the mentality to arrive at a logical conclusion?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I would say they have that mentality, but that that mentality has been dulled by this emotional process.

Mr. HÉBERT. Who spurred this emotionalism on you? Was it this man Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Was it that you were devoted to him so much that you followed him blindly and were blind to everything else?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. So, then, it was an individual case of a personal devotion that swayed you?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; it was.

Mr. HÉBERT. And blinded you to your traitorous acts against your own country?

Miss BENTLEY. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN. I do not want to see you get too far out on a limb on this education proposition. But almost every high educational institution—every institution of higher learning in this country—has a Communist professor on its pay roll, and they are poisoning the minds of the students of this Nation today, so I am not sure that it is purely a question of education. I noticed that some of the smartest ones we have seen, and some of those—this Professor Adler, whose name I tried to bring out this morning—going around and preaching that we must get rid of the United States.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am not getting out on a limb. I am nailing the limb firmly to the tree.

Mr. RANKIN. What I am trying to say is that we have a world of Communist professors in our educational system, and they are poisoning the minds of the young students of this country.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is absolutely correct, and I want to find out where this education starts. It is to our own indictment that in our elementary schools we do not take the child up and teach the child what Americanism is, and when he grows up and gets to a school of higher learning, such as Vassar or Columbia—and I think General Eisenhower has a big thing to do to clean that place up—

Mr. RANKIN. Do you see where the Communists have established a scholarship there?

Mr. HÉBERT. That is criminal. I think as Americans who are interested in this, without any fanfare or fireworks or anything, to get down to the meat of the coconut, I think it is incumbent upon us right at this time as far as we can as individuals in our own individual community, that we should start during the week end to take our children from the time that they can speak to show them what Americanism is, and what it stands for, and I was very much interested to find this out from this witness today, that she was so devoid of knowledge as to what her country meant to her that she was ready to commit acts of treason against her country in time of war. She says she did it under the guise of devotion. I will take her word for that, but I cannot conceive in my own mind of any witness or any individual or any person with the educational background of this witness not knowing right from wrong.

Mr. RANKIN. Not even Remington.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Miss Bentley, you have testified that you—

Mr. HÉBERT. May I interrupt one second to bring this to the attention of the committee, which I am sure the chairman will be interested in. That is this very fine pamphlet prepared by the chief investigator, which is the first of a series and which shows what I mean, the 100 Questions of communism,<sup>1</sup> which is being distributed to the New Orleans public and parochial schools by the archbishop of New Orleans, and the superintendent of public schools in New Orleans, so that the children will immediately be cognizant of what communism is, and they will know the evil forces at work. And I may say this, too, in connection with our higher schools of learning: I am from Tulane, and to my chagrin there are more Communists who infest that place than Americans. There is one man named Franklin, in that connection, Mr. Mundt—one man named Franklin who taught the Communist line to the students of Tulane University, and who is now on leave from that university on an appointment to the United Nations, and I cannot find out who put him there.

Mr. RANKIN. When you say the university, you mean the professors.

Mr. HÉBERT. The professors.

Mr. NIXON. Miss Bentley, you testified that among those with whom you had some dealings during the period that you were working with this ring was one Lauchlin Currie, who was in the White House, on the White House staff, at that time, I believe?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Do I understand that you met Mr. Currie personally?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I did not.

Mr. NIXON. What connection did you have with him?

Miss BENTLEY. The information that he gave was generally given to George Silverman who relayed that to Mr. Silvermaster or Mr. Ullmann or Mrs. Silvermaster, and I picked it up when I went to the Silvermaster house.

Mr. NIXON. How did Silverman get it; did he get it directly from Mr. Currie?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I understand that they went to Harvard together, and were great friends.

Mr. NIXON. Was Mr. Silverman connected with Mr. Currie the same way? Did they work in the same office?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I do not believe so. Mr. Silverman was first with the Railroad Retirement Board, and later with the Air Corps, so I do not see how there could be a job connection.

Mr. NIXON. How did you know that Mr. Currie gave this information to Mr. Silverman?

Miss BENTLEY. Because I was told that by Mr. Silvermaster and Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. NIXON. I see. And the information that was received from Mr. Currie via Mr. Silverman was taken by you and turned over to the Russian agents?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. That is correct. As to any specific information that was obtained in this manner, is it my understanding that you testified that

<sup>1</sup> "100 Things You Should Know About Communism in the U. S. A.," pamphlet issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities, June 1948.

the information concerning the breaking of the Russian code was obtained through Mr. Currie?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. NIXON. How do you know that?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, Mr. Silvermaster told me that one day Mr. Currie came dashing into Mr. Silverman's house, sort of out of breath, and told him that the Americans were on the verge of breaking the Soviet code. Mr. Silverman, of course, got immediately—in due course, got in touch with Mr. Silvermaster.

MR. NIXON. And Mr. Silvermaster conveyed that information to you?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. NIXON. Was there any other information, specific information, that you know of that was obtained through Mr. Currie?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; some of the information on our relations with China—I mean whether this Government would support Chiang Kai-shek, or the Eighth Route Army people. His value also lay, as I said, in helping Mr. Silvermaster into his job and easing him out of his job, and so on. He was sort of a friend of court.

MR. NIXON. He was a friend at court in seeing that the members of the ring obtained positions in Government where they could be productive. As you indicated.

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Currie was the man who the members of the ring went to see in the event they were attempting to get a transfer to a productive agency?

MISS BENTLEY. He was one of the people; yes.

MR. NIXON. Where there others who assisted in that particular thing?

MISS BENTLEY. I do not know who those other people were. They were upper people. Mr. White, of course, helped get people into place and some of the others.

MR. NIXON. Do you know whether Mr. Niles participated in that activity or not?

MISS BENTLEY. Not to my knowledge. I know next to nothing about Mr. Niles.

MR. NIXON. When you obtained this information, as you have indicated you have from various people who were in the ring, who at that time were employed in the Government in responsible positions, did they know that you were going to take this information and turn it over to the Soviet agents?

MISS BENTLEY. Some did; some did not.

MR. NIXON. Well, now, those who did not know, why did they give you the information? Why did they think they were giving to it you? For what purpose?

MISS BENTLEY. That is a question I do not know the answer to. I know that both the Silvermasters and Ullmann knew exactly where it was going. From what they said, Mr. White knew where it was going but preferred not to mention the fact. They were undecided as to whether Mr. Currie knew or not, but they suspected that he did. Others of them, I am not sure about. Some of them may have thought it was going to the Communist Party headquarters for use by Earl Browder, or others may have guessed the truth. It just was not discussed, and, therefore, I cannot give you the answer.

Mr. NIXON. You mean that some of these people might have given this information for the purpose or what they thought was the purpose of merely aiding the Communist Party in the United States?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct, yes; that was especially true of the individuals that I contacted, because they were told by Mr. Golos that this information was for the personal use of Earl Browder in preparing books and in preparing policies of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. And then, as a matter of fact, once Mr. Browder obtained the information, or once you obtained the information, however, it was turned over directly to the Soviet agents?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; it was.

Mr. NIXON. So, we have a situation then where those who furnished the information might not have been aware—

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Of the fact that it was going to a Soviet agent in every case?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. At the time that these events were occurring, that you were in this particular activity, the Russians at that time were allies of the United States; were they not?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. NIXON. Those people who did know, as you testified some did know, that this information was going—

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. To the Soviet agents, as far as they were concerned, did they realize that by giving that information, making that information available to the Russians, it was not in the best interests of the United States?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say that their point of view was roughly the fact that as Communists they were interested in Russia because Russia already had a Communist government. They wished for a Communist government in this country. Therefore, they felt that it was their duty to aid a country which had a Communist government. They also felt that Russia was bearing the brunt of the war—you remember, the Germans drove straight through—that she was inadequately prepared, and they told me that in the course of their dealings with the American Government they felt that there were elements in the American Government who were blocking aid in Russia at the time when they felt it was absolutely necessary for her survival.

Mr. NIXON. Were they aware of the fact that by furnishing this information to Russia they were violating the laws of the United States?

Miss BENTLEY. I would think so, because I imagine most of them—hadn't they signed affidavits or something when they took these secret jobs that said you should not give out that information?

Mr. NIXON. In other words, as far as these people were concerned, they were placing the interests, during the war—they were placing the interests of the Soviet Government above that of their own Government?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say that was correct; yes.

Mr. NIXON. And when they furnished this information, they knew that they were doing something which was not in the best interests of the Government of the United States as it then existed, and as they worked for it.

MISS BENTLEY. I hardly know how to answer that, because they felt they were acting in the best interests of the American Government; that is to say, the elements which they approved of.

MR. NIXON. I see.

MISS BENTLEY. But they felt that they were acting against the elements who were anti-Russian, so it is hard to break the thing down.

MR. NIXON. They knew they were not acting in the best interests of the non-Communist American Government?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

MR. NIXON. And they would act in the best interests of the American Government where they felt that that Government was serving communistic purposes; isn't that the case?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

MR. NIXON. And wherever the interests of this Government came in conflict with the Communist Government, in effect, they would be willing to do anything for the purpose of aiding Communist Government where its interests conflicted with those of the non-Communist American Government?

MISS BENTLEY. I would imagine so, up to a point. It would depend. I don't know how far these people would have gone.

MR. NIXON. Well, certainly, they were willing to engage in this type of activity that you have indicated.

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. NIXON. Of violating their oath of office, and obtaining secret documents.

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. NIXON. And seeing to it that it got into the hands of a foreign government.

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. NIXON. Miss Bentley, were you aware of the fact when you decided to turn this information over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation that you ran a considerable personal risk in doing so?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I was quite aware of it. I also realized that there would be a considerable mud-slinging campaign from the left, which was also unpleasant.

MR. NIXON. Were you aware of the fact that in addition to the mud-slinging you might run a risk greater than that?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I knew that.

MR. NIXON. And you were willing to take that risk in doing so?

MISS BENTLEY. Certainly, because I felt that since I had been mixed up in this thing it was my duty to unscramble it, so to speak.

MR. NIXON. And that is the reason that you did turn this information over to our investigative authorities?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

MR. NIXON. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman, but I would like to say—well, I have just one other question.

How long have you been working with the investigative authorities of our Government?

MISS BENTLEY. Since I went in to see them.

MR. NIXON. And when was that?

MISS BENTLEY. The latter part of August 1945.

MR. NIXON. In other words, the investigative authorities of this country have been aware of this testimony that you have given to us today since August of 1945?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, possibly later, because there was so much of it that had to be taken down and gone over, so I would set the final date a bit further than that.

Mr. NIXON. About how much later?

Miss BENTLEY. I do not know exactly.

Mr. NIXON. Well, say 3 months?

Miss BENTLEY. Three or four months, yes, because all of it had to be taken down in great detail and had to be gone into.

Mr. NIXON. Well, at least, by February of 1946, which would be 4 months—

Miss BENTLEY. I should think so.

Mr. NIXON (continuing). The investigative agencies of this country, the Department of Justice, were fully aware of all this testimony that you have given to us today.

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And it was in the files of the Government?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, it is quite apparent, Mr. Chairman, that this information has been available as to these Government employees for a period of almost 2 years.

Mr. MUNDT. It is also quite apparent that we need a new Attorney General.

Mr. RANKIN. Does that apply to Remington, too? [Laughter.]

Mr. NIXON. Well, from that standpoint, Mr. Remington is still on the Government pay roll. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that I have no further questions.

I think that, although obviously we would be critical of any person who would, of course, indulge in the type of activities which the people involved in this ring did indulge in—that certainly this witness deserves the commendation of the members of the committee and, I think, of the American public generally for the courage which she has displayed once she saw what was happening in coming to the investigative agencies of this country and now in open session and telling her story.

I think that those of us who have been dealing in this field with Communist espionage, and who know the ends to which the Communists would go in attempting to see that such information does not reach the agencies that might prosecute them, certainly know that she did take a considerable risk, and I certainly believe she deserves commendation from all of us for having taken that risk.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I have one or two questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. You say that you never met Mr. Currie?

Miss BENTLEY. Not personally; no.

Mr. RANKIN. You never saw him?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. RANKIN. You would not know him if you saw him?

Miss BENTLEY. I think I have seen his picture in the papers, but I do not know if I would recognize him.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, this information that came to you through a man named Silverman—

Miss BENTLEY. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN (continuing). Was passed on to a man named Silvermaster.

Miss BENTLEY. Or Mr. Ullmann, depending on the situation.



Mr. RANKIN. It came to you third hand?

Miss BENTLEY. Correct.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, Silverman, you say, is a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. And Silvermaster is a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. And no Communist has any regard for the truth, has he?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, it depends on the situation.

Mr. RANKIN. That is what I say. They have no regard for the truth. When it suits their purpose to lie they just as soon lie as tell the truth; is that not right?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, the thing that disturbs me is that you take the testimony, the statement of two men, Silverman and Silvermaster, relayed from one to the other, about what this Scotchman in the White House, Mr. Currie, said about communism.

Did you ever investigate to find out whether or not Silverman or Silvermaster were telling the truth?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, for one thing, in espionage rings you cannot investigate. They are built up on this particular type of flimsy connection.

Mr. RANKIN. Well, here we have gone on all day—here is what is disturbing me—I would not know Mr. Currie; I am fairly familiar with the incumbents of the White House and have been for the last 15 or 20 years. I do not know him. I know Mr. McIntyre and Steve Early, and all those gentlemen, but the thing that disturbs me is that here we are voting by a vote of 3 to 2 to keep from inquiring about one man, and yet we have put this committee—we have put in the whole day accepting from an ex-Communist, which you admit you are, testimony relayed through two Communists as to what this man Currie in the White House is supposed to have said.

Now, that looks to me as if we are going pretty far afield when we take that kind of testimony and charge all this up to Mr. Currie. When I glance over the list I see several that seem to me who would be more likely to have given that information than Currie, who occupied similar positions. But here we put in a whole day, a whole day, smearing Currie by remote control through two Communists, either one of whom you admit would swear to a lie just as soon as he would swear to the truth if it suited his purposes, and relayed to you, who at that time was a member of the Communist Party. We have come in here and put in a whole day with that kind of testimony about a man who happened to occupy a rather responsible position in the White House, and yet we shy around and we are denied the opportunity or the right to ask a question about this man Remington, who is still on the pay roll.

Miss BENTLEY. Might I say just one thing in that respect? It is quite true that Communists lie to the outside world. It is not true that they lie within the party, particularly to the person whom they regard as their superior. They do not do that. That was what was told me by Mr. Silvermaster. I have every reason to believe that he was telling me the truth. I have no desire to smear anyone. I have simply told the facts as they were told to me. It is up to the committee to decide whether or not that is credible or not.

MR. RANKIN. You certainly have an unlimited credibility. If you would take the word of any Communist, Silverman or Silvermaster, or both of them, and I believe you named another one, whom you relayed it through, who was also a Communist, if you take that testimony as to what this man Currie, as I said, a Scotchman, has said about the Communists—it just looks to me as if we have gone pretty far afield here to smear this man by remote control, instead of getting someone who heard him or who knew that he had made any statement.

Now, I am not defending anybody. Every Communist in the United States ought to be shipped out of this country. Instead of opening the gates of immigration, they should put them in reverse and ship out by boatload until we get rid of these Communists in this country, those should be shipped out. That is how strong I feel about it. If this man Currie was doing this, he ought to have been shot, and if he was not, Silverman ought to have been shot, and Silvermaster ought to have been shot. If they were making up this stuff, if it was to their benefit to smear Currie, they ought to be shot.

The CHAIRMAN. We will leave the shooting up to somebody else.

MR. RANKIN. I would like to ask, and I am denied the right to ask you, one question about Remington.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Mr. Hébert?

MR. HÉBERT. No, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MUNDT. I have a question. I wonder, Miss Bentley, have you ever had occasion to read the Communist-control bill which was reported out by the House, and referred to frequently as the Mundt-Nixon bill, in the newspaper, which was passed by the House?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I studied it quite thoroughly. I was very much interested in it.

MR. MUNDT. From your knowledge of how the Communist espionage activities take place, and how the Communists operate in this country, do you feel that that would be an effective piece of legislation if it ultimately wins Senate approval?

MISS BENTLEY. I do very definitely because without putting them underground, it brings them out in the open and makes them stand up and be counted; and I think that if all propaganda was labeled where it came from, and people were labeled as to what they are, that the real face behind the mask would come out in the open, and a lot of naive dupes who have been taken in by this would certainly not be taken in any longer.

MR. MUNDT. And it certainly would not make it more difficult, even with an Attorney General of the kind that we have now, for a Communist to hold a position with the Federal Government if he recognized that it would be a penitentiary offense?

MISS BENTLEY. Exactly. I imagine that the Attorney General and the authorities have been hampered by present regulations on communism, since they must be guided by laws.

MR. MUNDT. I think that is right. But the thing that disturbs us in the committee is that the same Attorney General, who says he is hampered by present legislation, seeks to hinder new legislation that would do the job.

MR. RANKIN. If you will get your leader in the United States Senate to make a motion to discharge a bill from committee and get it

before the Senate for passage, he will get it ready to be passed this week.

Mr. MUNDT. I will try to do that. He is awfully busy working on your poll-tax bill. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon, do you have any more questions?

Mr. NIXON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell, do you have any more questions?

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman, but I would like to say something in view of the questions that have been asked and the position that the witness has been placed in.

It is very familiar to all of us in the committee that intelligent education is no bar to being a Communist; that actually thousands of the leading Communists of America and the world are highly educated people who, by some means, become Communists.

In your case, it was a matter of your emotions which led you into this dismal world, and I think the committee should recognize, and that all Americans should recognize, that when you discovered what it was, you did the only proper, good, and decent thing that you could do.

I would like to point out to the members of the committee that here in Washington and elsewhere in the United States on the pay roll of the United States are former members of the Communist Party who discovered their error, and when they got fair jobs, and good jobs, and decided that that sort of life was comfortable and easy, they slid out of communism, and did nothing to rectify the damage that they did.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, here is an American citizen who delved into this business, and now has the courage to walk through the valley of the shadow of publicity that she is doing now, and I want to commend her, and I think that every member of this committee will properly join me in that, and I would like to make this point, Mr. Chairman, that I assume that her subpoena will be extended for perhaps another hearing to be held in the future, and I would like to point out to all the members of this committee, and all the members of the staff of this Committee on Un-American Activities, they know that she has placed herself in a highly dangerous position. We all know, all of us on the committee, that young women have disappeared from the face of the earth here in the United States because the Communists thought they betrayed the Communist Party.

We know that they murder, they slaughter, and do everything; and I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that in your closing remarks you order the operators of the committee to be available to her if she should need them, that the marshals in New York City, or wherever she should be, should be alerted, and the Attorney General, and the FBI.

Mr. RANKIN. I just want to say that I commend the lady very highly for coming here and giving this information, and one of the last witnesses that I know of who turned and exposed the Communist Party before this committee was a Negro. They had taken him to Moscow to teach him how to do revolutionary work, how to burn warehouses, how to blow up dams and essential materials, and he sat in that witness stand, and I realized that he was going through the same danger that you are going through now. I know that better than any-

body else on the committee, because I get more threats than any other Member of Congress, and not only did I try to keep the Dies committee alive, but I created this committee as a standing committee of the House. It has done more to expose the Communists in this country than any other agency, or all of the agencies of the Government combined.

I congratulate you on coming and making this statement, regardless of the errors, and I think you are rather late in seeing the light, but better late than never, and I commend you on the statements that you have made, and I am sorry I cannot ask you any questions on Remington.

The CHAIRMAN. I had one or two questions.

When you had these meetings with the Assistant Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, in what year were they held?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, I met him originally in October 1944, and the last time I saw him was late in November 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. How did he contact you?

Miss BENTLEY. The contact I had at that time arranged for me to meet him, that I was to meet him at a drug store on M Street and Wisconsin Avenue, and I have forgotten the word we used, but I was to carry a copy of Time magazine, I think, and he was to come up and ask me if I was not his old friend Mary, and I was to say, "Yes," I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, how did he contact you so that you would have the meeting? Was it by telephone?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, no; it was through a contact that I had at that time, another Russian contact made the engagement.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall what his name was?

Miss BENTLEY. I do not know his real name. He was known as Jack.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you mentioned, and this is one more point that I have and the only point that I have reference to, you mentioned that Silverman or Silvermaster, I guess it was, knew about D-day before anyone else that you had conferred with. Why did you make a point of that?

Miss BENTLEY. I suppose because it just stuck in my mind out of all the other things.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did he know about D-day many days before or—

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; it came actually from Mr. Ullmann, not from Mr. Silvermaster.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Ullmann said that Silvermaster knew all about D-day before?

Miss BENTLEY. No; Mr. Ullmann was in the Pentagon with the Air Corps, and through his connections with General Hilldring's office he had learned the date, and I remember it distinctly because with that knowledge he was betting with a friend of his when D-day would be and, of course, he won the bet, since he knew it ahead of time.

The CHAIRMAN. When you were interrogated by the FBI, did they—I assume they looked over all of your correspondence and papers, and anything that you had?

Miss BENTLEY. I did not have any papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any written contacts at all with any of these Russians or with any of these Communists?

Miss BENTLEY. Written contact with the Russians? No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any long-distance telephone conversations with any of them?

Miss BENTLEY. With the Russians? No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any long-distance telephone conversations with Silvermaster?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. Helen Silvermaster called me once long distance in the fall of 1941, I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. She called you from Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. She called me from Washington at my home.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home? Where was your home then?

Miss BENTLEY. 58 Barrow Street.

The CHAIRMAN. New York City?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember any other long-distance telephone calls that you got from any of these people?

Miss BENTLEY. I think those were the only ones that I knew of, yes. That is the only one. I might explain that very few of these people knew my real name and my phone number, so that it would not have been possible for them to call me, and I never made a practice of calling people long distance, so that accounts for that fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anyone else have any questions?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, the chairman made reference to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in his interrogating of the witness. I think that we all recognize that the testimony that we have received today, of course, would need some corroboration. The only witnesses that we have indicated as yet that we are going to have are those that have been named as having participated in the ring. I believe that the chair could well take under consideration the question of calling before the committee the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to obtain any corroborative evidence that he may have as to these activities.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say a word about that. The closest relationship exists between this committee and the FBI. I cannot say as much as between this committee and the Attorney General's office, but the closest relationship exists between this committee and the FBI. I think there is a very good understanding between us. It is something, however, that we cannot talk too much about. I am quite certain that if they felt that they could give us anything, without endangering their own position, or in any way endangering their sources of information, they would be glad to cooperate.

Now, I want to say this to the witness before something else: We appreciate very much your being a witness before this committee, and we fully realize that you have had a gruelling time of it over the past years, particularly the past few months. Your ability to stand up under it in the way you have is certainly something to be proud of. I thank you very much for coming, and you will remain under our subpoena, however, and you should expect to be called back at an early date.

In the meantime, we shall keep in touch with you, and we would appreciate it if you would advise Mr. Stripling on how you could be

reached at all times, and where you can be reached, and always directly, through no intermediary.

So, we will probably see you in the near future, and we thank you.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, you mentioned General Hilldring of the Air Corps.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not know his first name?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I am sorry, I do not, but I believe his name was in all the papers at the time, and I believe he is a fairly famous individual.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I ask that we be permitted to put his full name into the record, if you can ascertain it. We have attempted to do so at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Whose full name?

Mr. STRIPLING. General Hilldring. If there was a General Hilldring connected with the Air Force during that period, we would like permission to insert his full name into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it is so ordered as to putting the full name in.

(Full name inserted in record: Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring, retired 1946.)

Are there any other questions?

Now, the Chair would also like to announce that the committee will go into executive session just as soon as possible to determine who the next witness will be, but from now on, most of the witnesses, as far as I am concerned, all of the witnesses will be heard in public hearing, and we will have Silvermaster and your friend Remington, and many of the other witnesses who were invited today, and they will all be given an opportunity to be heard, and we will be given an opportunity to question them at length.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I want to comment on what you said about the FBI. I agree with everything you say about the FBI. I think Edgar Hoover is one of the great men of this country, but I do think that the FBI ought to be made an independent agency, and I have a bill pending in this House for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything more to bring up today by any member of the committee or Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Not in open session.

The CHAIRMAN. If not, we will adjourn.

(Whereupon, at 3:45 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 11 a. m., in the hearing room of the Committee on Ways and Means, New House Office Building, Hon. Karl E. Mundt, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Karl E. Mundt, John McDowell, Richard M. Nixon, John E. Rankin, J. Hardin Peterson, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis Russell, William Wheeler, and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

Mr. MUNDT. The hearing will come to order. The members present are Messrs. McDowell, Nixon, Rankin, Peterson, Hébert, and Mundt.

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. Chambers, will you stand and raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

Mr. MUNDT. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, you are here before the committee in response to a subpoena that was served on you yesterday by Mr. Stephen W. Birmingham. Is that correct?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state your full name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My name is David Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, will you raise your voice a little, please?

What is your present address?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 9 Rockefeller Plaza.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is your business address?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am senior editor of Time magazine.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was born April 1, 1901, in Philadelphia.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been associated with Time magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Nine years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Prior to that time what was your occupation?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was a member of the Communist Party and a paid functionary of the party.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first join the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1924.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chambers, people at the press table still feel they can't hear you. Will you please speak louder?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I will speak as loud as I can.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you repeat when you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I joined the Communist Party in 1924.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Until 1937.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you disassociate yourself with the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I should like to read a statement if I may.

Mr. STRIPLING. A statement you have prepared yourself?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That I have myself prepared.

Mr. STRIPLING. I suggest the witness be permitted to read this. He has shown it to me.

Mr. MUNDT. I take it the statement you are about to read will indicate why you did disassociate yourself from the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I will try to do so.

Mr. RANKIN. And we will be permitted to question him after this statement?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes, sir.

You will be permitted to read it.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Almost exactly 9 years ago—that is, 2 days after Hitler and Stalin signed their pact—I went to Washington and reported to the authorities what I knew about the infiltration of the United States Government by Communists. For years international communism, of which the United States Communist Party is an integral part, had been in a state of undeclared war with this Republic. With the Hitler-Stalin pact, that war reached a new stage. I regarded my action in going to the Government as a simple act of war, like the shooting of an armed enemy in combat.

At that moment in history, I was one of the few men on this side of the battle who could perform this service.

I had joined the Communist Party in 1924. No one recruited me. I had become convinced that the society in which we live, western civilization, had reached a crisis, of which the First World War was the military expression, and that it was doomed to collapse or revert to barbarism. I did not understand the causes of the crisis or know what to do about it. But I felt that, as an intelligent man, I must do something. In the writings of Karl Marx I thought that I had found the explanation of the historical and economic causes. In the writ-



ings of Lenin I thought I had found the answer to the question. What to do?

In 1937 I repudiated Marx' doctrines and Lenin's tactics. Experience and the record had convinced me that communism is a form of totalitarianism, that its triumph means slavery to men wherever they fall under its sway, and spiritual night to the human mind and soul. I resolved to break with the Communist Party at whatever risk to my life or other tragedy to myself or my family. Yet, so strong is the hold which the insidious evil of communism secures on its disciples, that I could still say to someone at the time: "I know that I am leaving the winning side for the losing side, but it is better to die on the losing side than to live under communism."

For a year I lived in hiding, sleeping by day and watching through the night with gun or revolver within easy reach. That was what underground communism could do to one man in the peaceful United States in the year 1938.

I had sound reason for supposing that the Communists might try to kill me. For a number of years I had myself served in the underground, chiefly in Washington, D. C. The heart of my report to the United States Government consisted of a description of the apparatus to which I was attached. It was an underground organization of the United States Communist Party developed, to the best of my knowledge, by Harold Ware, one of the sons of the Communist leader known as "Mother Bloor." I knew it at its top level, a group of seven or so men, from among whom in later years certain members of Miss Bentley's organization were apparently recruited. The head of the underground group at the time I knew it was Nathan Witt, an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board. Later, John Abt became the leader. Lee Pressman was also a member of this group, as was Alger Hiss, who, as a member of the State Department, later organized the conferences at Dumbarton Oaks, San Francisco, and the United States side of the Yalta Conference.

The purpose of this group at that time was not primarily espionage. Its original purpose was the Communist infiltration of the American Government. But espionage was certainly one of its eventual objectives. Let no one be surprised at this statement. Disloyalty is a matter of principle with every member of the Communist Party. The Communist Party exists for the specific purpose of overthrowing the Government, at the opportune time, by any and all means; and each of its members, by the fact that he is a member, is dedicated to this purpose.

It is 10 years since I broke away from the Communist Party. During that decade I have sought to live an industrious and God-fearing life. At the same time I have fought communism constantly by act and written word. I am proud to appear before this committee. The publicity inseparable from such testimony has darkened, and will no doubt continue to darken, my effort to integrate myself in the community of free men. But that is a small price to pay if my testimony helps to make Americans recognize at last that they are at grips with a secret, sinister, and enormously powerful force whose tireless purpose is their enslavement.

At the same time, I should like, thus publicly, to call upon all ex-Communists who have not yet declared themselves, and all men within

the Communist Party whose better instincts have not yet been corrupted and crushed by it, to aid in this struggle while there is still time to do so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, in your statement you stated that you yourself had served the underground, chiefly in Washington, D. C. What underground apparatus are you speaking of and when was it established?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Perhaps we should make a distinction at the beginning. It is Communist theory and practice that even in countries where the Communist Party is legal, an underground party exists side by side with the open party.

The apparatus in Washington was an organization or group of that underground.

Mr. RANKIN. When you speak of the apparatus in Washington you mean the Communist cell, do you not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I mean in effect a group of Communist cells.

Mr. RANKIN. A group of Communist cells when you speak of "apparatus"?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was a plan devised by the Communists to infiltrate the Government of the United States for the purpose of using these cells for the benefit of the Soviet Union?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would certainly say that that would be an ultimate objective.

Mr. STRIPLING. What about the particular apparatus to which you referred in your statement?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Do you mean was it a Soviet agency?

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it established for the purpose of causing people in the Government to serve the ultimate objectives of the Soviet Union?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think you could only say that in the extreme sense the American party is an agency which serves the purpose of the Soviet Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who comprised this cell or apparatus to which you referred?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The apparatus was organized with a leading group of seven men, each of whom was a leader of the cell.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you name the seven individuals?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The head of the group as I have said was at first Nathan Witt. Other members of the group were Lee Pressman, Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Victor Perlo, Charles Kramer—

Mr. MUNDT. What was Charles Kramer's correct name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think his original name was Krevitsky, and John Abt—I don't know if I mentioned him before or not—and Henry Collins.

Mr. RANKIN. How about Harold Ware?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Harold Ware was, of course, the organizer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harold Ware was the son of Ella Reeve Bloor, the woman Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know where in the Government these seven individuals were employed?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did at one time. I think I could remember some of them.

Henry Collins was in the Department of Agriculture, Alger Hiss at that time I think was in the Munitions Investigation Committee or whatever the official title was, and Donald Hiss I think is in the Labor Department, connected with immigration.

I don't know offhand what the others were doing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Nathan Witt was employed in the AAA, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration?

Mr. CHAMBERS. A number of these men had been in the AAA. I think at that time Witt had already entered the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Lee Pressman was also in the AAA?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was at one time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have a document here which shows the employment history of Lee Pressman.

Mr. MUNDT. Will you identify the document, please?

Mr. STRIPLING. It is Who's Who.

Mr. RANKIN. Who's Who in American Jewry; isn't it?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; Who's Who in American Jewry. He was assistant general counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Washington, D. C., from 1933 until 1935, appointed by Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace. Then he was general counsel in Works Progress Administration from 1935, appointed by Harry L. Hopkins. Then he was general counsel of the Resettlement Administration, 1935, appointed by Rexford G. Tugwell. He was general counsel, June 1936, for the Committee for Industrial Organization and for the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. General counsel, March 1937, for Textile Workers' Organizing Committee.

Mr. Chairman, that completes his employment with the Government service prior to his going with the CIO.

Do you know where John Abt was employed?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't. I have forgotten where he was at that time.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you have his employment record?

Mr. STRIPLING. According to Who's Who in Labor, Mr. Chairman, he gives his Government service as follows:

Chief of Litigation, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, 1933 to 1935; assistant general counsel of the WPA in 1935; chief counsel of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, 1936 to 1937; special assistant to the United States Attorney General, 1937 and 1938. He is now with the Progressive Party of Mr. Wallace.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean this Lee Pressman is supporting Mr. Wallace for the Presidency?

Mr. STRIPLING. He is associated in an official capacity with the Progressive Party.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. John Abt also.

Mr. STRIPLING. He likewise is associated with Mr. Wallace.

Mr. HÉBERT. There is no secret about the tie-up between Wallace and the Communists. There is no need to pursue that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall where Donald Hiss was employed at the time of this infiltration?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe he was in the Department of Labor connected with Immigration.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, according to our check—I haven't checked back that far—but he is listed as an employee of the State Department February 1, 1938, to March 26, 1945.

Mr. MUNDT. Is Donald Hiss a brother of Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Younger brother of Alger Hiss.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have here the employment record of Alger Hiss.

Mr. MUNDT. I think you should read that into the record, including his present employment.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1929 to 1930 he was secretary and law clerk to a Supreme Court justice. From 1930 until 1933 he engaged in the practice of law.

Mr. RANKIN. May I ask what Supreme Court justice was he clerk for?

Mr. STRIPLING. I will furnish you that, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. I would like to have it in this record right here and now. Can you give me that information?

Mr. STRIPLING. I will furnish you that.

From 1933 to 1935 he was employed by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. However, during the year 1934 he was also attached to a special Senate committee investigating the munitions industry.

In 1935 he was employed as a special attorney by the Department of Justice. September 13, 1936, he was appointed an assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State. That is the information that I have as of this time.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you have the record of when he left the State Department?

Mr. STRIPLING. That information will be forthcoming very shortly.

Mr. MUNDT. And why. Do you have the reason why he was removed from the State Department?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no information that he was removed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chambers, in connection with this apparatus operating here, what was your participation or your function in connection with it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Originally I came to Washington to act as a courier between New York and Washington, which in effect was between this apparatus and New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you a paid functionary of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you meet with all these men you mentioned?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet with them?

Mr. CHAMBERS. At the home, the apartment of Henry Collins, which was at St. Matthews Court here in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did this apparatus have a so-called headquarters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It wasn't called a headquarters, but the St. Matthews Court apartment was the closest thing to a headquarters it had.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Hal Ware also have an apartment where you met from time to time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; he undoubtedly had an apartment, but no one met there that I know of.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did his sister have a studio near Dupont Circle?

Mr. CHAMBERS. His sister had a violin studio near Dupont Circle, which was used as a kind of casual meeting place or rendezvous for members of the group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you say most of the meetings were held in Henry Collins' apartment?

Mr. CHAMBERS. All the group meetings were held there, not in the studio.

Mr. STRIPLING. Henry Collins' apartment?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Who was the woman who ran the studio?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Helen Ware.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, when you met with these people at Mr. Collins' apartment, did you collect Communist Party dues from them?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did not, but the Communist Party dues were handed over to me by Collins, who was the treasurer of that group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were all of these people members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did an individual by the name of J. Peters have anything to do with the operation of this group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. J. Peters was, to the best of my knowledge, the head of the whole underground United States Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he from time to time come to Washington?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he responsible for the setting up of this group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Ultimately he must have been. He was certainly Harold Ware's superior.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know what J. Peters real name is?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have been told, I think it was Goldenweis, or some such name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Goldberger?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Goldberger.

Mr. RANKIN. What was his given name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was known to me for years simply as Peters.

Mr. STRIPLING. His name, Mr. Rankin, is well known in Communist Party circles. He has gone under the name of J. Peters, also under the name of Alexander Stevens, and has traveled on false passports under the name of Isidore Boorstein.

On October 30, 1946—

Mr. CHAMBERS. May I interrupt?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Peters told me at one time that he had been a petty officer in the Austrian Army during World War I. After the Bela Kun revolution in Hungary he was a member of the Soviet Government of Hungary, I think, in the agricultural commissariat.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Un-American Activities on August 19, 1947, issued a subpoena to be served upon J. Peters calling for his appearance before the committee on October 30 of that year. We made a very diligent effort both in New York City and in up-State New York to serve this subpoena. We have never been able to locate him and we have asked the assistance of the Depart-

ment of Justice and Immigration authorities, but still we have been unable to serve a subpoena upon this individual.

In Communist Party circles, according to our investigation, he has for years been known as the head of the underground.

Was that your understanding, Mr. Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; it was.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were in the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. You say this man was formerly a member of a foreign army and served as a member of the commissariat of a foreign government. Do you know whether he ever became an American citizen?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I do not know. I think the presumption is probably he did not.

Mr. MUNDT. He did not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. The presumption is that the top direction of these espionage activities carried on throughout our governmental departments was conducted by a man who was not an American citizen.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is not an American citizen, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am not surprised.

Mr. STRIPLING. Deportation order has been issued against him in the last year, but his whereabouts is still unknown to us. He is a very important witness.

Mr. MUNDT. Has the Department of Justice ever been able to locate him?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Thomas, the chairman of our committee, communicated with officials of the Justice Department this year, as well as last year, in an effort to locate Mr. Peters, and so far we have not received information as to where he is.

Mr. MUNDT. They will have to modify that statement that they always get their man and add "with the exception of Mr. Peters."

Mr. RANKIN. You understand, Mr. Chairman, in the State of New York under their present FEPC law you can't ask a man who applies for employment what his name was before it was changed or where he came from, so that it is a veritable storm cellar for people of that character.

Mr. STRIPLING. We have in our possession a passport issued October 7, 1931, which was used by Peters to travel to the Soviet Union. The name on the passport is that of Isidore Boorstein.

Mr. MUNDT. How does a man who is not an American citizen get a passport for travel abroad?

Mr. CHAMBERS. May I interrupt? Peters once explained to me his process of securing false passports.

Mr. MUNDT. I wish you would go into that in some detail because there have been many instances and it has become veritable racket where these Communists get passports to visit Soviet Russia.

Mr. CHAMBERS. He told me with great amusement because of the simplicity of the scheme. He had sent up to the genealogical division of the New York Public Library a group of young Communists, I presume, who collated the birth and death records; that is, they found that a child had been born, let us say, in 1900 and died a month or so later or several months later.

The party through some members then wrote to the proper authorities in New York for issuing birth certificates and asked for a birth

certificate in the name of that dead child. The certificate was forthcoming and a passport was then applied for under that name by someone using that birth certificate.

Mr. STRIPLING. We have an example, Mr. Chairman, of a passport being obtained through that same technique by the Communist Party in South Carolina.

Mr. RANKIN. Under the FEPC law in New York, you couldn't even ask that man for his birth certificate or where he came from if he applied for employment.

Mr. McDOWELL. For the present record it ought to be said that many Chinese have entered the United States by that same method in the last 15 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, when you would meet at the apartment of Mr. Collins and he would turn over Communist Party dues, would he turn over any other information to you, any other dues or information other than from these seven people?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, the dues were not simply from the seven people, I believe. Dues were from the whole apparatus, cells which were headed by these seven people.

Mr. STRIPLING. How much money was turned over to you from time to time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it a considerable sum?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My impression was that it was and I believe I heard that because at that time the dues were 10 percent of whatever the individual's salary was.

Mr. MUNDT. Miss Bentley testified before our committee and said that in her capacity as courier between Communist headquarters in New York and Washington, I think chronologically she followed you as courier and did that work, she mentioned that she also brought Communist literature and instructions from New York to Washington. Did you also do that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did.

Mr. MUNDT. You did that, too?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When Miss Bentley testified before the committee last Saturday, Mr. Chambers, she mentioned the name of Victor Perlo as being the head of an espionage group. You have named Victor Perlo as a member of the apparatus.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. At that time do you know whether or not Victor Perlo was employed in the Government?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe at that time Victor Perlo was employed by the Brookings Institution.

Mr. MUNDT. I think we read his employment record into the record of the hearing while Miss Bentley was testifying, did we not?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I have his employment history here. It is already in the record.

Mr. MUNDT. He was employed with the Government several times?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is true, and was with the Brookings Institution, also.

Would you tell the committee, Mr. Chambers, whether or not you ever held any important positions in the Communist Party?

MR. CHAMBERS. I would hesitate to call them important. I was for a number of years the actual editor of the Daily Worker. The nominal editor was Robert Minor.

MR. STRIPLING. Robert Minor?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. During what period was that?

MR. CHAMBERS. I should think from about 1926 until 1929, when I broke with the Communist Party for 2 years, but I broke with it on a matter of tactics and not on a matter of philosophy.

MR. STRIPLING. When you left the Communist Party in 1937 did you approach any of these seven to break with you?

MR. CHAMBERS. No. The only one of those people whom I approached was Alger Hiss. I went to the Hiss home one evening at what I considered considerable risk to myself and found Mrs. Hiss at home. Mrs. Hiss is also a member of the Communist Party.

MR. MUNDT. Mrs. Alger Hiss?

MR. CHAMBERS. Mrs. Alger Hiss. Mrs. Donald Hiss, I believe, is not.

Mrs. Hiss attempted while I was there to make a call, which I can only presume was to other Communists, but I quickly went to the telephone and she hung up, and Mr. Hiss came in shortly afterward, and we talked and I tried to break him away from the party.

As a matter of fact, he cried when we separated; when I left him, but he absolutely refused to break.

MR. McDOWELL. He cried?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes, he did. I was very fond of Mr. Hiss.

MR. MUNDT. He must have given you some reason why he did not want to sever the relationship.

MR. CHAMBERS. His reasons were simply the party line.

MR. HÉBERT. I think there is a differentiation there that the witness has said he broke not because of his philosophy, but because of a disagreement as to tactics. What is the differentiation?

MR. CHAMBERS. It is not of very great importance, but Stalin had recently come to power in Russia in the Communist Party. Here in the United States something entirely new happened within the party. Until then there had always been a majority and a minority group whose equal rights in debate were recognized. With the coming to power of Stalin and the Browder-Foster group in the United States, which represented the Stalin group, that was no longer true. Democracy disappeared from the Communist Party and the minority group was liquidated. In fact, it was the majority group.

MR. McDOWELL. Was that group that was liquidated the Trotskyites?

MR. CHAMBERS. No; it was the Lovestoneites.

MR. HÉBERT. But as I understand your testimony, under Lenin you had democracy; is that right?

MR. CHAMBERS. No.

MR. HÉBERT. You said with the coming of Stalin democracy was wiped out.

MR. CHAMBERS. There was in the Communist Party before Stalin the possibility of open argument between two groups of Communists, so that within the Communist framework there was a kind of democracy.



Mr. HÉBERT. You only quit because of the tactics and mechanics of the party, and not because of a change in philosophy?

Mr. McDOWELL. The Lovestoneites were headed by Jay Lovestone?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is he still a member of the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was expelled in 1929.

Mr. RANKIN. If it had not been for those changes in tactics, would you still be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. At that time I was still a Communist, and I did not leave because I had ceased to be a Communist. I left because of a difference in tactics and a difference in atmosphere.

Mr. RANKIN. When did you cease to be a Communist because of your convictions?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1937.

Mr. RANKIN. Was Louis Budenz ever with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. RANKIN. Do you know him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. MUNDT. As communism is now directed by Stalin from Moscow and as his tactics are now carried out, how would you differentiate between Stalin's communism and Hitler's nazism?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I should find that very difficult to do. I would say that they are most totalitarian forms of government, if you like. I feel quite unable to answer that.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you say they are both different facets of fascism?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think that would lead us into a very long discussion.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you say the differentiation between fascism and communism is a distinction without a difference?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It can be said loosely that communism is a kind of fascism, I think.

Mr. MUNDT. It is pretty hard to find any basic distinction between fascism and communism as communism is practiced by the Stalinists in Moscow and as they direct the activities of the American Communist Party.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think you have raised a philosophical and intellectual point which would require almost a book. It would require almost a book to develop and interpret that.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know of any vital distinction between communism as practiced in Russia and fascism as we generally understand it to be? I know the committee would be very glad to find that distinction because we have been unable to get it from any other witness.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't feel qualified to emphasize the distinction.

Mr. RANKIN. Communism is atheistic, is it not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is.

Mr. RANKIN. One of its basic principles is the wiping out of the Christian church throughout the world?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Wiping out of all religion. Every Communist is ipso facto an atheist.

Mr. RANKIN. It is also dedicated to the destruction of this Government and to the wiping out of the American way of life; is that correct?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; it can be said.

Mr. RANKIN. And also the wiping out of what it calls the capitalist system?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. RANKIN. The right to own private property?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. RANKIN. In other words, communism would make a slave of every American man, woman, and child, excepting the commissars that dominated them; is that correct?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is.

Mr. RANKIN. And would close every Christian church in America?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, the Russian Church seems to have some kind of unhappy existence.

Mr. RANKIN. I understand, but you know that they closed every church in Russia and they were closed at the time you quit the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It can be said quite simply that communism is completely atheistic and is the enemy of religion in every form.

Mr. RANKIN. In other words, they would close all churches of all kinds?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mohammedan mosques, Jewish synagogues, as well as Christian churches.

Mr. MUNDT. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, Miss Bentley testified last Saturday, and she named Harry Dexter White as a person who worked with the espionage group. Did you know Harry Dexter White?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Harry Dexter White a Communist? Was he a Communist, to your knowledge?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can't say positively that he was a registered member of the Communist Party, but he certainly was a fellow traveler so far within the fold that his not being a Communist would be a mistake on both sides.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you go to Harry Dexter White when you left the Communist Party and ask him also to leave the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. You considered him to be a Communist Party member, then?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I accepted an easy phrasing. I didn't ask him to leave the Communist Party, but to break away from the Communist movement.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did he tell you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He left me apparently in a very agitated frame of mind, and I thought I had succeeded. Apparently I did not.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you later have reason to feel that you had failed in that effort?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Miss Bentley's testimony and certain things I heard from other sources assured me that I had failed.

Mr. MUNDT. Assured you that you had failed?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. I think we should have Mr. White identified.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was identified in the record the other day as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and head of Monetary Research.

Mr. HÉBERT. This man White is the same man White Miss Bentley talked about; is that correct?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. His employment record was read into the record on Saturday.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Harold Glasser, who was associated with—

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think I was introduced once or twice to Glasser.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was also named, Mr. Chairman, by Miss Bentley. How many times would you say you met Victor Perlo?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It would be very difficult to say, but I knew him over a period of—

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him rather well?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not very well. I didn't specially like him. He seemed to be a rather sullen and shallow kind of man.

Mr. RANKIN. Do you know where he came from?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual named Owen Latimer?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't.

Mr. MUNDT. You met Victor Perlo at this same Henry Collins' apartment where you met these other gentlemen?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right. It is, in fact, the only place I ever saw him. I might add in that group he was a very minor figure. There was some kind of a struggle going on among these people for headship of the group because at one point Nathan Witt resigned, I suppose, and the headship of this group was elected within the group.

Mr. MUNDT. After your period as courier at the time Miss Bentley took over, at that time Perlo had attained the leadership of one group and Mr. Silvermaster the other, which was the result, I presume, of the struggle you mentioned taking place within the apparatus at that time; is that correct?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't think there was any connection. The rivalry was between John Abt and Victor Perlo, and, as I remember it, the only person who voted in that meeting for Perlo was Perlo.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the actual head of the group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The actual head of the group—well, the elected head of the group was either Witt at one time or Abt, and the organizer of the group had been Harold Ware. The head of the whole business was J. Peters.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harold Ware was employed in the AAA, was he not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know whether he was or not. If I have known, I have forgotten. My impression is he wasn't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall what happened to Harold Ware?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was killed in an automobile accident.

Mr. STRIPLING. Here in Washington?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I think in Pennsylvania.

Mr. RANKIN. What was his real name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. As far as I know, Harold Ware. I never knew him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Aubrey Williams?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I never did.

Mr. RANKIN. You say you are now with Time magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN. Are there any other Communists or ex-Communists in key positions with that magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would say that, like the American Government, Time magazine has had its problems with communism.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean it still has them connected with it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I think being a smaller enterprise we have got rid of our Communists.

Mr. RANKIN. I see a name, William Schlamm. Do you know that man?

Mr. CHAMBERS. William Schlamm was an Austrian Communist who broke with the party in 1929.

Mr. RANKIN. Is he connected with Time magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He is connected with Time, Inc., I believe.

Mr. RANKIN. Time magazine has been rather relentless in its attacks on this committee all along, and I was wondering what was the motive behind it. Can you give us any answer to that.

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't feel qualified. That department of the magazine in which such news would appear I am not connected with.

Mr. RANKIN. I see. Certainly it is no affection for communism.

Mr. STRIPLING. You said you never met Aubrey Williams?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever hear Aubrey Williams' name discussed at any of these meetings?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can't say definitely that I did, but I have heard Communists mention Williams as a friend of the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you don't know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was considered by Communists to be friendly to their cause?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you hear the name of Clark Foreman mentioned?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, I didn't.

Mr. HÉBERT. At any time.

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I am not familiar with that name.

Mr. HÉBERT. Can you at this time elaborate more on your connection with White?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I can.

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, you actually talked to White?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; of course.

Mr. HÉBERT. You discussed matters with him. I think it would be of interest to the committee to know what you discussed with him.

Mr. CHAMBERS. After I had been in Washington a while it was very clear that some of the members of these groups were going places in the Government.

Mr. HÉBERT. What year is this?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I should think about 1936. One of them clearly was Alger Hiss, and it was believed that Henry Collins also might go farther. Another was Lee Pressman. So it was decided by Peters, or by Peters in conference with people whom I don't know, that we would take these people out of that apparatus and separate them from it physically—that is, they would have no further intercourse with the people there—but they would be connected still with that apparatus and with Peters through me.

It was also decided to add to this group certain other people who had not originally been in that apparatus. One of those people was Harry White.

Mr. RANKIN. You referred to a man a while ago by the name of Kramer.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Rankin, would you mind letting him finish with Mr. White?

Mr. RANKIN. Very well.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Do you care to question me about White?

Mr. HÉBERT. I want to finish concerning White.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I thought I had.

Mr. HÉBERT. Was he considered as a source of information to the Communist cell?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. I should perhaps make the point that these people were specifically not wanted to act as sources of information. These people were an elite group, an outstanding group, which it was believed would rise to positions—as, indeed, some of them did—notably Mr. White and Mr. Hiss—in the Government, and their position in the Government would be of very much more service to the Communist Party—

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, White was being used as an unwitting dupe?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would scarcely say “unwitting.”

Mr. HÉBERT. Did he know what he was being used for?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I doubt whether the word “used” is even proper.

Mr. HÉBERT. Employed?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was, as nearly as I know, perfectly willing to cooperate.

Mr. HÉBERT. In your connection with White and your conversations with him—you met him personally and talked with him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. From your conversations with him and his knowledge of the information that the Communist group was securing, or attempting to secure, and his knowledge of the whole set-up, the whole apparatus, would you say from that—in your opinion—that would elicit from him the exclamation over the week end, “This is fantastic! It is shocking!” that he was connected with the Communist group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He made this remark when he was asked—

Mr. HÉBERT. It was reported in the press that when informed of Miss Bentley’s charges against him—and, mind you, Miss Bentley says she never saw White and cannot connect White except by hearsay evidence—that when he was confronted with Miss Bentley’s testimony and the statement she made before the committee last Saturday, his exclamation was “It is fantastic! It is shocking!”

From your information and personal knowledge, do you think that is a spontaneous outburst of surprise that he was connected with such a group in any way, even by remote control, as Mr. Rankin has said?

Mr. CHAMBERS. After my evidence—my testimony—I should think he would have to find some more adjectives.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, would you say, then, that the purpose of the Communist Party—

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Stripling, is he finished with his questions in regard to Mr. White?

Mr. STRIPLING. I want to make an observation in connection with what he said.

Mr. NIXON. All right; and I want to follow that.

Mr. STRIPLING. I want to get clear the status of this select group that infiltrated the Government.

Would you say the purpose was, on the part of the Communists, to establish a beachhead or a base from which they could move further into the Government and obtain positions of power, influence, and possible espionage?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would say power and influence were the paramount objectives.

Mr. STRIPLING. At that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; at that time. You must remember you are dealing with the underground here in a formative stage, with Communists many of whom had not been in the party more than a year or so.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chambers, I want to ask you about this man you referred to a while ago, Charles Kramer. How do you spell that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe it is spelled K-r-a-m-e-r.

Mr. RANKIN. What did you say his real name was?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Krevitsky.

Mr. RANKIN. Where did he come from?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I haven't the remotest idea.

Mr. RANKIN. Was he a Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did hear. I think he came from New York City. He was an NYU man.

Mr. RANKIN. Was he a Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Of course.

Mr. RANKIN. Is that the same man who it was testified worked in the office of Senator Pepper at one time and Senator Kilgore at another?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe he was; yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Do you know whether or not he was one of the men connected with the trumping up the persecution of Senator Bilbo?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am not familiar with that.

Mr. RANKIN. You knew that Communists picketed Senator Bilbo's boarding house within two or three blocks of the Senate Office Building for months and months, did you not?

Mr. MUNDT. I object to the designation of "boarding house." That is an apartment house, in which I live.

Mr. RANKIN. Very well. We will call it an apartment house since Mr. Mundt objects to calling it a boarding house. However, he did have to hold his nose in order to get through that picket line.

You said a moment ago when you quit the Communist Party you carried a gun.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Why did you carry that gun?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I carried the gun because I believed that the Communists might attempt to kill me.

Mr. RANKIN. That is their program, is it, disposing of the men who quit the Communist line?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I wouldn't say it was an invariable program. They never did kill me.

Mr. RANKIN. I understand; but you were prepared for it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It seemed to me that they might very well make the attempt.

Mr. RANKIN. You were doing it because you knew your life was in danger?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. And you knew that if they did get an opportunity to bump you off without getting caught, that would probably be the course they would pursue?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It seemed the natural thing.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chambers, I am very much interested in trying to check the career of Alger Hiss. I know nothing about Donald Hiss; but as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the personnel committee, I have had some occasion to check the activities of Alger Hiss while he was in the State Department.

There is reason to believe that he organized within that Department one of the Communist cells which endeavored to influence our Chinese policy and bring about the condemnation of Chiang Kai-shek, which put Marzani in an important position there, and I think it is important to know what happened to these people after they leave the Government. Do you know where Alger Hiss is employed now?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe Alger Hiss is now the head of the Carnegie Foundation for World Peace.

Mr. MUNDT. That is the same information that had come to me and I am happy to have it confirmed. Certainly there is no hope for world peace under the leadership of men like Alger Hiss.

Mr. RANKIN. Where is the headquarters of that organization?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do not know.

Mr. McDOWELL. New York.

Mr. RANKIN. Under the New York FEPC law, you can't ask this man whether he is a Communist or not, or where he came from, or what his name was before it was changed. You can't even ask for his photograph. Of course, he can get into an institution of that kind in New York, but he couldn't do it in Mississippi.

Mr. CHAMBERS. May I interrupt?

Mr. MUNDT. Proceed.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think Mr. Donald Hiss, who was also in the State Department, is now in Mr. Corcoran's law firm.

Mr. MUNDT. In Washington?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In Washington; and was connected with the negotiating of the loan to Poland.

Mr. MUNDT. Tommy Corcoran, of the Corcoran-Cohen team?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know where any of the other seven people are employed?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I couldn't say.

Mr. RANKIN. Right at that point, don't you think Mr. Carnegie, the rich Scotchman that developed this foundation, would turn over in his grave if he knew that kind of people were running the foundation?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am afraid he would.

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to observe to the committee that—referring back to Mr. White, who was surprised and shocked at the testimony given by Miss Bentley—that the Secretary of the Treasury has more skilled investigators and detectives and various people who are supposed to be able to develop information than any other department of the Government except the Attorney General; and it is pass-

ingly strange that this man could associate and be connected personally with this gang of international conspirators for as long a period as he was and then still not know what he was doing.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, you indicated that 9 years ago you came to Washington and reported to the Government authorities concerning the Communists who were in the Government.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. To what Government agency did you make that report?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Isaac Don Levine, who is now the editor of Plain Talk, approached the late Marvin McIntyre, Mr. Roosevelt's secretary, I believe, and asked him what would be the most proper form in which the information I had to give could be brought before President Roosevelt.

Mr. McIntyre told Mr. Levine that Mr. A. A. Berle, the Assistant Secretary of State, was Mr. Roosevelt's man in intelligence matters.

I then went to see Mr. Berle and told him much of what I have been telling you.

Mr. MUNDT. That was in 1937?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That was in 1939 about 2 days after the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Mr. NIXON. When you saw Mr. Berle then did you discuss generally the people that were in Government, or did you name specific names?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I named specific names, Mr. Hiss among others.

Mr. NIXON. Did you name Mr. Witt?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I certainly did.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Pressman?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Pressman.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Perlo?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think so.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Kramer?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Probably.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Abt?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Ware?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Collins?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, I think so.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. White?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; because at that time I thought that I had broken Mr. White away, and it was about 4 years later that I first told the FBI about Mr. White.

Mr. NIXON. You told the FBI 4 years later when you had become convinced you had not broken him away?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Collins was also in the State Department?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I think he went in during the war.

Mr. MUNDT. He belonged to the Alger Hiss cell in the State Department?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He did.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Berle, is he the present head of the Liberal Party of New York State?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am not sure whether he is or not.



Mr. McDOWELL. Was he the A. A. Berle who became an Ambassador to one of the South American countries?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Brazil, I believe. He is an anti-Communist, it should be said, and a very intelligent man.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Berle?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Berle is an anti-Communist.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, were you informed of any action that was taken as a result of your report to the Government at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I was not. I assumed that action would be taken right away which was, of course, rather naive of me; and it wasn't until a great deal later that I discovered apparently nothing had been done.

Mr. NIXON. It is significant, I think, that the report was made 2 days after the Stalin-Hitler pact at the time, in other words, when we could not say by any stretch of the imagination that the Russians were our allies; and yet, apparently, no action was taken.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, we are here in an area of government which I am not qualified to talk about.

Mr. RANKIN. What is that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. We are here in an area of government policies I am not qualified to talk about.

Mr. NIXON. I understand.

Mr. MUNDT. At the time you reported these names to Mr. Berle, you had reason to believe that Communist Russia might well become an active enemy of this country rather than a friend through that Stalin-Hitler Pact?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I never supposed Russia at any time was anything but an enemy of this country. It is an enemy of all democratic countries.

Mr. RANKIN. I would like to ask about this statement. In your statement which you read to the committee awhile ago you use this statement:

"Disloyalty is a matter of principle with every member of the Communist Party."

That was true back in the days when you were a member, was it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was true from the time of the First International.

Mr. RANKIN. You knew it was true then?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Of course.

Mr. RANKIN. You say the Communist Party exists for the specific purpose of overthrowing the Government at the opportune time by

Mr. RANKIN. Now, you mentioned a while ago Kramer. He is a member is dedicated to this purpose. That was the case when you were a member and that is the case today?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That has been the case for just 100 years.

Mr. RANKIN. In other words, every Communist who is now meeting in New York is dedicated to the destruction of this Government?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I refer you to the words of Marx and Lenin.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, you mentioned a while ago Kramer. He is the fellow Krevitsky we referred to before?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the witness:

Did you know a man named Saposs?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I know of him. I do not know that he is a Communist.

Mr. HÉBERT. What do you know about his activities?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I know nothing about his activities. I knew him years ago as the author of a rather dull book on labor problems.

Mr. HÉBERT. You don't link him with these activities?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. What was Mr. Berle's attitude when you turned this information over to him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Considerable excitement.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did he tell you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know that he made any very sensational comment, but he said among other things that we absolutely have to have a clean Government service because we are faced with the prospect of war. I am paraphrasing that. That is not an exact quotation.

Mr. HÉBERT. In view of the statements of Mr. Chambers at this time may I suggest that this committee invite Mr. Berle to come here so we can get the background and also corroborate this testimony. I think it is most important that every chain be linked with the other chain in this situation.

Mr. MUNDT. Is he in this country?

Mr. HÉBERT. If he is in the country, he should be invited to come. I have every reason to respect the integrity of Mr. Berle.

Mr. MUNDT. The Committee will take that up in executive session.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Berle testified before the committee last year.

Mr. HÉBERT. During the discussions on the Mundt-Nixon bill. But the purpose now is to have him corroborate this. What I am most interested in is that this committee is not witch hunting or Red baiting, but is trying to get the facts of what is going on. Since this is a public hearing, I think all these matters should be brought out in full public gaze and for full public interpretation and appreciation of what we are trying to do; and for that reason I think every individual mentioned should be brought before the committee to either corroborate the testimony or impeach it.

Mr. Berle's attention was directed to this matter, and I think it is of interest to the committee and the people at large to know why methods were pursued.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, you indicated a moment ago that it was approximately 4 years after you had spoken to Mr. Berle that you went before the FBI.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. At that time you did give the FBI information concerning White?

Mr. CHAMBERS. White, that is right.

Mr. NIXON. Also did I understand you to say that Donald Hiss in his connection with Mr. Corcoran was active in negotiating the loan to Poland?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have been told that.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that all, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Hébert mentioned a while ago the fact that this committee had been accused of "Red baiting." It has only been accused of "Red baiting" by the Reds, their stooges, and fellow travelers. No intelligent American who knows the facts has ever accused this committee of "Red baiting."

Mr. MUNDT. Any other questions?

Mr. HÉBERT. May I pursue just one more?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is your educational background?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I went to the public schools and then went to Columbia University for a year and a half.

Mr. HÉBERT. It is interesting to note that every time we talk about communism we hear about Columbia University.

Mr. CHAMBERS. There wasn't any in Columbia at that time. I became a Communist after I left the university.

Mr. RANKIN. How about communism in that institution now?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am not qualified to discuss it.

Mr. HÉBERT. You became a Communist through no persuasion of anybody else but purely through your own conclusions, in trying to follow philosophical thinking—you thought it was something to make a better world, to make the world a better place to live in, and nobody persuaded you to become a Communist; is that right?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. HÉBERT. Were you familiar with the American history and American government during your elementary schooling?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did that impress you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. You threw that over?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I had reached the conclusion, particularly as a result of the war, that the whole system which we now know as capitalist society was in a very bad way and something very drastic had to be done to keep the whole thing together.

Mr. HÉBERT. You thought it was a new system?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I thought a new system was evolving.

Mr. HÉBERT. Pursuing Mr. Rankin's question, in connection with your statement that Communists are disloyal per se, did you consider yourself disloyal to your Government?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. HÉBERT. You remained an American citizen and yet you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. All Communists do that.

Mr. HÉBERT. You are an intelligent individual and well educated. You said members of the Communist Party were disloyal. Did it ever occur to you that you were disloyal to your own Government? Why didn't you renounce your citizenship?

Mr. CHAMBER. No Communist would ever think of doing such a thing.

Mr. HÉBERT. You knew you were being disloyal to the American Government?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. You preferred to be disloyal to gain the end that you thought you would make a better world?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN. Were you a member of a church at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I was not.

Mr. RANKIN. You never had been?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am now.

Mr. RANKIN. A member of a Christian church now?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Before releasing the witness, the Chair would like to announce that we have gotten in touch with Mr. Silvermaster, who has responded to our subpoena and is in the city. Now he claims he has asthma, which he may or may not have, because I can't believe these Communists, but since he claims he has an asthma attack, we are going to defer hearing Mr. Silvermaster until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

The Chair would like to say, Mr. Chambers, in conclusion, that we sincerely appreciate the testimony you have given here today. It is a tremendously difficult job to probe the thinking of the American Communist mind, and it is from men like you, Mr. Budenz, women like Miss Bentley, who have been down into the valley of the shadow and seen the error of the Communist philosophy and had the courage and good patriotism to renounce communism openly and to make available to the law-enforcement and investigating agencies of the Government your information—it is because of that that slowly but surely we are piecing together this pattern of the Communist conspiracy and helping to educate a rather gullible America to the fact that it can happen here and will happen here unless it alerts itself.

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is happening here.

Mr. MUNDT. It is happening here now, and this committee and the FBI are at least two agencies of Government doing the best they can at the moment to try to stop it.

We appreciate the fact that it is not a pleasant assignment for you, sir. We thank you very much for coming here and cooperating so wholeheartedly on this problem.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Thank you.

Mr. RANKIN. Speaking for the minority, I want to say that the gentleman has made a splendid witness, and I only regret that every patriotic American could not be here to hear his testimony.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. I hope that the other Communists who hear your testimony will change their minds and come here and share with us their thinking and their experience also.

Mr. RANKIN. You failed to mention one fellow a while ago that in my mind made one of the finest witnesses that ever came here, and that was a Negro by the name of Nowell that told about being taken to Moscow and learning how to blow up bridges, blow up waterworks and powerhouses and carry on a revolution whenever the word came down. He came here at the risk of his own life, gentlemen.

Mr. CHAMBERS. May I say the general name of that is "zersotzufeusteil." That means an apparatus for destroying.

Mr. RANKIN. He made a good witness.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you very much for your cooperation, Mr. Chambers. The committee will recess until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the committee recessed until 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, August 4, 1948.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Karl E. Mundt presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Karl E. Mundt, John McDowell, Richard M. Nixon, John E. Rankin, J. Hardin Peterson, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, Robert B. Gaston, Donald Appell, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

Mr. MUNDT. The committee will come to order, please.

Before proceeding with the hearing, the Chair would like to read two telegrams which have been received this morning in response to the statement made by the committee that we would be glad to hear anybody whose names have been mentioned during these hearings, that we would accord such persons the same opportunity to testify in public and before the press as the hearings at which their names are placed into the record.

We have received only 2 requests so far from the 25 or 30 people whose names have been mentioned. I shall read these two telegrams at this time.

The first is from Pittsburgh:

Charges by Miss Bentley apparently directed against us are shocking and completely untrue. The woman is entirely unknown to us and in all fairness we urgently request earliest possible opportunity to testify publicly and under oath to the utter falsity of her charges. It is our earnest hope that as much public attention will be given to clearing those that are innocent as has been given to these sensational allegations.

Signed, "Dr. and Mrs. Bela Gold, 619 South Crest, Pittsburgh, Pa."

I think the testimony taken dealt with the doctor and Mrs. William Gold, but they are probably the same people.

Mr. STRIPLING. William and Sonia Gold.

Mr. MUNDT. We assume these are the same people and we will be glad to hear them in public session as soon as we can arrange the hearing.

The second telegram comes from New York:

My attention has been called by representatives of the press to statements made about me before your committee this morning by one Whittaker Chambers. I do not know Mr. Chambers and insofar as I am aware have never laid eyes

on him. There is no basis for the statements made about me to your committee. I would appreciate it if you would make this telegram a part of your committee's record, and I would further appreciate the opportunity to appear before your committee to make these statements formally and under oath. I shall be in Washington on Thursday and hope that that will be a convenient time from the committee's point of view for me to appear.

Signed, "Alger Hiss."

The committee will hear Alger Hiss in public testimony tomorrow morning at 10:30.

And now, Mr. Stripling, who is your first witness this morning?

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster. However, before proceeding I would like to read a brief statement.

Mr. MUNDT. You may read it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Public Law 601 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, and House Resolution 5, of the Eightieth Congress, provide the authority for the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives.

Public Law 601 (sec. 121, subsec. (q) (2)) states:

Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole or by subcommittee is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

Pursuant to this mandate the committee has been conducting an investigation in the past several months into alleged Communist infiltration, of Communist agents, into the Federal Government and the operation within the Government of certain persons who were collecting information to be turned over to a foreign government.

The hearing this morning is for the purpose of pursuing this investigation. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, a former employee of the Government, who was subpoenaed to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities on May 25, 1948, is before the committee this morning in connection with the above-mentioned inquiry. All questions propounded to Mr. Silvermaster will be pertinent to the inquiry and he shall be required to answer them.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Stripling, what you are reading there is from the rules of the House, is it not?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is Public Law 601, Mr. Rankin, adopted as rules of the House beginning with the Eightieth Congress.

Mr. RANKIN. That was my resolution to create this committee as a standing committee of the House.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe that is the language; yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Is Nathan Gregory Silvermaster in the room?

Mr. STRIPLING. He is on the witness stand.

Will you stand and be sworn?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Silvermaster, will you stand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. You may be seated.

## TESTIMONY OF NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster, are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will counsel please rise? Would you identify yourself first, please?

Mr. REIN. David Rein, 1105 K Street, Washington, D. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you desire counsel, Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rein is your counsel?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Mr. Rein is my counsel.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that agreeable with the chairman?

Mr. MUNDT. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Mr. Chairman, may I have your permission to read the prepared statement before this committee?

Mr. MUNDT. You will sometime during the course of the hearing, that is correct. We want to identify you first as the witness, but you will be given a chance to read the statement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state your full name?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. My full name is Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I was born in Odessa, Russia, in the year 1898.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. My present address is Harvey Cedars, N. J.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we examine his statement, that he submit his statement to the Chair at this time before proceeding.

Mr. MUNDT. Very well.

(The statement was submitted and examined.)

Mr. MUNDT. The statement is perfectly pertinent to the inquiry and may be read at the proper time.

Mr. RANKIN. Let me call attention to a discrepancy there.

Mr. MUNDT. We will go into the discrepancies at a later time.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is one portion I would like to call attention to, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. I think we probably should take the statement as a whole and not out of context. We had better wait until the proper time.

Mr. STRIPLING. The witness indicates he is not going to testify, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. We will cross that bridge when we come to it. Proceed with the questioning. We will have the statement read at the proper time.

Mr. STRIPLING. The chairman says you may read your statement at the proper time and we will proceed with the questioning.

Mr. Silvermaster, you appeared before this committee on May 25, 1948, did you not?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. In executive session.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Executive session.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the conclusion of your testimony on that date you were advised that the subpoena which had been served upon you calling for your appearance before the committee was continued in effect. Is that true?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is true.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are appearing before the committee today by virtue of a telegram sent to you on August 2, 1948, which called for your appearance before the committee on August 3, 1948?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is true.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first arrive in the United States, Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. In 1915.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the port of entry?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a brother by the name of Arkady Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where does he reside?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Los Angeles.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a sister by the name of Pauline Wogg?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where does she reside at the present time?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. In San Francisco.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you married, Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I am married.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your wife's maiden name?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. My wife's maiden name was Helen Petrova Witte.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster, would you furnish the committee with your record of employment since your arrival in the United States, in chronological order, insofar as possible, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. May I read the statement at this point, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MUNDT. Not at this point. You may refer to any notes you want to as far as answering that particular question is concerned.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I give a very brief summary of my employment record with the Government in the statement. If the committee wishes, I can elaborate on my employment record in general more fully.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, perhaps if he will give his employment record with the Federal Government and limit it to that, that will be satisfactory.

Mr. MUNDT. Limit your answer to the employment with the Federal Government.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I began my employment with the Federal Government in August of 1935. I came to Washington to accept a position with the Resettlement Administration, offered me by Dr. George Mitchell, at that time Director of the Labor Division of the Resettlement Administration. I was with the Resettlement Administration in the capacity of labor economist from 1935 to around 1938, with maybe some minor discrepancies as to dates. I do not recollect them, but they will be close enough.

In 1938 or thereabouts, on the basis of a civil-service examination at which I was one of the top candidates, I received employment with the Maritime Labor Board and served as the chief economist for that Board. In 1939 I transferred to the Farm Security Administration



to accept a position there as Director of the Labor Division of Farm Security Administration, a position which I held from 1939 to 1944.

During this period for several months, between 1941 and 1942, I was on the detail with the Board of Economic Warfare, where I helped to organize and to supervise the work of the Europe and Africa Division of that organization.

I might mention that in the Farm Security Administration, Labor Division, I was largely responsible for developing and organizing the program for the migratory farm workers. That was the principal work in Farm Security Administration.

During the war my principal effort there was in helping to solve the problem of farm-labor transportation in order to overcome the farm-labor shortages during that period.

In 1944 the work of the Labor Division of the Farm Security Administration came near an end and I transferred to the Office of Surplus Property, Consumer Goods Division, which at that time was under the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department.

Soon after that, that Office of Surplus Property, Consumers Division, was transferred from the Procurement Division of the Treasury to the Commerce Division. There I held the post of chief economist and Director of Market Research Division.

Later on this Office of Consumer Goods was transferred to the RFC and still later to the War Assets Administration, where I was employed as Director of the Economic Market Research Division until the time when I resigned my position with them in November, I believe it was, of 1947.

That, in brief, is my employment record with the Government.

MR. STRIPLING. What have you been doing since you left the Government?

MR. SILVERMASTER. Since I left the Government, for a while I did nothing. Then I moved to Harvey Cedars, N. J., and have been employed there, self-employed, building houses.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, before proceeding any further, I would like for the witness to read his statement.

MR. MUNDT. Very well. Mr. Silvermaster, you may read your statement at this point.

MR. SILVERMASTER. I shall read it in full.

MR. MUNDT. You may read it in full without interruption.

MR. SILVERMASTER. Thank you.

My name is Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and my present residence is Harvey Cedars, N. J. I was born in Odessa, Russia, on November 27, 1898, and came to the United States in 1915. I was naturalized as an American citizen in 1927.

I received the degrees of bachelor of arts from the University of Washington in 1920 and doctor of philosophy (economics) from the University of California in 1932. I was professor of economics at St. Mary's College, Calif., from 1924 to 1930. In 1931 and 1932 I was a member of the Governor's commission on unemployment and later was director of research and surveys of the California State Relief Administration.

From 1935 to November 1946, I held various responsible positions with the Federal Government in the Resettlement Administration, Maritime Labor Board, Farm Security Administration, and Board of Economic Warfare and the War Assets Administration.

In these agencies I helped establish a program of camps for migratory farm workers and promoted fair-labor relations in the construction and maritime industries. During World War II, I directed studies of the enemy's economic potential and helped cut the flow of strategic materials to Axis countries.

I am proud that in all the positions which I have held in the Federal Government I have fought consistently for the interest of the American people as a whole and particularly of farm and industrial labor. I am especially proud that during the war I was able to strike effective blows in the Government service at our Fascist enemies.

Because I have never attempted to conceal my strong advocacy of the rights of the underprivileged and of all New Deal principles, I have been constantly harassed by groundless accusations of disloyalty. I was under investigation during almost my entire 12 years of Government service. I was cleared by various agencies, including the Chief of the Secret Service and Secretary of War Patterson, among others. I left Government service late in 1946 because the harassment continued. Since then I have been investigated by the FBI and have been the subject of a year-long investigation by the grand jury in New York.

Neither the FBI nor the New York grand jury have taken any action against me, although they heard the same witnesses as this committee has produced and, I am certain, thoroughly investigated the charges made against me by Elizabeth Bentley.

The charges made by Miss Bentley are false and fantastic. I can only conclude that she is a neurotic liar. I am and have been a loyal American citizen and was a faithful Government employee. I am not and never have been a spy or agent of any foreign government.

I consider the proceedings which have gone on before this committee as a continuation of the harassment which has plagued me and interfered with my work and livelihood for years. I consider them to be motivated by political considerations on the eve of a Presidential election and the necessity to conceal from the American people the failure of Congress to act upon such matters as housing and inflation. If I committed a crime, I should be indicted and prosecuted in the courts. Without such indictment and prosecution, my reputation should not be smeared.

In view of the continuance of the investigation by the New York grand jury and the fact that this committee has indicated that it intends to call for still another investigation before a so-called blue-ribbon grand jury in the District of Columbia, I must protect myself against this diabolical conspiracy. Upon advice of my counsel, I shall stand upon the constitutional right of every American citizen and shall refuse to testify further on matters relating to Miss Bentley's charges in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster, in listing your Government service, I didn't notice that you made any reference to the Bretton Woods Conference. Did you attend the Bretton Woods Conference in any capacity?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the—

MR. SILVERMASTER. I did not include this in my record because I was not able to carry out the task that I was supposed to have done there.

MR. STRIPLING. What was the task you were supposed to have done?

MR. SILVERMASTER. I went there upon the invitation of Mr. Harry D. White, who at that time was the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to help him to translate any documents that he may have had to deal with submitted to him by the Russians.

It so happened that when I got there I had a very severe attack of asthma. I stayed there for 2 days and only 1 day of the Conference and returned back to Washington.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the grounds which I have already stated.

MR. MUNDT. Which grounds are those?

MR. SILVERMASTER. On the ground that any statement I may make—I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may make to this question may tend to be self-incriminating.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster, do you know Earl Browder?

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman—

MR. MUNDT. Mr. Stripling asked a question.

MR. RANKIN. I understand, but he refused to answer the question of whether or not he is a Communist on the ground that his answer might incriminate him, which would indicate that his answer would be, if he told the truth, that he was a Communist.

MR. MUNDT. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster, do you know Earl Browder?

MR. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the same grounds.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know Jacob N. Golos?

MR. MUNDT. What do you mean by "the same grounds"? Kindly explain which grounds.

MR. SILVERMASTER. On the ground that any answer I may give before this committee to questions asked may be self-incriminating, on the ground that—

MR. MUNDT. That is a constitutional defense. Proceed.

MR. SILVERMASTER. The fifth amendment.

MR. MUNDT. If you are going to use the constitutional defense, spell it out and don't just say "same grounds."

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know Jacob Golos?

MR. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

MR. MUNDT. I want you to explain the grounds each time you answer the question.

MR. SILVERMASTER. On the ground that the answer to this question may tend to be self-incriminating.

MR. MUNDT. That is a satisfactory answer. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster, do you know Gerhart Eisler?

MR. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may make to this question may be self-incriminating.

MR. MUNDT. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster, would you kindly turn around and, Miss Bentley, would you please stand?

(Miss Bentley stands in audience.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley, who is standing?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are aware, Mr. Silvermaster, that Miss Bentley has made very serious charges against you before this committee. You refuse to answer whether you even know her; is that correct?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is correct, sir. I refuse to answer this question on the grounds that any answer I may give to this question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the same grounds that any answer I may give to this question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have a number of questions here—

Mr. MUNDT. Proceed with your questions.

Mr. STRIPLING. I think if the record is made clear that when he says "same grounds" he means—

Mr. MUNDT. I prefer to have him answer the question as the Chair has indicated.

Mr. STRIPLING. Very well.

Do you know Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may make to this question may tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Norman Bursler?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to this question may tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to this question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Frank V. Coe?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harold Glasser?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Sonia Gold?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. William J. Gold?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Joseph B. Gregg—G-r-e-g-g?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Victor Perlo?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Charles Kramer?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Duncan C. Lee?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry Magdoff?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. William W. Remington?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I am sorry to say I have to refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Maurice Halperin?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to this question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Alex Koral?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to the question may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever furnish any documents from Government files to Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to this question may tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you have photographic equipment in the basement of your home in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of photographing Government documents?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer on the ground that any answer I may give may be self-incriminating.

Mr. MUNDT. It is very difficult to see how the answer "no" would be self-incriminating as to that question, but we will accept the constitutional defense.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. William Ullmann?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I know Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Mr. Ullmann has resided with me since 1937.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Mr. Ullmann a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, it is evident that the witness does not intend to answer any questions which involve the evidence which has been presented to the committee. After the committee has completed its questions of the witness, I should like for him to step aside and place other witnesses on the stand.

Mr. MUNDT. The chairman will call on the members of the committee for questions. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Silvermaster, you refuse to answer these questions on the ground that if you did answer them, it would incriminate you. That is correct; is it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have refused to answer these questions on these grounds and explained the reason for taking this position in the

statement which I made before this committee in my prepared statement.

Mr. RANKIN. If you had committed no crime, your testimony would not incriminate you. I have been a prosecuting attorney and I have never seen a man refuse to answer questions on the ground that they would incriminate him except when he had committed a crime himself.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I do not know the legality of the situation, sir, but I do know that I have been under investigation for some alleged crimes and these investigations have been going on for some time.

Mr. RANKIN. You know the Communist Party is dedicated to the overthrow of this Government; do you not?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I do not know what the Communist Party is dedicated—that the Communist Party is dedicated to the overthrow of this Government.

Mr. RANKIN. Weren't you a member of it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have already stated I refuse to answer this question, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. If you are not a member of the Communist Party, then your answer would not incriminate you. This seems to be a storm cellar that some of you witnesses try to use to keep from getting yourselves charged with perjury. If you were not a member of the Communist Party, it would certainly not incriminate you to say "No."

Now, why do you refuse to answer that question?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have already given my reasons in the prepared statement.

Mr. RANKIN. In other words, you are afraid that if you answer "No," we will prove you were a member and then you would be subject to indictment for perjury. That is my construction.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Not necessarily; no.

Mr. RANKIN. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Nixon, any questions?

Mr. NIXON. Yes, I have a question on your statement, Mr. Silvermaster. You stated in the third paragraph from the last as follows:

The charges made by Miss Bentley are false and fantastic. I can only conclude that she is a neurotic liar.

Now, you have indicated in previous questions that you would not answer any question concerning whether you knew Miss Bentley on the grounds that they might incriminate you, but in your statement here you have made the charge that Miss Bentley's charges are false and fantastic and that she is a neurotic liar. On what do you base this conclusion?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I base this conclusion, sir, on reading the testimony that was presented before this committee by this said person.

Mr. NIXON. What facts do you have which would contradict that testimony and which would allow you to make the charge that she is a neurotic liar?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I am under no obligation. I am not asked to contradict the testimony. There was no testimony presented; there were allegations made.

Mr. NIXON. On what facts do you base your charge that she is a neurotic liar which would contradict those allegations?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is the impression that the statements made concerning me made upon me.

Mr. NIXON. You have made the conclusion in this statement that Miss Bentley's charges are false and fantastic. You stated that outright, not as a supposition, but as a conclusion, and you stated that she is a liar.

Now, I think that under the circumstances you should indicate to the committee in what instances in Miss Bentley's testimony you consider that she has made misstatements of fact and on what facts you base this statement that she is a liar.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I had the right to make the statement in the prepared statement that I have made, and I shall reserve the right to make further statements when any allegations she has made against me are taken up in courts.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Silvermaster, Miss Bentley before this committee cited certain facts concerning activities. You have stated that these facts are false. You have the same right that she had to cite the facts upon which you base the charge that her statements of facts are false.

Will you indicate to the committee what facts in your knowledge you have that would contradict the facts she has presented here in her statement?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have stated my position in my prepared statement. I refuse to answer questions pertaining to the charges made against me.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you have made the statement that Miss Bentley's statements are false and yet you refuse to give any testimony to indicate why they are false or in what—

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have stated the reasons why I have refused to answer questions.

Mr. NIXON. Don't you fear that by making the statement as you have in your statement that Miss Bentley's charges are false that that might incriminate you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No.

Mr. NIXON. You just a moment ago refused to answer any questions concerning your activities with Miss Bentley. Now, either you know Miss Bentley or you don't; either you know these facts are true or you don't.

You have indicated in your statement these facts are false, which would indicate you have knowledge concerning Miss Bentley. Do you want to retract the statement that her statements are false, or do you want to state the facts?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any statement I may make at this time may tend to be self-incriminating because of the statement I have given in my prepared statement. This whole thing has been under investigation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Nixon, in connection with your statement, I should like to point out that Mr. Silvermaster was a witness before our committee on May 25, at which time we did not know Miss Bentley, had never heard of Miss Bentley, and he gave the same answers on that date to these questions as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party and did he know this person and that person. That was before Miss Bentley testified and before we even knew Miss Bentley.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, in this connection I think that the statement of the witness to the effect that Miss Bentley's charges are false

and fantastic and that she is a liar should be stricken from the record. I am not going to move that they be stricken from the record, for I feel that under the circumstances the record will speak for itself, but I think it is perfectly apparent that this witness is making this charge—in other words, is willing to testify only on those facts that would serve his own purposes and that his refusal to testify concerning Miss Bentley on other facts is because he realizes those would incriminate him in fact.

I have no further questions.

Mr. RANKIN. I would not agree to have any of these statements stricken from the record because if the Department of Justice does its duty, it will file a petition to cancel his citizenship and deport him from this country. A man who comes here and refuses to answer whether or not he is a Communist or whether or not he knows these Communists who are plotting the overthrow of this Government has no right to crawl into a storm cellar like that and ask the protection of the Government of the United States.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Peterson, do you have any questions?

Mr. PETERSON. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Hébert, any questions?

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes.

Mr. Silvermaster, what year did you come to this country?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. 1915.

Mr. HÉBERT. How old were you at that time?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Sixteen.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why did you come to this country? What prompted you to come to this country?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I came to this country in order to get an education and because I wanted to become an American citizen.

Mr. HÉBERT. There were no educational facilities available in Russia?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. There were.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why couldn't you get your education in Russia?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Because my secondary education I received in an English school and because I did not want to live in Russia. I wanted to come to the United States.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why didn't you want to live in Russia?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Because I disliked the form of government they had there.

Mr. HÉBERT. What form of government did they have at that time?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. They had an absolutist czarist government.

Mr. HÉBERT. In 1915?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. 1915.

Mr. HÉBERT. They had a czaristic government at that time, you say?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Would you have remained there if Lenin had been in power and the Communists had taken over?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is a question that I cannot answer. I had no idea at the time what government they would have in the future and whether or not I would like or would not like that kind of government. I had no basis.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you like that form of government? Will that incriminate you to tell me that?



Mr. SILVERMASTER. It wouldn't incriminate me.

Mr. HÉBERT. Would you tell us whether you like the communistic form of government?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. It is the kind of government they want to have.

Mr. HÉBERT. I asked you if you like the communistic form of government.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I would like the kind of government we have here.

Mr. HÉBERT. I didn't ask you that. Will it incriminate you to tell me and tell this committee?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes or no—do you like the communistic form of government or don't you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I don't.

Mr. HÉBERT. You don't.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why don't you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. It is a pretty long story, I suppose.

Mr. HÉBERT. Let's hear it.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I haven't had an opportunity to live under a communistic form of government, and it is very difficult for any individual to say whether or not he would like a particular government if he hasn't had any experience with it.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you like what it stands for? You know what it stands for. You are an educated man.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. It all depends on what you mean by "what it stands for." Every government stands for many things.

Mr. HÉBERT. I will tell you my appreciation of them and see if you agree.

My appreciation of what the Communists stand for is the destruction of the free enterprise system of government, the destruction of capitalism, the capitalistic system, and the destruction of all religion and churches, and the establishment of a complete totalitarian form of government in which the dignity of the individual is violated and under which no man has an opportunity to advance himself on his own and in which everything that is repulsive and indignant to what we in America believe.

That is my conception and appreciation of communism, and I think it is the general conception of the Communist form of government. Do you believe in it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No, I don't. My whole attitude to this question would be somewhat different from yours for the simple reason—

Mr. HÉBERT. I want to know what you think about it.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I only have in mind one kind of government, and that is the kind of government they have in Russia today. That kind of government you have in Russia was born as the result of certain events. That kind of government in Russia today was born as the result of certain events. These events pertain only to that particular country and that kind of government came into being in response to the conditions there and developments there.

Now, whether the answer that the present Government gave to the problem of the Russian people is good or bad is something I am not in a position to evaluate. I am not living there, but I want to point

out, the point I want to make is that the Government they have there was a result of certain historic conditions, which historic conditions did not obtain in this country.

I know, for example, that there has been terrific dissatisfaction among the common people of Russia with the czarist regime. There has been starvation, there has been oppression, and as a result of these conditions certain things happened which produced the revolution which led to the establishment of a certain type of government, which may or may not have solved the problems.

Mr. HÉBERT. You say you left Russia in 1915. Russia was at war. Why weren't you in the army?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I was too young to be in the army at the time. As a matter of fact, I was in China at the time, in Shanghai.

Mr. HÉBERT. You weren't in Russia?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. In 1915.

Mr. HÉBERT. You say when you left in 1915?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No; I wasn't in Russia proper, no. I was attending school. My parents were living at the time in the Far East.

Mr. HÉBERT. How long had you been in China at that time?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. My folks from the year 1906 to the time I left lived in the Far East—in the Russian part of the Far East, Manchuria, and in 1912 I was sent to school in Shanghai, to an English school.

Mr. HÉBERT. When?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. 1912. From 1912 to 1915, but every summer I would go back home for vacation, so that my legal residence was Harbin, which at that time was under Russian domination; so I referred to it as part of Russia. Actually I sailed from Shanghai and not Harbin because Harbin is not a port.

Mr. HÉBERT. During this time did you participate in any revolutionary movements in Russia?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I was too young to participate in any movement.

Mr. HÉBERT. In Russia—when did you become an American citizen?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. In 1927.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. San Francisco.

Mr. HÉBERT. You had been here 12 years at that time?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. And you say that you did not participate in any movement here in this country of communistic leaning?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I didn't say that.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did you say?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. You asked me with reference to the things that I had done in Russia.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am asking you about America.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. If I participated—I have already given you the answer. I will refuse to answer any question of this or similar character.

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, you are perfectly willing to discuss before this committee any subject matter that might not incriminate you, but you refuse to discuss anything which will tend to incriminate you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I will refuse to discuss anything which may have a bearing on the things that have been under investigation by the grand jury and the FBI concerning myself.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why did you refuse to testify before the committee when you first appeared as directed by Mr. Stripling? You were not before the grand jury at that time, were you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. For the same reasons.

Mr. HÉBERT. You were not before the grand jury at that time?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. My case was before the grand jury.

Mr. HÉBERT. It was before the grand jury?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Certainly.

Mr. HÉBERT. And the grand jury is still meeting on your case, isn't it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. As far as I know.

Mr. HÉBERT. As far as you know, then, it is not a closed case?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is right, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. And the mere fact that you have not been indicted as of this time does not indicate you are innocent of the charges made by Miss Bentley; is that correct?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Silvermaster, I have just a question or two.

Are you a lawyer?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. You are not an attorney?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not a lawyer either, so I wonder if as one layman to another you could explain to me how it would be self-incriminating for you to tell this committee that you did not have photographic apparatus in your basement in which Government documents were photographed for delivery to a Russian spy ring. If the answer were no to that question, how would it incriminate you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I don't know law.

Mr. MUNDT. I don't know law either.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have very little understanding about it, but I understand the charges, allegations, or charges, under which the grand jury was deliberating involve conspiracy matters and that conspiracy matters are so broad that anything may be included in it, any fact that you may know or not know about may somehow—

Mr. MUNDT. Just between a couple of fellows who are not lawyers, how would it be incriminating to a man who had been charged with having photographic apparatus in his basement and working through the night taking pictures of Government documents to transmit to New York? It is asked whether you have that photographic apparatus in your basement and you say, "I don't dare tell you because it might incriminate me." How would it incriminate you if you said, "I don't have anything like that, of course not"? How would that incriminate you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Sir, the FBI have investigated me. They have come to my house and they have asked me a lot of questions and I have answered their questions in full. Under normal circumstances that was the proper thing to do. I haven't hesitated for a moment to

answer them, all the questions that were asked me. But soon after that something else happened.

Mr. MUNDT. What happened then?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I mean——

Mr. MUNDT. The grand jury?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. The whole thing began to assume the character of a conspiracy against me almost to the point of looking like a possible frame-up, for all I knew.

Mr. MUNDT. A conspiracy by the FBI?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I don't know by whom. I don't say that.

Mr. MUNDT. Not by us; not a conspiracy by this committee?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Of course not.

Mr. MUNDT. When you appeared before the grand jury up in New York, I presume they asked you questions, and I wondered if you used your constitutional defense there to say, "I won't give you any information because it might incriminate me."

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that anything I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MUNDT. It wouldn't be very informative to the grand jury if that is all you told them.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Silvermaster, you went to Bretton Woods to act as an interpreter and you were overcome with asthma and didn't act?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is right.

Mr. McDOWELL. Were there no official interpreters there at Bretton Woods?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. There probably were.

Mr. McDOWELL. Were you an official interpreter?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No; I was not an official interpreter.

Mr. McDOWELL. Why would Mr. White decide to have some person in excess of the ordinary number of interpreters?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. As I understood it at the time, the Treasury did not have an interpreter.

Mr. McDOWELL. The Treasury?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. The Treasury Department. The interpreter was provided by the State Department.

Mr. McDOWELL. And they decided to take you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. They decided to take me and not only because of my knowledge of Russian, but also because of my knowledge of economic matters. I am an economist.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Silvermaster, would it offend your constitutional sensibilities if I inquired if you had any knowledge of photographic equipment? Do you know how to operate it? Do you have any skill in it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Silvermaster, I have one more question which I don't think you will find embarrassing. It is a matter of straightening out the record.

When you talked to the FBI and the FBI talked with you, you were not then testifying under oath. Is that correct?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MUNDT. When you testified to the FBI and talked to the FBI, you were not testifying under oath?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. You were not then testifying under oath before the FBI?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have one more question.

In your statement, Mr. Silvermaster, you say:

I was cleared by various agencies, including the Chief of the Secret Service and Secretary of War Patterson, among others.

Why was Secretary Patterson called upon to clear you. Were you ever assigned to the War Department?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I would be very glad to submit to this committee this particular case and the letter from Secretary Patterson concerning the case.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have that letter with you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have that letter.

Mr. HÉBERT. That won't tend to self-incriminate you, will it—the submission of Mr. Patterson's letter?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I am submitting the letter, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. That won't tend to self-incriminate you, will it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. This question is a matter of job record.

Mr. HÉBERT. That letter clears you and won't tend to incriminate you, will it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is a job record, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. That will clear you and won't incriminate you. Is that why you answer it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have not refused to answer anything on the job record.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, we have been endeavoring to get this letter for a long time.

Mr. Silvermaster, will you tell me whether Mr. Lauchlin Currie went to see Mr. Patterson in your behalf?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes. As a matter of fact, the case called for action on my part to get justice, and I have asked people to request that Secretary Patterson look into accusations made against me personally because those accusations were false, untruthful, and I didn't want my name to be besmirched. I have every right to ask whoever I could for this assistance. I didn't ask to be cleared. I only asked that someone with an unbiased mind look into my record and develop whether or not the accusations made against me at that time were or were not true.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were assigned to the Board of Economic Warfare?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. And on the pay roll of the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Military Intelligence make an objection to your employment with the Board of Economic Warfare?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I think it was Naval Intelligence.

Mr. STRIPLING. They asked your removal?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. They asked for my removal.

Mr. STRIPLING. You then went to Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. They wrote a letter—and I have the correspondence of this letter. They wrote a letter concerning me which indicates that I should not be—that I am a Communist—that I am this or that—and that, therefore, I should not be entrusted with work with the Board of Economic Warfare.

Obviously, a letter of this sort was an insulting letter to me. It was a smear letter, it was not justified, and I asked for an investigation. I asked the Board of Economic Warfare to take this matter up with the War Department. The intelligence communication was transferred to the Board of Economic Warfare by the War Department, by Naval Intelligence.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Stone, of the Board of Economic Warfare, gave you a copy of the Naval Intelligence protest against you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. He gave it to you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You answered that report yourself?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I answered the report.

Mr. STRIPLING. You yourself answered it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was your report submitted?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Submitted to Mr. Stone.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did Mr. Stone do with it?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I don't know. I don't really recall now.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is Mr. Stone's first name?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I don't recall now. I believe William.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his position?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. He was Assistant Administrator of the Board of Economic Warfare, who had jurisdiction over the Division I was connected with.

Mr. STRIPLING. William T. Stone?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I am not sure; I believe so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Secretary Patterson ever ask you whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No; he did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Lauchlin Currie ask you whether you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No; he did not.

Mr. McDOWELL. You went to Mr. Currie to get him to write a letter to Secretary Patterson?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I beg your pardon?

Mr. McDOWELL. You went to Mr. Currie to get him to write a letter to Secretary Patterson?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. No. All I did was to ask Mr. Currie if he could get somebody in the War Department to make an unbiased investigation of the accusations made against me.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you go to anybody else?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Yes; I have asked Mr. Baldwin.

Mr. McDOWELL. Who?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Mr. Baldwin, of the Farm Security Administration.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would that be C. B. Baldwin?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. C. B. Baldwin. He was my boss in the Farm Security Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. These gentlemen, I presume, were both your friends?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I had known them both.

Mr. McDOWELL. How long?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. For quite a long while.

Mr. McDOWELL. How long have you known Mr. Currie?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have known Mr. Currie since, I believe, 1938 or 1939.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. McDowell, the witness previously refused to answer that he knew Mr. Currie, on the ground that it might incriminate him.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I have answered this because it had a direct relationship to my job record.

Mr. RANKIN. I have a question or two. Who did you say issued that recommendation that you be removed?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I beg your pardon?

Mr. RANKIN. Who did you say issued that recommendation that you be removed?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. The recommendation, as I recall it, for removal came from Naval Intelligence.

Mr. RANKIN. And gave as its reasons that you were a Communist?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. It didn't give reasons. It merely gave allegations.

Mr. RANKIN. Allegations that you were a Communist?

(Mr. Silvermaster nods head affirmatively.)

Mr. RANKIN. And that you were a member of the Communist Party—did it make that allegation?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I don't have the letter before me.

Mr. RANKIN. You said in response to Mr. Stripling's question that the statements made in that recommendation were false, didn't you?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. In that letter; yes.

Mr. RANKIN. In other words, when that letter accused you of being a Communist—is that what you have reference to?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN. Why should you refuse to answer the question now whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Because I refuse. There are different circumstances.

Mr. RANKIN. I don't think it is a different subject. I think it is a different storm cellar.

Mr. MUNDT. Any other questions?

Mr. PETERSON. You stated that they furnished you a copy of the letter that Naval Intelligence had written to them.

Mr. SILVERMASTER. That is right, sir.

Mr. PETERSON. Who furnished you a copy of that letter?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Mr. Stone.

Mr. PETERSON. Mr. Stone gave you a copy of the letter?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. Of the charges against me; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Have we any further identification of Mr. Stone?

Mr. STRIPLING. William T. Stone, Assistant Administrator of the Board of Economic Warfare. Do you know if he is in the State Department now?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I don't know.

Mr. MUNDT. Is he in the Government now?

Mr. STRIPLING. I think he is with the Voice of America.

Mr. NIXON. Will you listen to this question carefully, because it bears upon the accuracy of your statements? You said the charges made by Miss Bentley are false. One of the charges made by Miss Bentley was that you maintained a photographic laboratory in your home. Do you mean by your statement that that charge is false?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. I refuse to answer, sir, this question, on the ground that I have stated in my prepared statement and for the reasons I have given in my prepared statement.

Mr. NIXON. I think the record on that point speaks for itself.

Mr. STRIPLING. May I ask the witness to step aside?

Mr. MUNDT. Before the witness steps aside, the chairman wants to make a short statement to the witness.

You are a man of considerable intelligence and a long educational background. I think you must realize that coming before this committee, refusing to answer specific questions such as this one about the photographic apparatus in your basement, which can either be or not be substantiated by the testimony of witnesses—refusing to answer that, which plays a key part in this whole hearing, on the ground that it is self-incriminating, and refusing to do so because you are testifying before us under oath, where all the laws of perjury apply, and saying you have talked freely with the FBI, where there is no law of perjury applying—that puts you in a very bad light; and I wonder if, in consideration of those facts, you would not like to tell us the answer to these direct questions—not whether or not you are a Communist but whether or not you did maintain in your basement photographic apparatus for the purpose of photographing Government documents.

Would you like to reconsider your answer, Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMASTER. My answer will be the same as I have given in my prepared statement.

Mr. MUNDT. Very well; you may step aside.

Call the next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. I will call Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley.

Mr. MUNDT. Miss Bentley, will you stand and be sworn? Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BENTLEY. I do.

Mr. MUNDT. You may be seated.

#### TESTIMONY OF MISS ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, you have previously been identified before this committee.

In the testimony which you gave last Saturday, you stated that an individual by the name of N. Gregory Silvermaster was the head of a group within the Government that was collecting information



which they turned over to you, and you in turn turned over to Mr. Jacob N. Golos, and which information eventually was turned over to an agent of the Soviet Government.

Is the person who just left the witness stand the N. Gregory Silvermaster that you knew?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the hearing the other day the committee did not have sufficient time to go into detailed associations in connection with yourself and Mr. Silvermaster. Would you tell the committee now how well you knew Mr. Silvermaster, how many times you saw him, whether or not you ever were a guest in his home?

Miss BENTLEY. I originally met Mr. Silvermaster and Mrs. Silvermaster in July of 1941, and I came to Washington approximately every 2 weeks from that date on until the end of September 1944; so that I don't know exactly how many times that makes.

Added to which, whenever Mr. Silvermaster or Mrs. Silvermaster came to New York, which may have been three or four times a year, I also saw them in New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. You came to Mr. Silvermaster's home for the purpose of collecting information?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Which he had obtained from these people in the Government?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You also obtained from him certain Communist Party dues?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. That you transmitted to New York?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever spend the night in Mr. Silvermaster's home?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I think three or four or five times, when it was quite late, when I finished talking to them, and it was impossible to get a taxicab or bus back to town, I stayed overnight in their house; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mrs. Silvermaster well?

Miss BENTLEY. Very well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Mrs. Silvermaster a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. Ullmann?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I do. He was residing with the Silvermasters at the time I met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was William L. Ullmann?

Miss BENTLEY. That is William Ludwig Ullman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was his nickname "Lud"?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I always called him "Lud"; and I called Mr. Silvermaster, "Greg"; and Mrs. Silvermaster, Helen.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you give the committee some details regarding the photographic equipment maintained in Mr. Silvermaster's basement and whether or not Mr. Ullmann had anything to do with it?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. They had set up in the basement a home-made apparatus for photographing documents, for microfilming documents, in their cellar, which had been, I understand, put together by Mr.

Ullmann, who is quite clever as a mechanic, and had a rack on the top which the camera was stuck into and pointed down, and they had a rack in the bottom where the papers were put in.

Mr. MUNDT. You actually saw them using this apparatus on Government documents, did you?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did.

Mr. MUNDT. And Mr. Ullmann has seen it, has he?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Ullmann was the principal photographer. It was he who learned photography when it became necessary to photograph documents, and it was he who operated it, except for those times when he was either away or when there was too much to be done by one person alone.

At that time Mrs. Silvermaster also learned photography and helped him with it.

Mr. MUNDT. You have seen Mr. Silvermaster in the basement of his home watching this apparatus photographing Government documents?

Miss BENTLEY. Not Mr. Silvermaster. I was in the basement with Mr. Ullmann and Mrs. Silvermaster while Mr. Silvermaster was upstairs. It was not thought wise for everyone to be in the basement simultaneously.

Mr. STRIPLING. When Mr. Ullmann's name was mentioned Saturday, we did not have his employment record. I would like to put it in the record.

Mr. MUNDT. You may read it.

Mr. STRIPLING. William L. Ullmann, Government Form 57, executed by the above individual on April 4, 1946, reflects that he was born in Springfield, Mo., on August 14, 1908, that the form was executed by William Ullmann upon his return from the United States Army requesting employment in the United States Treasury Department.

He resigned from his position in the Division of Monetary Research as of March 21, 1947, to enter private industry. The records indicate his address as 5515 Thirtieth Street NW., telephone Emerson 6720.

This, Mr. Chairman, is the same address as Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

He listed his immediate supervisor as Frank V. Coe, Director of Monetary Research. His references on the aforementioned form were Mr. Harry W. Blair, lawyer, Tower Building, Washington, D. C.; Lauchlin Currie, International Development Co., 19 Rector Street, New York; Henrietta Klotz, 285 Madison Avenue, New York City, assistant to the ex-Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau. Mrs. Klotz was Mr. Morgenthau's personal secretary.

His employment record is as follows: July 1932, to August 1934, Ullmann Bros., real estate business, Springfield, Mo.; September 1934 until January 1935, salesman for Macy Bros., New York City, receiving \$15 a week; January 1935 to March 1935, Central Tennis Supplies, New York City, owner of business; April 1935 to June 1935, NRA Consumers Advisory Board, Washington, D. C., receiving \$2,000 per year, immediate supervisor, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair; July 1935 to February 1939, Farm Security Administration, starting salary \$2,000 per annum, ending salary \$3,800 per year; February 1939 to October 1942, Treasury Department, Division of Monetary Research, Washington, D. C., immediate supervisor, Harry D. White;

October 1942 to October 1945, United States Army, discharged as a major, serial number O-579514.

Education: Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., October 1926 to June 1927; Drury College, Springfield, Mo., October 1927 to June 1930; Harvard School of Business Administration, October 1930 to June 1932.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Stripling, do you have any papers there showing the references that Mr. Silvermaster had when he secured employment with the Government?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, we have endeavored to secure his file from the Archives but it is not there. We are trying to locate it.

Mr. MUNDT. You mean the file has disappeared?

Mr. STRIPLING. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MUNDT. You say the file has disappeared?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is true; yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Disappeared from where?

Mr. STRIPLING. Archives.

Mr. McDOWELL. Whose archives?

Mr. STRIPLING. National Archives.

Mr. MUNDT. Where it should properly be kept?

Mr. McDOWELL. Oh!

Mr. MUNDT. What defense does the Archivist give his loss of the files of Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, they advised Mr. Wheeler, the investigator who went to the Archives, that they were the custodians of all the files of the Board of Economic Warfare and FEA, but that Mr. Silvermaster's file was not there. Other individuals who were employed in the agency, their files were there, but not Mr. Silvermaster's.

Mr. MUNDT. Will you keep our investigators at work until they locate the files or the man who let them get away?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir. Further information in the file of Mr. Ullmann reflects that Thomas E. Blaisdell, Jr., Securities and Exchange Commission, was interviewed January 12, 1939, in a routine investigation conducted by the Treasury Department, and stated:

"I don't know Mr. Ullmann. My impression is he is a forward-looking and fairly able person."

That is all we have on Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. NIXON. That statement was by whom?

Mr. STRIPLING. Thomas E. Blaisdell, Jr.

Mr. NIXON. In regard to Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Mr. Ullmann?

Miss BENTLEY. I met Mr. Ullmann, I think, toward the end of July 1941, shortly after I made the acquaintance—

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you learn of his background?

Miss BENTLEY. I had learned that he came from an upper-class family out in, I believe, Missouri; that he had never had a tremendously big position until he met the Silvermasters, but he had had various positions—I understand he was a tennis professional and gave tennis lessons at one time and had other sorts of jobs until he came to Washington, and I believe the Silvermasters met him when he was employed by the Treasury.

Their description of his job at that time was that of a clerk. I don't know if that was the type of work he did.

The Silvermasters entertained a great deal and frequently had parties at their home, and I understand that someone, I don't know who, brought Mr. Ullmann to one of these parties. He made the acquaintance of the Silvermasters. They discovered that he was a very able person, very intelligent person, in spite of the position that he was then holding in the Treasury, and they thought that he would be a very good prospect for pushing on up in the Government where he could be useful.

Therefore, according to them, anyway, through their efforts Mr. Ullmann was pushed from job to job until he got into some quite important ones.

He also came to live with them as a boarder and had a room with them, and I believe ate most of his meals with them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, in your discussions with Mr. and Mrs. Silvermaster, did either one of them ever tell you that they were acquainted with Earl Browder?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; they did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they tell you the circumstances under which they met Earl Browder?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know exactly when Gregory Silvermaster met Mr. Browder, but I know when Mrs. Silvermaster did. I believe that Mr. Silvermaster had known Earl Browder prior to the general strike in San Francisco in the early thirties. Was that 1933 or 1934, along in there? Earl Browder had come to San Francisco because of the strike, and the vigilantes at that time were looking for him in a house-to-house search, and Mr. Browder came to the Silvermasters' home, where he was greeted by Mrs. Silvermaster, who hadn't met him, and he asked for sanctuary.

She didn't recognize him and was frightened and refused to let him in until her husband had returned home and identified him. Then they hid him out in their house for several days while the vigilantes were looking for him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Nathan Gregory Silvermaster was personally acquainted with Jacob N. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, I do; and I believe their acquaintance dated back at least to the early thirties because he knew Mr. Golos' wife and their son, and I believe that their acquaintance, although interrupted several times, was quite a deep one.

Mr. STRIPLING. At any time when you were at Mr. Silvermaster's home here in Washington did you meet an individual by the name of George Silverman?

Miss BENTLEY. I would hardly call it meeting. I was sitting in the kitchen, Mr. Silverman had come in the front door with some material and was leaving by the kitchen door, and he went past very hurriedly. I was introduced by some name, I do not recall, as being a friend of Mrs. Helen Silvermaster, and he went out the kitchen door.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did any discussion ensue among the Silvermasters and yourself regarding Mr. Silverman's visit and what his business was?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. They said that as usual he had come to bring material and they were quite upset that I was there. Usually, you see, they kept their house clear the night I was coming there because

they didn't want me to meet other members of the group, and particularly George Silverman was extremely nervous and they said if he realized who I was, he would probably fall to pieces—I believe was the expression they used.

Therefore, they felt that if he had to see me in the kitchen, it was better to pass me off as a friend of Helen Silvermaster's and gloss over the situation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they indicate to you that Mr. Silverman was quite concerned with what he was engaged in?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; they said he was very much concerned over it.

Mr. STRIPLING. During this period that you acted as courier and that this information was being furnished to you, were you all very apprehensive or what was your attitude?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I would say every one of us was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you suspect surveillance was being kept on you?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you take precautions?

Miss BENTLEY. Definitely.

Mr. MUNDT. Miss Bentley, while the investigator is gathering his notes, I want to find out from you as complete a list as possible of people who actually have seen this photographic apparatus in the basement of Mr. Silvermaster. Will you list them for us, the people who should be able to testify under oath that it was there.

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Gregory Silvermaster, Mrs. Gregory Silvermaster, Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. MUNDT. Just those three besides yourself?

Miss BENTLEY. I can definitely say only those three. It is possible that one or two others may, but not to my knowledge.

Mr. McDOWELL. If they were all apprehensive about all these goings on, how come they took you down and showed you this business?

Miss BENTLEY. I only went down there just once, toward the end of the time I knew them, and they had not taken me down before because they thought it would be bad if someone found me and the apparatus simultaneously. But I had asked them about it. I was very curious about it, and they took me down one evening to show me.

Mr. MUNDT. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like for this witness to step aside at this time. I don't want to go into these other individuals.

Mr. HÉBERT. May I ask a question?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Miss Bentley, this time you say they took you down to see the photographic set-up downstairs and that they didn't want you to be discovered with the photographic equipment—what did they say that would give you that impression? What was your conversation?

Miss BENTLEY. They had been constantly saying each time I was there or every so often that they did not think it was a good idea for me to be down in the basement, and not a good idea for all of us to be down there simultaneously.

Mr. HÉBERT. What I am trying to get from you is what did they say? Not your words, but their language. What did they say? Did they say, "Helen," or whatever they called you, "we have got some

photographic equipment downstairs for the purpose of photographing these documents and we don't want you down there?"

MISS BENTLEY. Nothing was ever put that plainly in espionage. They merely said it was not a wise thing; it is taking chances.

MR. HÉBERT. Not a wise thing, taking chances, doing what?

MISS BENTLEY. That was understood, that we did not take extra chances.

MR. HÉBERT. Doing what? How do you know there was a photographic set-up down there?

MISS BENTLEY. I had known it ever since it was set up.

MR. HÉBERT. Who told you?

MISS BENTLEY. Mr. Ullmann and the Silvermasters told me originally when they set it up.

MR. HÉBERT. What did they tell you?

MISS BENTLEY. They told me they had set up this apparatus in the basement to photograph documents.

MR. HÉBERT. They told you they had set up photographic equipment to photograph these documents?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. HÉBERT. You were down there on one occasion only?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct.

MR. HÉBERT. Describe that equipment to us.

MISS BENTLEY. It is rather difficult because I don't know too much about photographic apparatus, but any photographer could describe it better.

MR. HÉBERT. Did they have pans with acid?

MISS BENTLEY. They were photographing only and not developing the films.

MR. HÉBERT. The microfilms, the little ones?

MISS BENTLEY. They had a Contax camera. Without drawing it I don't know how to describe it.

MR. HÉBERT. These documents you handed them to photograph; did you witness them photographing the documents?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. HÉBERT. What were those documents?

MISS BENTLEY. I can't tell you which particular ones they were photographing. They had a whole stack.

MR. HÉBERT. Didn't you look at some of them?

MISS BENTLEY. No.

MR. HÉBERT. Your curiosity was not aroused, that you didn't look at these secret documents?

MISS BENTLEY. I only looked at them when they asked me. That was one of the principles. You didn't want to know.

MR. HÉBERT. You looked only when they asked you?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. HÉBERT. When did they ask you?

MISS BENTLEY. Many times we would go through the documents and see which I felt were important enough to be photographed. You have so much film and have to be economical with it, and we were therefore going through these stacks of documents to see which ones we thought would be valuable.

MR. HÉBERT. It was on your judgment?

Miss BENTLEY. Not entirely. In lots of matters I didn't know enough about the material to judge, and I took their word for it, but in some cases they took my word.

Mr. HÉBERT. These documents; were they statistical reports on written letters or interoffice communications or memoranda?

Miss BENTLEY. All sorts of things. They were letters; they were production statistics, airplane statistics; they were practically every type of document.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did they have any stamp on them marked secret or confidential?

Miss BENTLEY. Some were marked secret and some confidential.

Mr. HÉBERT. You saw the stamp on them?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did.

Mr. McDOWELL. Miss Bentley, in your conversations about this photographic equipment, was it ever indicated where the other end of this stuff was—where they were developed? Would it be New York, Moscow, or would you have any idea?

Miss BENTLEY. Originally when they were making—I should say back at the end of 1941 or possibly 1942 when they were doing not too much photographic work, just starting, they developed their own film when they took three or four rolls.

When the bulk increased it was obviously impossible for them to photograph and develop. It took too much time. They were told to give me the film as it was without being developed and I would take it to New York.

Yes, it was discussed, because they often asked me how the film came out and whether or not it had taken well, because in many cases they had carbon copies, which I understand are rather difficult to photograph well.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would you have any idea where the other end of this was? Did you see the films after they were developed in New York, ever?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I did not. They were turned over to a Russian contact. He told me they were developed in this country and he would tell me which ones were bad and which good so we could duplicate them if one didn't turn out.

Mr. McDOWELL. Sometimes you would be told to do it again?

Miss BENTLEY. If it could be obtained again, we did. Sometimes that document was passing through somebody's desk and wouldn't return and they couldn't grab it, and sometimes it went to a file.

Mr. McDOWELL. It was absolutely sure that there was another unit of this spy ring, somebody in New York developing these pictures?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know what you mean by a unit, but it was probably the Russian consulate or Russian Embassy.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. You may step aside.

Mr. Stripling, call your next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Russell, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUSSELL. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. RUSSELL

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, will you state your full name.

Mr. RUSSELL. Louis J. Russell.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. When were you appointed?

Mr. RUSSELL. May 15, 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a former FBI agent?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long were you with the FBI?

Mr. RUSSELL. For 10 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. In connection with your duties as an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities, were you instructed last year to begin an investigation of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. RUSSELL. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. With particular reference to his employment in the Federal Government?

Mr. RUSSELL. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. And his involvement with alleged Soviet espionage activities?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you now detail to the committee the results of your investigation as you obtained them from the Government files and upon the investigations of investigators who worked under you in this particular case.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will, omitting certain phases of the investigation.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is agreeable.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. We don't want to go into certain phases of this report at this time, and if it is agreeable with the Chair, he will skip over that part.

Mr. MUNDT. Very well.

Mr. RUSSELL. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster was born in Russia in 1898. He entered the United States from China where he had attended school.

Silvermaster became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1927. He received an A. B. degree from the University of Washington, which is located in Seattle, Wash., in 1920. In 1932 he received a Ph. D. degree from the University of California.

Silvermaster was employed as a professor by St. Mary's College at Oakland, Calif., from 1924 through 1931. From 1932 to August 1935 he was employed intermittently by the State of California. From August 1935 until November 1938 he was employed by the Farm Security Administration of the United States Government. From November 1938 to July 1940 he was employed by the Maritime Labor Board in Washington, D. C. From July 1940 until December 28, 1941, he was employed by the Department of Agriculture. From December 29, 1944, to April 30, 1945, Silvermaster was employed by the Treasury Department of the United States Government as an economist. On February 1, 1945, Silvermaster was promoted to a position paying \$8,000 per annum with the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department. From May 1 to November 4, 1945, he was employed by



the Department of Commerce in the Surplus Property Office. From November 5, 1945, to March 24, 1946, Silvermaster was employed by the War Assets Administration.

While with the War Assets Administration, Silvermaster was employed at a salary of \$10,000 per annum. Shortly before his resignation from the War Assets Administration in March 1946, Silvermaster received a reduction in grade amounting to \$2,000 per year. Because of this reduction in salary, he resigned from his position with the War Assets Administration and gave as the reason therefor the following statement:

Having performed outstanding service in the field of surplus property disposal since July 1944, I have refused to accept an arbitrary demotion in status from that of Director of the Economic and Market Research Division, Office of Planning and Policy, to that of Deputy Director, Planning and Research Division, Office of Real Property Disposal.

On February 25, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, popularly known as the Dies committee, subpoenaed certain records from the Civil Service Commission. Among the reports submitted to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in compliance with the subpoena were reports dated from May 6 to December 9, 1942. These reports had been submitted to the Civil Service Commission as a result of an investigation which the Commission had conducted at a time when Silvermaster was under consideration for transfer to the position of head economic analyst, Board of Economic Warfare, at a salary rating of \$6,500 annually. Silvermaster, at the time of this investigation, desired to transfer from the Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, where he was employed as Director of the Labor Division.

The following is based upon reports contained in the Civil Service Commission file which was subpoenaed February 25, 1944, by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, popularly known as the Dies committee.

Contained in one of the reports subpoenaed from the Civil Service Commission in 1944 are the following statements:

There is considerable testimony in the file indicating that about 1920, the applicant was an underground agent for the Communist Party. From that time he has been, according to the testimony of numerous witnesses, everything from a fellow traveler to an agent for the OGPU (Russian Secret Police). He has been known and listed in the files of the Seattle Police Department, the Thirteenth Naval District, the San Francisco Police Department, the subversive unit of the American Legion at San Francisco, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as a member and leader of the Communist Party.

Several score of witnesses were interviewed at the various points of investigation and the testimony was overwhelmingly to the effect that from the time that the applicant entered this country to the present date, he has chosen as his close friends and associates, men and women who were either members of the Communist Party, or who by their membership and affiliations in subversive and front organizations, indicated their sympathy for the aims and policies of the Communist Party. Those facts were confirmed in part by the applicant at the time of special hearings. He admitted his close association with the persons referred to in the testimony of various witnesses, among whom are well-known Communists. He admitted that he is aware of the fact that Richard Bransten, alias Richard Brandstein, alias Bruce Minton, is a member of the Communist Party and is at present an editor of New Masses. He stated that Bransten is one of his closest social friends at this time and that he and his wife were guests in the Bransten home along with Paul Robeson and Lee Pressman, 2 weeks before the hearing.

The applicant stated that his only contact with Earl Browder was when they met at a luncheon of the Commonwealth Club at San Francisco in the summer of 1937. He stated that he was a regular attendant at the meetings and participated in the program of this club.

It should be noted that numerous witnesses and the files of various subversive units allege that the applicant was a member of the Fillmore section of the Communist Party at San Francisco.

Various witnesses and the files of various subversive units allege that the applicant was closely associated with Sam Darcy and Harry Bridges, and alternated with Bridges in talking to the waterfront strikers in San Francisco.

Mr. STRIPLING. You referred to various subversive units. Would you amplify the statement? Were you referring to files of various agencies?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are referring to Government agencies?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

The applicant at the special hearing denied talking to the strikers during the waterfront strike and explained that his association with Darcy and Bridges became necessary because of the position he held with the Maritime Labor Board. There is considerable testimony, however, that he was in close contact with them before he was appointed to the Maritime Board and the applicant admitted that he had been a guest at a party given by Sam Kagel at which Bridges was also present and that Harry Bridges and Sam Kagel were guests of his home within the last few months.

I might say that in view of the fact that there are so many persons identified in here no further identifying data other than that given in the Civil Service Commission reports have been included at this time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you stated, Mr. Russell, that this civil-service file—that file, Mr. Chairman, was subpoenaed in 1944 by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. It is not a complete file. The Civil Service Commission refused at the time to honor the subpoena by furnishing the entire file, upon the direction of the President of the United States, because he said it would not be in the public interest to do so. We did receive that much of it, however, and a number of these quotations, which Mr. Russell is giving, are from that file based upon their investigations and information they received from other Government agencies.

Mr. RUSSELL. This is also from the Civil Service Commission report:

The title of the applicant's thesis when he received his Ph. D. at the University of California in 1932 was Lenin's Contribution to Economic Thought Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution. This, in itself, would not necessarily be significant of his political philosophy but when considered with the testimony of the witnesses relating to his Communist activities, it appears to be highly significant.

The applicant denied that he was an agent of the OGPU or a member of the Communist Party. Former members of the Communist Party state that when a Communist is asked as to his membership in the party, he at that moment ceases to be a member until he answers in the negative. After he makes answer his membership is reinstated according to Communist doctrines.

It is possible that some of the testimony in this case is unreliable but granting such, the overwhelming amount of testimony from the many and varied witnesses and sources, indicates beyond reasonable doubt that Nathan Gregory Silvermaster is now, and has for years, been a member and a leader of the Communist Party, and very probably a secret agent of the OGPU.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, you are quoting from the Civil Service report?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. MUNDY. Is that last statement you made from the Civil Service report?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is in the Civil Service Commission report.

Mr. MUNDT. The Civil Service Commission says he probably is a member of the OGPU, which is the state secret police agency of the Communist Party of Russia?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right; better known as the NKVD, and since then as the MVD, but it is the same thing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you identify the person who prepared that memorandum?

Mr. RUSSELL. There were so many it will be difficult to locate them, but I can find it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I will be glad to show this to the committee. However, since this man is still an agent of the investigatory body of the Federal Government, I don't think it would be wise to make his name public. I will submit it to you.

Mr. MUNDT. Show us his name later.

Mr. RUSSELL. Based upon a statement which I read as contained in the Civil Service Commission files, the following recommendation was made by the investigator:

It is hereby recommended that the applicant be declared ineligible for the position of head economist, Board of Economic Warfare. It is further recommended that all of his eligibilities be canceled and that he be debarred for 3 years or for the duration of the emergency, whichever be the longer. It is further recommended that the Secretary of Agriculture be advised as to the derogatory information received concerning the applicant in the course of this investigation.

As a result of the statements mentioned above, Mr. R. E. Greenfield, a rating and reviewing analyst for the Civil Service Commission, made the following recommendation on July 16, 1942:

Ineligible, cancel Mr. Silvermaster's eligibilities on the senior social science analyst register, cancel any and all other pending applications or eligibilities he may have, and bar him for the duration of the national emergency.

Another section of the Civil Service Commission reports, as set forth under a heading "Evidence of Disloyalty," contains the following statement:

There is considerable testimony in the file indicating that about in 1920 Mr. Silvermaster was an underground agent of the Communist Party. From that time until the present, according to the testimony of the witnesses, he has been everything from a fellow traveler to an agent of the OGPU.

He is listed in the files of the Seattle police department as follows: "Gregory N. Silvermaster, alias Gregory Masters, alias Nathan Masters, as a national committeeman at large of the Communist Party, U. S. A. \* \* \* Silvermaster was former agitation propagandist of the Fillmore subsection in the San Francisco, Calif., Thirteenth District Communist Party."

Another section of the Civil Service Commission report states:

The Thirteenth Naval District files show "Original name, N. Zeilbermeister, member of Communist Party in Seattle, Wash. (no date), completely underground in 1920."

Another section of the Civil Service Commission reports, which, as stated, were subpoenaed in 1944, contains this statement:

A great many witnesses were interviewed during the investigation in this case and the testimony is overwhelmingly to the effect that from the time Mr. Silvermaster entered this country to the present time, he has chosen as his close friends and associates men and women who are either members of the Communist Party or who by their membership and affiliation in subversive and front organizations indicate their sympathy for the aims and policies of the Communist Party. At the hearing Mr. Silvermaster admitted various associa-

tions with approximately 50 persons listed by the witnesses in the investigation, among whom are well-known Communists. Harry Bridges, according to Mr. Silvermaster, was in Washington "early this summer" (1942) and contacted Mr. Silvermaster officially and also came to his home regarding certain operations of the waterfront on the Pacific coast. The list of persons referred to included the names of 32 persons listed as Communists or alleged Communists by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Military Intelligence, or various police departments. As an indication that Mr. Silvermaster has continued such associations up until the present time, he listed Mrs. Emily Blair, Mr. Harry Blair, Mr. Harry D. White, Mr. Lee Pressman, and Mr. Richard Bransten, alias Bruce Minton—

Mr. STRIPLING. Have all these people been previously identified in connection with this particular hearing?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mrs. Emily Blair was identified when the record of Ullmann was read into the record this morning as having been the employer of Ullmann.

Mr. STRIPLING. Richard Bransten has been identified previously?

Mr. RUSSELL. Previously identified.

Mr. STRIPLING. And also in the Hollywood investigation.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. His first wife, Louise Bransten, was also identified. Her name appears subsequently.

Mr. STRIPLING. Don't read any names which have not been brought into this particular hearing.

Mr. RUSSELL. All right.

He admitted that he knows that Mr. Bransten is an avowed and open Communist and the editor of *New Masses*.

Other comments contained in the Civil Service Commission file are as follows:

It is considered that the developments in this case which include information from many and varied witnesses and sources raise beyond any reasonable doubt a question of Mr. Silvermaster's loyalty and as that doubt should be resolved in favor of the Government, it is recommended that he be rated ineligible, that his eligibilities on the senior social science analyst register as well as any and all other pending applications or existing eligibilities he may have, be canceled and that he be barred for the duration of the national emergency.

Mr. MUNDT. What date was that statement written by the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. RUSSELL. There were a great number of investigative reports in that file.

Mr. MUNDT. I want to get the year.

Mr. RUSSELL. 1942.

Mr. MUNDT. 1942?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. I want to get the chronology of this thing clear. As I understand it—and it is almost beyond my comprehension—as I understand it, that Civil Service report stating "on the basis of our official investigative bodies of the Government—FBI and Civil Service and Intelligence offices—"that the Civil Service Commission felt Nathan Gregory Silvermaster not only was a Communist of long standing but probably a member of the NKVD or OGPU, the Russian Secret Police Society"—and after that report was made available to the employment agencies, he continued in Government employment.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. For how long after?

Mr. RUSSELL. Excuse me for a moment. It was until 1946. Toward the conclusion of this report there is a statement covering that.

Mr. MUNDT. To a country boy from South Dakota where we don't do things like that, that is almost beyond comprehension, but as long as you have the files of the Civil Service Commission there and are reading from them, and we have the testimony of Silvermaster himself, plus the Government record that he was employed until 1946, we must accept it for fact.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be helpful if the agencies by whom Silvermaster was employed after the date of this report could appear in the record at this point so that the people, in other words, who employed this man with knowledge of this particular report—that certainly should be focused at this point in the record if it is not done so later on.

Mr. MUNDT. Without objection, the staff will place that record in at this point.

We have the record of the Silvermaster employment many different times, but you can break it down chronologically to show with which Government agency he was employed subsequent to the time the Civil Service Commission indicated him as a member of the Russian secret police.

(The data referred to is in the files of the committee.)

Mr. HÉBERT. I think it significant to show that this committee did not come into cognizance of Silvermaster until after these reports were made by other Government agencies. Is that correct?

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. The Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am talking about the Committee on Un-American Activities, the old Dies committee. How long was the Dies committee investigating?

Mr. STRIPLING. They started in 1938.

Mr. HÉBERT. That was prior to the time he came under the surveillance of the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Dies tried to get him fired.

Mr. HÉBERT. He was already in government?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Prior to the time that former Congressman Dies tried to get him fired for his communistic activities, was the Government cognizant of the fact that he had these associations?

Mr. STRIPLING. Here is the record, Mr. Hébert. They were; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am trying to establish this: Silvermaster indicated that this is just another link in a smear campaign by this committee against him.

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. I want the record to show that the Government agency was actually cognizant prior to the activities of this committee of Silvermaster's communistic attachments and affiliations.

Mr. STRIPLING. According to the record, the reason he wasn't removed was because he went to the White House and got Mr. Currie to go to Mr. Patterson in his behalf.

Mr. HÉBERT. I want to establish the fact that the cognizant Government agency had known of his communistic attachments and affiliations prior to the investigation instituted by the old Dies committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. I will have to check into it to see if it was prior to 1938.

MR. MUNDT. For the purpose of correcting the record, Mr. Hébert, when the Chair asked Mr. Silvermaster whether he thought this conspiracy to smear him, of which he spoke, was initiated by and conducted by this committee, he said "No." I then asked him whether it was the FBI, and he gave a rather vague and indefinite reply to that question but did not say this committee was endeavoring to smear him.

MR. RUSSELL. This statement is a quotation from the Civil Service Commission report:

Silvermaster, of course, denied any implications that he is a Communist. In my opinion, such denials sound indeed empty in the face of the cumulative evidence that he is a Communist of great importance.

The opinion expressed is by the Civil Service Commission, not mine.

It will be noted that the testimony linking Silvermaster with communism and with the OGPU (the Russian secret police) comes not only from persons without any ax to grind who have made a study of Communist activities and personalities, but from persons who are themselves in the Communist movement or members of the Communist Party and in the best position to furnish information concerning Silvermaster.

As in all such cases, the evidence is circumstantial. It is so strong, however, that I am convinced, after reading the file, that Silvermaster is in fact a Communist and a worker for the Communist cause.

This [the following] is not a quotation. This is an investigative report of the committee:

With reference to the proposed transfer of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster to the Board of Economic Warfare from the Farm Security Administration, which was the basis for the Civil Service Commission's investigation, it should be noted that the Civil Service Commission received a communication from the Board of Economic Warfare which stated, in part:

\* \* \* action looking to Mr. Silvermaster's employment in such a position has been discontinued, and any investigations which might now be in progress can be canceled.

A memorandum in the Civil Service Commission file regarding the request for termination of the Silvermaster investigation by the Board of Economic Warfare contains this statement:

This, of course, ends the matter insofar as the Board of Economic Warfare is concerned. As the Commission may recall, we have made an exceedingly comprehensive investigation of Mr. Silvermaster at about half a dozen localities in this country. The case was regarded as a very close and important one. The last determination was that it would probably be necessary to make even further investigation.

It is doubtful if in view of the turn the case has taken we have a good basis for proceeding with the investigation. It is believed, however, that we should invite an inspection of the file by officials of the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Silvermaster apparently still being in the Farm Security Administration.

In this connection it might be pointed out that much of the evidence in the case points to the fact that Mr. Silvermaster is one of the really important operatives of the undercover Communist Party in the United States. He has been employed by the Farm Security Administration for a number of years, specifically from 1935 to 1938, and 1940 to date.

MR. HÉBERT. May I interrupt? I want to get this straight in my own mind. What you are reading is quotes from the Civil Service file reports, and is not an expression of your opinion or the opinion of any member of the committee?

MR. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is the Civil Service.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. The letter you read in connection with the barring of Silvermaster from employment by the Government, was that an official act of the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. RUSSELL. That was.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, the Civil Service Commission—and I am speaking of the Civil Service Commission and talking of the Commission itself, the top three—under their authority wrote an order telling the Government not to employ Silvermaster because of the confirmation in their minds of these conclusions which you are reading from their report, in addition also to the report from Naval Intelligence.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is correct?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Then after the Civil Service Commission formally and officially instructed the governmental agencies not to employ Silvermaster, he then went to Lauchlin Currie, who in turn went to Secretary Patterson, who in turn wrote the letter which has been introduced in evidence removing the bar of the Civil Service Commission and allowing him to be employed by the Government: is that right?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is it?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. There was an official action by the Civil Service Commission overridden by the then Secretary of War through the intercession of an administrative assistant from the White House.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the record should show that administrative assistant was Lauchlin Currie, because there were several administrative assistants.

Mr. STRIPLING. In that connection does the file show, Mr. Russell, that Nathan Gregory Silvermaster gave Lauchlin Currie as a reference?

Mr. RUSSELL. In the interview which the Civil Service Commission conducted with Mr. Silvermaster there is a statement to the effect that he is a friend of Lauchlin Currie.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who else did he list as a reference or friend?

Mr. RUSSELL. He listed Harry D. White as a social acquaintance as well as Mr. White's wife. He also listed Nathan Witt, and there are numerous individuals whom he identified during the course of his interrogation by the Civil Service Commission whom he would not identify when he appeared before this committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Investigator William Wheeler of the committee staff is prepared to testify that the Civil Service in making its investigation communicated with Lauchlin Currie as to the fitness and loyalty of Mr. Silvermaster. Mr. Currie recommended Mr. Silvermaster.

Now, I don't want to expose the investigator or the people who handled that for the Government agency, but Mr. Wheeler has a direct statement to that effect and will so testify, if necessary.

Mr. MUNDT. We have the name of the Civil Service investigator who made that statement?

Mr. STRIPLING. We do.

Mr. MUNDT. So if necessary, if Mr. Currie comes in under oath and denies that, we can subpoena him.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is already under subpoena.

Mr. MUNDT. The Chair would like to announce while counsel is conferring that J. Peters, alias Alexander Stevens, alias Isidore Boorstein, who has been brought into this hearing as one of the key figures and one of the master minds of the whole conspiracy and whom we have been trying to locate for a long time so we could serve a subpoena on him, we have just received word from Mr. Watson B. Miller, Commissioner of Immigration, that they will locate this man for us now so we can serve a subpoena upon him and we shall serve it forthwith.

Is that all, Mr. Stripling, for this morning?

Mr. STRIPLING. We would like permission to include the entire memorandum, an analysis of the Civil Service file, as well as our own investigation, into the record unless the committee wants to hear all of it.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the committee has heard enough and you can put the whole statement into the record so that we will have the whole thing entirely in context.

(The information referred to is as follows:)

RECORD OF J. PETERS, ALSO KNOWN AS J. PETER, J. V. PETERS, ALEXANDER GOLDBERGER, ROBERTS, STEVE LAPIN, PETE STEVENS, STEVE MILLER, ISADOR BOORSTEIN, STEVEN LAPUR, ALEXANDER STEVENS

J. PETERS

J. Peters is the author of a pamphlet entitled "The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization" published by the Workers Library Publishers in July 1932 and described his experiences in his book, *I Was a Soviet Worker* (Dutton).

The Party Organizer was for a time an internal organ of the Communist Party, USA, devoted to matters of organization. It was circulated only within party ranks and its contributors were restricted to members of the party. J. Peters contributed articles to this magazine in its issues of June 1931, page 1; July 1934, page 26; February 1937, page 7; September 1933.

The Communist was for a number of years the official, theoretical, monthly organ of the Communist Party, USA. Its contributors were restricted to members of the party. Articles by J. Peters are to be found in the Communist for September 1933, page 948, and October 1935, page 1095.

Andrew Smith was an American Communist who visited the Soviet Union in 1932 and described his experiences in his book *I Was a Soviet Worker* (Dutton). In the appendix of this book are facsimiles of two documents, one certifying to the reliability of Andrew Smith as a Communist and also announcing his transfer to the Soviet Union. The first is dated March 7, 1932 and the second is dated March 17, 1932. Both are signed by J. Peters as the "Acting Representative, CP USA, E. C. C. I." (the abbreviations stand for Communist Party, USA, Executive Committee of the Communist International).

The Krumbein Training School was organized in 1936 for the purpose of training Communist leaders. It was named in honor of Charles Krumbein, a Communist leader now deceased. The Daily Worker of June 8, 1936, page 5, shows that J. Peters was an instructor at the Krumbein Training School.

On October 30, 1947, Louis J. Russell, investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities, submitted the following testimony regarding the activities of J. Peters:

"On May 3, 1942, Alexander Stevens, also known as J. Peters, and whose real name is Goldberger, visited Los Angeles, Calif. When he arrived in Los Angeles he was met by Herbert Biberman at the Union Station. During that day a meeting was held by Alexander Stevens, Waldo Salt, and Herbert Biberman,



\* \* \* Also on that same date a third meeting was held by Alexander Stevens, J. Peters, R. Goldberger, as he is known, Morton Grant, John Howard Lawson, and Vera Harris, the wife of Lou Harris, a screen writer.

"During the evening of May 3, 1942, another meeting was held in Herbert Biberman's home between Stevens or Peters, John Howard Lawson, Lester Cole, Madeline Ruthven, and Herta Uerkvitz. Lester Cole is a screen writer while Ruthven Uerkvitz are Communist Party functionaries in Los Angeles, Calif. Ruthven, Lawson, Stevens, and Salt also held a meeting on the same date, late at night, in the home of Waldo Salt. During this visit, among other things, Stevens was working on the Communist-inspired movement to secure the release of Earl Browder, Communist Party president at that time, from a Federal penitentiary, where he had been incarcerated on a charge of using a false passport to travel to the Soviet Union."

"Stevens also had a very successful financial trip since he collected \$1,500, or furnished this sum to Communist Party functionaries in California, which he had received from Louise Bransten. He also received the sum of \$2,200 from a Ruth Wilson, whom I can identify in executive session, \* \* \*

"Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, with reference to J. Peters, or Stevens, I should like to state that the committee issued a subpoena calling for his appearance before the committee yesterday. However, we have been unable to serve the subpoena. It was issued several months ago. He was arrested by the immigration authorities about 3 weeks ago in Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

"The committee has evidence to show that J. Peters, or Alexander Stevens, or Isadore Boorstein, as he is also known, has for years been the leader of the underground section of the Communist Party in the United States.

"The committee has the passport, a fraudulent passport, by the way, on which he traveled to the Soviet Union on October 7, 1931, under the name of Isadore Boorstein. When and if we can obtain Mr. Peters and have him before the committee we will go into great detail concerning his activities. \* \* \*

"Mr. STRIPLING. Can you tell the committee whether your investigation disclosed whether or not Peters was, or Alexander Stevens was, very successful in raising funds among various people in the motion-picture industry when he was out there in behalf of Earl Browder?

"Mr. RUSSELL. Well, the donations that I know about are those received from Louise Bransten and Ruth Wilson. However, it is known that Bransten—or, that Stevens, or Peters, as he is known, visited a bank with Herbert Biberman and that Biberman entered a safety deposit box in the bank. However, I can't state whether or not he got money from the box.

"Mr. STRIPLING. He did enter the bank with Peters?

"Mr. RUSSELL. That is right" (pp. 517-519, Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Regarding the Communist Infiltration of the Motion-Picture Industry).

On February 6, 1947, Mr. Louis F. Budenz submitted the following testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities:

"You can understand then that Mr. Berger-Eisler's power, in part, is the fact that he is the receptacle of the line and of the orders as they come from Moscow.

"But there are others. J. V. Peters. I would like to mention that gentleman because he will undoubtedly appear again. J. V. Peters, known as Roberts, known as Steve; in fact, having so many different names that, as I say, he made me dizzy trying to keep track of them, he also was part of this apparatus" (p. 46, Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities on Gerhart Eisler, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States).

On November 22, 1946, Mr. Louis F. Budenz testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities, in part: "there was a Peters—the last man changed his name so much that it kept me busy trying to remember what the name was.

"I was frequently embarrassed as to what I was to call him—J. V. Peters, Jack Roberts, or whatever the new name might be. \* \* \*

"Now, as a matter of fact, the Peters mentioned had written a pamphlet for the Communist Party long ago under the name of J. V. Peters, and that places him. As a matter of fact, it was Peters who introduced me to the idea of the conspiratorial apparatus of the Communist Party. He is a pleasant man, too, so far as that goes. He told me that the Communist Party is like a submerged submarine; the part that you see above water is the periscope, but the part underneath is the real Communist organization; that is the conspiratorial apparatus" (pp. 13, 14, Revised Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States).

The Daily Worker of May 27, 1929, pages 1 and 5, refers to J. Peter as follows: "Unreserved acceptance of the decisions contained in the Comintern letter is pledged in the resolutions adopted by the Hungarian Bureau of the Communist Party at its meeting, Thursday, May 23, and sent to the Central Committee of the party through J. Peter, secretary."

The Daily Worker of May 24, 1929, page 1, carried the following statement of J. Peter:

"From Hungarian Bureau Secretary.

"I fully and unreservedly endorse and accept the Comintern letter and the Polcom's unanimous decisions. I pledge my full support to the Central Committee fighting against all factionalism, for building the mass Communist Party in the United States. I will do all in my power to mobilize members to support the Comintern letter and the unanimous decisions of the Central Committee."

"J. PETER,

*"Hungarian Bureau, Communist Party."*

J. Peter contributed articles to the Daily Worker on October 10, 1933, and October 11, 1933.

J. Peters contributed articles to the Daily Worker on May 30 and 31, 1933.

#### STEVE MILLER

Steve Miller is mentioned as a speaker at special meetings held during the week of April 9, 1946, on The Struggle for Peace and Building the Communist Party. According to the Daily Worker of April 9, 1946, these meetings were arranged by the New York County of the Communist Party.

According to a confidential report in our files, Steve Miller was a delegate to the New York State special convention of the Communist Political Association held on August 10, 11, and 12, 1945.

Mr. MUNDT. The hearing will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 10:30, at which time we will hear Alger Hiss.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p. m., the committee recessed until 10:30 a. m., Thursday, August 5, 1948.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,

*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Karl E. Mundt presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Karl E. Mundt, John McDowell, Richard M. Nixon, John E. Rankin, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, and Robert B. Gaston, investigators, and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

Mr. MUNDT. The committee will come to order, please.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, before starting, I have a request I want to make. It has been testified that a large number of these individuals who are charged with being Communist spies were working in the Department of Commerce during the time that Henry A. Wallace was Secretary of that Department.

Since these individuals were evidently appointed by him, I suggest that Henry A. Wallace be subpoenaed to come before the committee and tell us why these Communists who were plotting the overthrow of the Government were placed in key positions in his Department at a time when our young men were fighting and dying on every battle front in the world for the protection of this country.

Mr. MUNDT. The Chair will say the committee is going to have an executive session this afternoon and that request will be considered at that time.

Mr. McDowell has a statement to make.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. RANKIN. I would like to submit this for the record.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I received this morning a telephone call from a conscience-stricken employee of the Government, discussing in some detail the transfer of American currency plates to the Soviet Government. It is well known to many that that cost, in the occupation zones over there, the United States Government many millions of dollars.

Since I received the call I have been thinking over a number of things, and I think I should state this at this time publicly—that I have been a member of a special subcommittee that was appointed sometime ago by the chairman of the full Committee on Un-American Activities. This committee has been sitting in executive session for some time.

The committee, I feel, was appointed without even the knowledge of some of the members of the Committee on Un-American Activities. We have been taking testimony on many things leading up to the present hearings today.

As the widespread ramifications of this intense espionage ring begin to unfold here, I feel that the American people should know what is coming to be well known to all who observe the situation—that we most certainly won the war and are most rapidly losing the peace.

I have left my home in Pittsburgh a number of times to rush down here and take testimony. Among other things that I will reveal now is that at the very height of atomic research in 1943, at the most desperate part of the American war effort, there were two shipments of uranium compound, the most substantial element of atomic energy, made to Russia after tremendous pressure on all phases of the American Government on the part of Russian agents, some of them known and acknowledged as Russian agents and others who had established themselves by surreptitious methods in the American Government.

These shipments were made from a small, obscure airfield in the United States, the first one of 300 pounds and the second of 1,000 pounds.

We have established almost beyond question that a shipment of heavy water was sent to Russia, under pressure partly from legitimate and legal sources and partly from the pressure exerted by members of this ring, whether they were known or unknown members of the ring. We know that a factory was flown entirely to Russia.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman says these plates for the printing of American money were sent to Russia. Were those Federal Reserve plates? And what was being printed—was it Federal Reserve notes being printed over there?

Mr. McDOWELL. I am unable to answer the gentleman's question other than they were currency plates from the United States Department of the Treasury.

Mr. RANKIN. We have that bill before the House today, to amend the Federal Reserve Act. It seems to me that this is a very vital question. If they have been printing Federal Reserve money and making it legal tender at the expense of the United States, I think it ought to be brought out on the floor.

Mr. McDOWELL. The gentleman from Mississippi has noted this morning that the Commerce Department was heavily infiltrated by these people—the story is beginning to be unfolded here—and this is only the beginning of the story. It might be well to point out to the gentleman from Mississippi and all the rest of the members of this committee that we have discovered that the infiltration is also deep in the State Department, deep in the Department of the Treasury, deep in the War Production Board, deep even in the OSS of the United States Army during the hostilities.

Mr. RANKIN. How about the last two political conventions?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to say that in the testimony that has been taken in executive session, some of the highest and most beloved and most honored citizens of the United States have appeared and

gladly testified to the activities that they knew about and were willing to give their Government at this period.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Stripling, who is your first witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to call Congressman Busbey, of Illinois, for the purpose of putting into the record a letter which he received from the Commissioner of Civil Service, Mr. Flemming. It relates directly to the Silvermaster matter, and I think it is pertinent to be in the record.

Mr. MUNDT. Is Congressman Busbey in the room?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. I would like the record to show that Representative Busbey was an honored and very effective and very valuable member of the Committee on Un-American Activities when Mr. Dies, of Texas, was chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Will you stand and be sworn, Mr. Busbey?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BUSBEY. I do.

Mr. MUNDT. You may be seated.

#### TESTIMONY OF HON. FRED E. BUSBEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Busbey, will you give your full name, please.

Mr. BUSBEY. Fred E. Busbey.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are a Representative in Congress from the State of Illinois?

Mr. BUSBEY. Representing the Third District in the Eightieth Congress.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Busbey, in connection with your official duties as a Member of the House, did you investigate, last year, the activities of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster while he was employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. BUSBEY. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the committee any information at this time which would be pertinent to the inquiry under consideration.

Mr. BUSBEY. I think, Mr. Stripling, I should state at the beginning that I have been interested in running down subversive activities in the United States ever since 1921.

I was a member of the Seventy-eighth Congress; I was not reelected for the Seventy-ninth Congress, and I was elected for the Eightieth Congress.

One of the first things I did, upon being sworn in as a Member of the Eightieth Congress was to write Mr. Arthur Flemming, one of the Commissioners of the United States Civil Service Commission, a letter regarding Carl A. Marzani and Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

If the committee will permit, I have dictated a memorandum leading up to these letters that I would like to read as I go along and then put the letters into the record.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that agreeable to the chairman?

Mr. MUNDT. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, the people of the United States are wondering just how far the Communists have infiltrated into highly confidential Government positions. For the past several days we have listened to and read with amazement the stories related by former Communist functionaries. One in particular spent the war years in getting secret information to be sent to a foreign government. While we are at a loss to understand why an American would furnish military or otherwise confidential information to the agent of a foreign government, we should be more concerned as to how persons of such weak character were placed in Government positions.

I have given considerable thought and study to this question, and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that the fault lies squarely on the shoulders of the Civil Service Commission. What caused me to reach such a conclusion?

To begin with, the Civil Service Commission is the employing agency for the Federal Government. One of its duties is to determine the fitness and suitability of those persons seeking Government employment. Loyalty to our form of government was generally presumed, but in the early day of the preparedness program the Civil Service Commission no longer presumed applicants for Government positions to be loyal. On May 29, 1940, the Commission issued the following press release:

The United States Civil Service Commission has decided officially that as a matter of policy it will not certify to any department or agency the name of any person when it has been established that he is a member of the Communist Party, German Bund, or any other Communist or Nazi organization.

A restatement of this policy was made by Arthur Flemming, a member of the Civil Service Commission, on December 12, 1940, when he testified before a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Seventy-seventh Congress. Mr. Flemming said:

In connection with all our investigations, we are keeping this policy in mind: If we find anybody has had any associations with the Communists or the German Bund, or any other foreign organization of that kind, that person is disqualified immediately. All doubts are being resolved in favor of the Government.

Now, gentlemen, let me impress that one sentence on you. That is a statement by Mr. Flemming of the Civil Service Commission on December 12 before the Appropriations Committee:

All doubts are being resolved in favor of the Government.

On September 7, 1941, Hon. Martin Dies, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, charged that Leon Henderson, Price Administrator, had employed at least 50 persons with records of affiliations with Communist front organizations. Specifically, Mr. Dies named—I am not going to read this portion to the committee, but ask permission that it be incorporated at this point in the record. It has to do with one individual particularly, a Tom Tippett, and showed how the committee did not resolve these things in favor of the Government.

(The material referred to above is as follows:)

Tom Tippett, Assistant Chief, Rent Section, \$5,600 per annum.  
 E. J. Lever, principal field representative, \$5,600 per annum.  
 Mildred Brady, principal specialist, \$5,600 per annum.  
 Robert A. Brady, head consultant, \$7,500 per annum.  
 Dewey H. Palmer, consultant, \$20 per day.

I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the Communist front affiliations of these five persons, but I do want to mention something about Mr. Tippet. The record shows Mr. Tippet was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The letterhead of this organization carries the following statement of purpose:

It aims to inspire the workers to take control of government and industry, to abolish capitalism, and to build a workers' republic.

In addition, Mr. Tippet was among the sponsors of a banquet given Ella Reeve Bloor, affectionately referred to by Communists as "Mother Bloor." He was a member of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. He was a staff writer for the Communist Daily Worker. Together with Earl Browder and William Z. Foster, he was a speaker at a meeting of the Workers Party in Chicago in 1923. He was a speaker at a meeting of the Communist Trade Union Educational League where he was introduced by Foster. If not an actual Communist, Mr. Tippet certainly could be classified as having had association with Communists, who, according to Commissioner Flemming, were disqualified immediately. Mr. Tippet was disqualified by the Commission. But Mr. Leon Henderson interceded on behalf of Mr. Tippet and the Civil Service Commission, utterly disregarding their statement of policy to Congress, rated Mr. Tippet eligible. The Commission said that Mr. Tippet had been indiscreet and sometimes unwise in his associations and utterances.

From there on the record of similar actions by the Civil Service Commission in permitting Communists and their fellow travelers to obtain important Government positions is almost endless and continues to the present day.

I want to submit proof of how the Communists and Communist sympathizers obtain important and confidential positions. On January 6, 1947, I wrote Mr. Arthur S. Flemming of the Civil Service Commission asking for information on two persons then employed in the Government service. They were Carl Aldo Marzani and Nathan Gregory Silvermaster. On January 8, 1947, I received the following reply:

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,  
Washington 25, D. C., January 8, 1947.

HON. FRED E. BUSBEY,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BUSBEY: Reference is made to your letter of January 6, 1947, regarding the recommendations and final action taken by the Commission in the cases of Carl A. Marzani and Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

In the case of Carl A. Marzani, ineligibility was recommended by the rating examiner of the Investigations Division, which recommendation was concurred in by the reviewer and the chief of the Investigations Division. His case was reviewed by two staff members and the Executive Director and Chief Examiner, all of whom recommended ineligibility. The Commission rated Mr. Marzani ineligible, and from this rating, Mr. Marzani appealed and was given a hearing before the Board of Appeals and Review, at which time Messrs. H. C. Barton, chief of the Presentation Division, Emil Despres of the Board of Analysis, Prof. Edward S. Mason of the Board of Analysis, and Maj. D. Thompson of the Army Service Forces, all of whom were fellow employees, with the exception of Mr. H. C. Barton, who was the supervisor under whom Mr. Marzani was employed, and all of whom were with the Office of Strategic Services, testified emphatically regarding Mr. Marzani's loyalty. Thereafter, the Board of Appeals and Review recommended eligibility, and the case was again reviewed by two staff members, one of whom recommended ineligibility and the other eligibility, the eligible

rating being concurred in by the Executive Director and Chief Examiner. The Commission then rated Mr. Marzani eligible.

Additional information regarding Mr. Marzani has recently come to light, and the entire file regarding Mr. Marzani was referred to the Department of Justice for their consideration. Subsequent to the receipt of your letter of January 6, 1947, a conference was held with the Department of Justice regarding Mr. Marzani's case, at which time the Department of Justice expressed the desire that any information whatsoever regarding him be held in strict confidence.

That concludes the part of the letter in reference to Carl A. Marzani. I would like to say in that connection that Mr. Flemming delivered this letter to me at my office in person and we had a discussion of this Marzani case and the Silvermaster case for an hour and a half.

Mr. RANKIN. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. BUSBEY. January 8, 1947. Mr. Flemming pleaded with me not to expose the information I had at that time on Mr. Marzani, and he also stated that if I did not expose it, that he was almost certain they could bring about an indictment of Mr. Marzani.

I served what was in effect an ultimatum on Mr. Flemming that I would give them exactly 14 days to indict Mr. Marzani. Twelve days after this conference Mr. Marzani was indicted and, as you know, was convicted. Unfortunately, he was only convicted for falsifying his statements to the State Department and not convicted for his Communist activities, because notwithstanding the fact this letter was 1947, the Civil Service Commission had a record of Mr. Marzani in their files as far back as 1942 after his Communist affiliations were known and under his Communist Party name of Tony Wales.

Reading further from the letter:

With regard to the case of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, this case first came to the attention of the Commission when the Board of Economic Warfare requested his transfer from the Department of Agriculture. While Mr. Silvermaster had been in the Federal service since 1935, he held excepted positions and was not under the Commission's jurisdiction. The rating examiner of the Investigations Division recommended ineligibility, which recommendation was concurred in by the reviewer and the Chief of the Investigations Division. Two staff members reviewed the file and concurred in the recommendation of ineligibility. The Executive Director and Chief Examiner likewise recommended ineligibility. At this point, further investigation was decided upon. Before this was completed, the Board of Economic Warfare advised the Commission that they were no longer interested in Mr. Silvermaster, and the investigation was discontinued because we no longer had jurisdiction.

Mr. Silvermaster's case again came to the attention of the Commission when the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department requested his transfer from the Department of Agriculture. The case was referred to the Loyalty Rating Board for consideration. The Loyalty Rating Board requested further investigation. Upon review of this case, the Loyalty Rating Board examiner recommended ineligibility, and the Loyalty Rating Board concurred in the recommendation of ineligibility.

The Commission, in reviewing this case, relied chiefly upon the testimony contained in the files of the Military Intelligence Division, which revealed that the then Under Secretary of War, Judge Robert P. Patterson, on July 3, 1942, wrote to the Honorable Milo Perkins, Board of Economic Warfare, Washington, D. C., to the effect that "I have personally made an examination of the case and have discussed it with Major Gen. G. V. Strong, G-2. I am fully satisfied that the facts do not show anything derogatory to Mr. Silvermaster's character or loyalty to the United States, and that the charges in the report of June 3 are unfounded."

The Commission relied on the further fact that on July 1, 1944, the President's Interdepartmental Committee advised the Department of Agriculture as follows:

"It is the opinion of the Committee that the record as submitted does not contain sufficient information to warrant charges pursuant to the statutes which prohibit the retention in Government service of a person who is a member of an organization which advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence, or who personally so advocates."



The Commission rated Mr. Silvermaster eligible for transfer to the Treasury Department.

Prior to the date of your letter of January 6, 1947, the Commission authorized the review of borderline cases in order that they may be reviewed in the light of present-day standards. The Silvermaster case was included among those to be reviewed. Upon review, the Commission will inform you of any action it may decide to take.

Very sincerely yours,

ARTHUR S. FLEMMING,  
*Commissioner.*

Later I received a letter dated February 24, 1947, in which Mr. Flemming stated, and I read his letter:

DEAR MR. BUSBEY: In a previous communication addressed to you I indicated that the Commission was reviewing the case of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and that I would provide you with a report of the action taken as a result of this review.

A majority of the Commission has decided that inasmuch as Mr. Silvermaster is no longer in the Government service, it is not now necessary for the Commission to reconsider its previous action, but that his name should be flagged so that if he does come into the Government service again, the question of his suitability can be given further consideration.

The minutes of the Commission will show that I dissent from this action on the ground that he should in my judgment be barred at this time for an indefinite period from Federal employment.

Very sincerely yours,

ARTHUR S. FLEMMING,  
*Commissioner.*

I want to call attention to one especially significant part of Mr. Flemming's letter of January 8, 1947. He said that the examiner on the Loyalty Rating Board and the Loyalty Rating Board itself recommended ineligibility but that the Civil Service Commission in holding that Silvermaster was qualified for Government employment on the question of loyalty relied chiefly on the recommendation of the Under Secretary of War, Robert P. Patterson, and further relied on the opinion of the Interdepartmental Committee. Mr. Flemming did not advise me that he knew the basis for Secretary Patterson's recommendation or the opinion of the Interdepartmental Committee. Therefore, I am bound to conclude that he did not know why such favorable recommendations were made. This case is proof of the fact that the Civil Service Commission ignored the recommendations of its qualified personnel and succumbed to the whims and wishes of those of higher authority.

Before I leave Mr. Flemming's letter of January 8, 1947, I want to call attention to one thing that seems to me is the key to the question as to how persons of questionable loyalty secured Government positions. Mr. Flemming says that the Commission authorized the review of border-line cases in the light of present-day standards.

As I stated earlier, Mr. Flemming told Congress on December 12, 1940, that the policy of the Civil Service Commission was to resolve all doubts in favor of the Government.

I will leave it to the committee after the testimony they have already heard from witnesses as to whether that was a true statement or not.

Several years later when questioned before the same subcommittee as to this statement of policy, Mr. Flemming stated that it was still in effect. If the rule in 1940 and 1943 was to disqualify immediately all persons who had any association with Communists or the German

Bund, Mr. Flemming should be called upon to say when the rule was changed and why.

Referring now to Mr. Flemming's letter of February 24, 1947. It is most interesting. He says that inasmuch as Mr. Silvermaster is no longer in the Government service it would not be necessary for the Commission to reconsider its previous action but a majority of the Commissioners agreed to flag Mr. Silvermaster—in the event he does enter the Government service again his case will be given further consideration.

Mr. Flemming called my attention to the fact that he dissented with the majority as he thought Mr. Silvermaster should be barred from further Government employment for an indefinite period.

What I would like to know is when Mr. Flemming changed his mind. He should be called before this committee and asked to explain why he agreed that Silvermaster was suitable for Government employment one day and of the opinion he should be barred indefinitely another day, all on the same record. Is not this ample evidence of the inconsistency of the actions of the Civil Service Commission and does it not show that the Civil Service Commission is not the proper Government agency to administer a loyalty program?

If the records of the Civil Service Commission were made available to a committee of Congress we would learn how the Tippetts, the Thomas I. Emersons, the Nathan Gregory Silvermasters, the Josephine Herbsts, the Donald Wheelers, the Carl Marzanis, the Michael Greenbergs, and hundred of such ilk were approved for Government employment.

I might say that on November 29 and December 2 of 1943 I made two speeches on this very subject on the floor of the House, which were responsible for my being asked to go on the Committee on Un-American Activities at that time, and the information was denied us on some hundred-odd employees we had under consideration at the time. We were denied access to such information. The Civil Service Commission does not want such record exposed to the light of publicity. They do not want it to become known how totally unqualified they were to administer an adequate loyalty program. One of the most outstanding examples of the ability of the Communists to ensconce themselves in highly confidential Government positions is the case of Carl Aldo Marzani. The Civil Service Commission knew that Marzani had been an organizer for the Communist Party on New York City's East Side; they knew he had signed and circulated Communist Party nominating petitions and in fact they had all the information that was later introduced in the trial of Marzani. Yet the Civil Service Commission put its stamp of approval on Marzani. This, in my opinion, is the grossest kind of malfeasance and the persons who ignored the evidence and recommended and rated Marzani eligible should be indicted.

The record of the Civil Service Commission reveals all too plainly that they placed incompetent and unqualified persons in positions that enabled them to nullify the outstanding work of a corps of able investigators.

On November 29, 1943, from the floor of the House I revealed the instructions issued by the Civil Service Commission to its investigators. Those instructions had the effect of hamstringing the loyalty

inquiries. I later learned that these instructions were prepared by Alfred Klein, the chief attorney for the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, will Mr. Busbey yield and allow me to ask a question in order to identify the member of the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. BUSBEY. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Was he a Republican or a Democrat?

Mr. BUSBEY. I am very sorry to say he is supposed to be a Republican appointee on the Civil Service Commission, but in my judgment, in view of his record, I have never recognized him as such. [Laughter.]

Mr. HÉBERT. But he was the Republican member of the Commission?

Mr. BUSBEY. Well, the Republican Party had nothing to do with recommending or sponsoring or O. K.'ing Mr. Flemming's appointment to the Commission. It was done on the absolute authority of the President of the United States at that time, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, without consulting anyone, and Mr. Roosevelt picked him up as a Republican.

Mr. HÉBERT. Of course, Mr. Busbey, we southerners have much sympathy with such problems as you Republicans have.

Mr. RANKIN. Governor Dewey was appointed by a Democratic mayor of New York, you will remember.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like permission of the chairman to allow me to incorporate into the record at this point the entire instructions to the investigators of the Civil Service Commission, released on November 3, 1943. I do not want to take the time of the committee to read the entire document but there are just one or two paragraphs of instructions that I think are very pertinent to what you are investigating.

Instruction No. 3 says:

Do not ask any question whatever involving the applicant's sympathy with Loyalists in Spain. This means that the investigator should avoid not only asking about the applicant's sympathy with the Spanish War, but no reference should be made to any such organizations as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade or any other of the many Spanish relief groups. The whole matter of the war in Spain should be scrupulously avoided by the investigator as having any bearing on procommunism.

Now, anybody that knows anything about the Spanish situation knows that the Loyalists in Spain and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were definitely 100-percent Communist outfits. The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been on the list of Attorney General Tom Clark as one of the Communist-front organizations.

I may say in passing that while this instruction 3 on this instruction sheet refers to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, on Tom Clark's list it appears as Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The reason it appears as Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is that those who are not veterans didn't come back.

No. 4 reads:

Do not ask any question about membership in the Washington Book Shop or any book shop in any city similar to the Washington Book Shop.

Now, mind you, gentlemen, these are the instructions of the Commission to those investigators that prohibited them from finding out

anything about any Communist activities of anyone they were investigating.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUSBEY. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. The same rule applies under the FEPC in the State of New York. You can't ask a man those questions. A man who is employing employees under the law of that State can't ask a man where he is from or what his name was before it was changed or what organizations he belongs to. This is following in the wake of that.

Mr. MUNDT. You may proceed.

Mr. BUSBEY. Instruction No. 5 reads:

In asking an applicant whether he knows a certain individual, that individual should not be characterized in any way so as to show the individual's views or leanings. For illustration, an applicant should not be asked: "Do you know John Jones, reputed to be a Communist?" The question, if at all necessary, should be: "Do you know John Jones, and what has been the nature of your association with him?"

Rule 6 reads:

Do not ask a husband, who is an applicant, questions about his wife and do not ask a wife, who is an applicant, questions about her husband. Ask the applicant only as to matters having to do with himself but not with members of his family or others.

I am going to show you in just a moment where that is essential because there is a certain person in a key position in this Government whose wife has been a known Communist out in the open for many years.

Mr. RANKIN. That same regulation is written into the FEPC law in New York.

Mr. McDOWELL. What is the difference?

Mr. RANKIN. It is just this: The Communists seem to have got their hands in this FEPC in the State of New York and all over the country and it is just the same old pattern. They have written those regulations, just exactly what the gentleman from Illinois has read there. They have written the same regulations into the law of the State of New York, which was signed by Mr. Dewey with 22 pens.

Mr. BUSBEY. Skipping down to instruction 8:

In speaking to the applicant or to a witness, do not characterize an organization as communistic or Fascist. Do not characterize it at all. Do not say, "We have information that you have been active in the International Labor Defense, a Communist organization." Say, rather: "We have information that you have been connected with the International Labor Defense. Have you been associated with this organization and what has been the nature of such association?"

I will read just one more instruction, No. 9:

Do not ask a witness any question in such form that the witness may derive information regarding the applicant which he otherwise would not have.

Just got that, will you? Just let me read that again:

Do not ask a witness any question in such form that the witness may derive information regarding the applicant which he otherwise would not have.

To continue with the balance of No. 9:

Remember that your task is to obtain information and not give information. Do not ask a witness whether John Jones, the applicant, is a Communist unless you immediately follow with the question whether John Jones is a Fascist or pro-Nazi. The same applies with respect to the questioning of the applicant

Gentlemen of the committee, I might say that that document is the basis for the Communists coming into the Government and hamstringing any investigation. As a result of that investigation going out to the investigators in the field, practically all of the good investigators of the Civil Service Commission were so disgusted with having their hands tied, men who had been in this field for many years, they quit the Commission and they had nobody down there who knows anything about the subject of communism.

(The instructions to the regional directors follow:)

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,  
Washington, D. C., November 3, 1943.

*Regional Directors:*

The Manual of Instructions on Loyalty Investigations, which was fully discussed with regional directors and a copy of which was placed in the hands of every regional director and investigator in charge for the guidance of investigators, contained detailed information regarding methods of investigation and questions to be avoided. Previously definite instructions had been issued that no questions should be asked regarding union membership or activities. It has recently come to the attention of the Commission that investigators have been asking persons under investigation, and witnesses, questions which the Commission had specifically directed should not be asked. In order that such offenses be not repeated, there is set forth below a list of the things investigators should continually have in mind. Copies of these instructions should be immediately placed in the hands of every investigator.

1. Under no circumstances should any question be asked of an applicant or a witness involving union membership, union associations, or union activities. Not only should the applicant not be asked about membership in a union but any question should be avoided which might elicit from the applicant or from a witness union membership or activities.

2. If in the course of the investigation witnesses say that a certain person is a Communist because he has associated with certain persons in a union known or said to be Communists, the investigator should not ask the applicant about his association with these particular individuals, since the asking of such questions would expose the Commission to the charge that this is an indirect way of connecting the applicant with union activities. In other words, the question of unionism should not be brought up in any way in an investigation, either directly or indirectly.

3. Do not ask any question whatever involving the applicant's sympathy with Loyalists in Spain. This means that the investigator should avoid not only asking about the applicant's sympathy in the Spanish war but no reference should be made to any such organizations as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade or any other of the many Spanish relief groups. The whole matter of the war in Spain should be scrupulously avoided by the investigator as having any bearing on procommunism.

4. Do not ask any question about membership in the Washington Book Shop or any book shop in any city similar to the Washington Book Shop.

5. In asking an applicant whether he knows a certain individual, that individual should not be characterized in any way so as to show the individual's views or leanings. For illustration, an applicant should not be asked: "Do you know John Jones, reputed to be a Communist?" The question, if at all necessary, should be: "Do you know John Jones, and what has been the nature of your association with him?"

6. Do not ask a husband, who is an applicant, questions about his wife, and do not ask a wife, who is an applicant, questions about her husband. Ask the applicant only as to matters having to do with himself but not with members of his family or others.

7. During the special interview never argue with the applicant or indicate that you think he is evasive. Simply ask the question and record the answer. If it is your opinion that the applicant is evasive or untruthful, you may say so in your report and give the basis for your statement.

8. In speaking to the applicant or to a witness do not characterize an organization as communistic or Fascist. Do not characterize it at all. Do not say: "We have information that you have been active in the International Labor

Defense, a Communist organization." Say, rather: "We have information that you have been connected with the International Labor Defense. Have you been associated with this organization and what has been the nature of such association?"

9. Do not ask a witness any question in such form that the witness may derive information regarding the applicant which he otherwise would not have. Remember that your task is to obtain information and not give information. Do not ask a witness whether John Jones, applicant, is a Communist unless you immediately follow with the question whether John Jones is a Fascist or pro-Nazi. The same applies with respect to the questioning of the applicant.

10. Under no circumstances ask any question or make any statement to the applicant or to a witness relating directly or indirectly to the color, race, creed, or religion of an applicant or witness.

11. Obtain all available information from witnesses which will help establish whether the applicant was a Communist Party line conformist. Do not discuss the party line with the applicant or with witnesses. Familiarize yourself thoroughly with the party line test and ask questions which will specifically bring out whether the applicant changed his views at certain periods but do not mention party line unless the witness offers the information that the applicant did follow the Communist Party line. In that event ask the witness specifically what statement or actions on the part of the applicant he has in mind or knows about which leads him to the conclusion that the applicant was a party line follower. Again, have in mind it is not your function to argue or give information but merely to elicit information. Attached hereto you will find a statement which will help you to understand what is meant by the Communist Party line.

12. Do not ask any question regarding the type of reading matter read by the applicant. This includes especially the Daily Worker and all radical and liberal publications. Remember that the mere fact that a person reads a certain publication is no indication that he believes in the principles advocated by such publication. Citizens are free to read anything they like.

13. Do not ask any questions as to so-called mixed parties, that is to say, whether the applicant associates with Negroes or has had Negroes in his home.

14. Do not ask regarding membership or interest in the Lawyers Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Socialist Party, the League of Women Shoppers, or the Harry Bridges Defense Committee. This is not a complete list of organizations about which no questions should be asked, but investigators should avoid asking any questions regarding any organization unless it has been authoritatively designated as subversive. If the investigator is in doubt the best policy is not to ask the question.

15. Do not ask general questions regarding the political philosophy of the applicant, such as, whether he believes in capitalism or what his opinion is regarding certain events of a current or historical nature.

16. Do not ask intimate personal questions. Do not ask such questions as come under the category of "snooping."

17. Exercise intelligence. Keep in mind what you are looking for. Remember that you are investigating the loyalty of the applicant to the United States. You are not investigating whether his views are unorthodox or do not conform with those of the majority of the people. What you are looking for is to determine whether there is evidence that the applicant's interest in the welfare of another country transcends his interest in the welfare of the United States. Remember that a question of an improper nature will result in criticism of, and embarrassment to, the Commission. Do not ask any question which is immaterial and has no bearing on the ultimate issue involved.

18. The investigator conducting a loyalty investigation should also conduct any special hearing which may be required. However, newly employed investigators or investigators without experience in loyalty cases should discuss the questions to be asked during the special hearing with their supervisors. Where feasible an investigator thoroughly experienced in loyalty matters should sit in on all special hearings in which derogatory information relative to loyalty is to be discussed.

From time to time you will receive additional instructions as to what to do and what not to do in the course of investigation of loyalty cases. The foregoing instructions are to be rigidly observed and any deviation therefrom will be cause for disciplinary action.

L. A. MOYER,  
*Executive Director and Chief Examiner.*

Mr. Alfred Klein, who wrote those instructions, is the same Klein whose decision in one case has been so widely quoted. Mr. Klein said:

If I had to express an opinion as to whether the applicant is a Communist, my reply would be in the affirmative. However, I am constrained to recommend that the applicant be rated eligible.

Mr. Klein should be called upon to tell who or what constrained him to recommend eligibility for a person he believed to be a Communist. However, Mr. Klein is one of the men whose opinions on loyalty cases the Civil Service Commission considered essential. Such infantile remarks amply demonstrate the unfitness of this Commission official to judge any case involving loyalty. It is my opinion that it is safe to say that the records of the Civil Service Commission contain many such idiotic remarks by Mr. Klein.

Mr. RANKIN. How do you spell that name Klein?

Mr. BUSBEY. K-l-e-i-n.

Mr. RANKIN. Is that Alfred Klein?

Mr. BUSBEY. Yes. Call it malfeasance, misfeasance, nonfeasance, or what you will, it supports my contention that the Civil Service Commission bungled the job of keeping undesirables from the Government service.

Now that these disloyal and potentially disloyal persons did succeed in getting into Government positions, the question arose after VJ-day of how to get them out.

On March 21, 1947, the President issued an Executive order prescribing procedures for the administration of an employees loyalty program in the executive branch of the Government. This order placed the responsibility on the Federal Bureau of Investigation for conducting all loyalty investigations. It placed the responsibility on the Civil Service Commission to see that disloyal persons were not permitted to obtain Government positions and it placed the responsibility on the head of each department and agency to see that disloyal employees are not retained.

The Executive order also established within the Civil Service Commission "a Loyalty Review Board of not less than three impartial persons."

Congress was then asked to appropriate funds to carry out the provisions of this Executive order. To date Congress has appropriated \$7,000,000 to the Civil Service Commission to be used exclusively on the loyalty program as enunciated in the President's Executive order. Half of this amount was appropriated for the fiscal year of 1948 and the other half for the fiscal year of 1949. Thus we know that the Civil Service Commission has spent at least 3½ million dollars during the fiscal year of 1948 in ridding the Government service of persons of questionable loyalty.

Now, let's look at the effectiveness of the manner in which this loyalty program has been administered. I'll give but two examples, one case under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission and the other case under the jurisdiction of the head of an agency.

The first case is that of William Remington. This man was permitted to transfer from one Government agency to another without any clearance from the FBI. According to the recent testimony of Miss Elizabeth Bentley, she informed the FBI in 1945 of her association and the activities of Remington. Now one of two things oc-

curred—either the Civil Service Commission permitted the transfer of Remington without benefit of a report from the FBI or they permitted the transfer without regard to the information from the FBI. In either case the Civil Service Commission erred.

The other case is that of Jesse Epstein, employed by the Federal Public Housing Committee.

Incidentally, if you want to read the record of Mr. Jesse Epstein, I recommend a reading of the first report of un-American activities in Washington State that is just off the press. His whole history is in there.

Mr. Epstein was identified as a member of the professional unit of the Communist Party in Seattle, Wash. The loyalty board of the Federal Public Housing Authority, acting under the Presidential directive of March 21, 1947, cleared Mr. Epstein and the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission approved it.

These two cases, standing alone, show the ineffectiveness of the Civil Service Commission and the Executive order. Further proof is the statement of the chairman of the Loyalty Review Board made several days ago that no Government employee had been removed from the service under the provisions of the Executive order.

That is quoted in the Washington News of July 28. He admits that not a single person has been removed from the pay rolls under this Executive order, notwithstanding the fact they have spent, or I should say squandered, these millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money.

Mr. MUNDT. Can you identify the man who made that statement?

Mr. BUSBEY. The man referred to in the paper as having made that statement is Mr. Seth Richardson, of the Loyalty Review Board.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you.

Mr. BUSBEY. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is spending the funds Congress appropriated in the manner contemplated. They have conducted thousands of investigations as provided by the Executive order and they are still making investigations. In view of the recent disclosures before two congressional committees, no one can be heard to say that the FBI is without information about the questionable activities of Government employees. But what good has it done?

The Civil Service Commission has failed miserably in its duty and the Executive order has proved to be worthless as an instrument to rid the Government of employees of questionable loyalty.

The Civil Service Commission cannot be heard to say that they did not have sufficient funds to carry out the part assigned to them by the Executive order.

Mr. Chairman, I am leading up to simply this: On March 22, 1947, President Truman issued Executive Order 9835, ostensibly for the purpose of ridding the Federal Government of Communists, Communist sympathizers, fellow travelers, and anyone considered disloyal or subversive.

The following day, Sunday, March 23, 1947, papers were carrying big headlines to the effect that they would be removed, and I quote from the Washington Post, "Truman wants disloyal employees fired"; the Times-Herald carried a big headline on the same date, "Truman wants reds fired from U. S. jobs." In the Washington Star of the same date appeared the headline, "Truman wants FBI to weed out all disloyal Federal workers."



The people of the United States were exceedingly happy over this turn of events and thought the President sincere in his announcement. Under Executive Order 9835 a Loyalty Review Board was set up in the United States Civil Service Commission to handle these cases: but, notwithstanding the fact that Congress to date has appropriated over \$17,000,000 for this specific purpose in cooperation with the President, in the hope that he was sincere in his statement, the results so far are zero. It is my personal opinion that outside of the work done by the FBI and the records they have compiled from the amount that was allotted to them, the money has been squandered and absolutely no results obtained.

It is not surprising to me that this Loyalty Review Board has done nothing, because if you will look over the 23 names originally appointed to this Board you will readily come to the conclusion that not a single one of them is qualified to pass on cases of loyalty or security risk. It is my belief that if the President of the United States had been sincere in wanting to rid the Federal Government of the hundreds of undesirables he would have insisted that a board of competent and experienced men in the field of communism be appointed.

It was shameful and disgraceful to have misled the American people into thinking that something was going to be done by the present administration to clean out all of these undesirables in order to detract their minds from the fact that the Civil Service Commission had not performed its duty in declaring these people ineligible and removing them from the pay roll.

I am well aware of the terrific smear campaign carried on against this committee and its members by the Communists of this country in order to discredit the work you have been doing to see that only people whose loyalty cannot be questioned remain on the pay roll. The people of this country owe undying gratitude to this committee for the wonderful work being done at the present time.

It is my further opinion that if President Truman was sincere in his desire to rid our Federal Government of employees from high places in important key positions who are definitely a security risk to the future welfare and security of our Government, in light of present-day conditions, he would want all departments of Government to make available immediately all information in the files of the various departments, the FBI, and the Civil Service Commission, to all proper congressional investigating committees. The fact that he has thrown every possible obstacle in the way of this committee, as well as other committees, from obtaining information that is rightly due them can only lead to one conclusion, in my mind, and that is that he does not want the truth to come out because it would be embarrassing to the present administration and reflect on the heads of the various departments who, notwithstanding the fact that they have had information given them which is in their files at the present time, have not had the courage to take the necessary steps to sever these individuals from the pay roll or have willfully neglected to do so for political reasons. The investigation your committee is now conducting is far above any partisan consideration. Loyalty to one's country comes ahead of any political party.

One more suggestion and I am through. I think this Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities should constantly appeal to the conscience of other people like Miss Bentley, Professor Budenz,

and Mr. Whittaker Chambers to repudiate their Communist comrades and come forward to give testimony in behalf of our country.

In view of the little we have learned of the activities of the Civil Service Commission in placing, or allowing to be placed, Communists and Communist sympathizers in important Government positions, I am firmly convinced that if President Truman was sincere in his desire to remove from the Government service all persons of questionable loyalty, he would not have delegated any authority under his Executive order to the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. MUNDY. I have no questions. The Congressman has made a very excellent statement here.

I would like to say that if he or any other person should go down to the chambers of the Committee on Un-American Activities now, they would probably find four or five agents of the Civil Service Commission down there checking the files of the committee in their loyalty investigation. They will also probably find several FBI agents there, and also agents from the Navy, the State Department, the Treasury Department, and every other agency of the Government. Those men have been there, if I am correct, about 22,000 times since those files were made available to all proper agencies of the United States Government.

In view of the fact that it is becoming more and more difficult for committees of either the House or the other body to get any information from the executive branch of the Government, I am wondering if it wouldn't be a good idea for the committee to overhaul its thinking on those matters, and I intend to suggest that at our executive meeting this afternoon.

That is all I have. Are there any questions?

Mr. BUSBEY. I can personally testify to the correctness of your statement or observation, because I am in the files of your committee nearly every day, and I see these people working there from these various agencies of Government.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is right; and I check them every day.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, this committee has consistently supplied information to the various departments of the Government, and until the FBI is made an independent agency, the various departments of the Government are going to have to look to this committee for such information, and I don't think we should withhold it from them if they are honestly attempting to secure it.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, in connection with this matter I think it would be well if I would be so bold as to suggest to the committee that when Mr. Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture and the AAA program was established, you will find many of these individuals whose names are coming out in this investigation were members of that AAA program. Such names as Lee Pressman, Alger Hiss, Nathan Witt, and, as you will recall, Professor Tugwell were down there at that time. From my observations and my conclusions I would say that while the AAA program was established in the Department of Agriculture under Henry Wallace, that could rightfully be termed the spawning ground of all Communists in Government, because from this little group in the AAA, they fanned out into all branches of Government.

I respectfully suggest that it might be worth while to go back into the old rolls in 1933. One of the key movers down there was a Harold Ware, the son of Ella Reeve Bloor, affectionately known among

the Communists as Mother Bloor, and he was one of the keymen at that time in bringing Communists into this Government, and they were fanning out from the spawning ground down there in the AAA.

I might respectfully suggest not only to the committee but to everyone that they read the remarks of Chairman Rees, of the Committee on Civil Service and Post Office, in yesterday's Record, on page 9935. They are quite enlightening on this subject.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Busbey, I understand from your statement that Gregory Silvermaster is still eligible for Government employment; and that as far as the Civil Service Commission is concerned, the door is still open for him to come into the Government.

Mr. BUSBEY. As far as I know, there is nothing in the Civil Service Commission files that would prevent him coming back. There is information which, in my opinion, should prevent him coming back to the Government, but they would take the case under consideration if he applied again.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. No questions.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. If they go to New York and they ask for employment, they can't even ask a man whether he is a Communist, and so he can find a safe storm cellar.

Mr. MUNDT. Is there anything further?

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, I request permission to have inserted in the record this clipping from the Washington News of Wednesday, July 28, 1948, and also an article from the Washington Post dated Wednesday, February 6, 1935.

(The two clippings referred to above are as follows:)

[From the News (Washington), Wednesday, July 28, 1948]

(Front page:)

REES TO NAME UNITED STATES WORKERS WHO OUGHT TO BE FIRED

TRUMAN'S LOYALTY CHECK IS INEFFECTIVE, HE SAYS

(Page 3:)

REPRESENTATIVE REES TO NAME DISLOYAL WORKERS

(By United Press)

House Post Office and Civil Service Committee Chairman Edward H. Rees (Republican, Kansas) said today he will name on the House floor sometime in the next few days some disloyal Government workers who should be dismissed.

He made the statement in charging President Truman's loyalty check on Federal employees has been ineffective. His Civil Service Committee, he added, intends to find out why.

Representative Rees said he was particularly concerned about the 5,510 Federal job holders whose loyalty was investigated by the FBI in full-scale field inquiries. He said as far as he can find out, not a single Federal worker has been fired under the President's \$12,000,000 year-old program.

Under the program, the FBI is obliged to investigate the loyalty of any Federal employee about whom it has derogatory information in its files.

"Aside from the 438 employees who resigned from their positions during FBI investigations," said Rees, "the program has been ineffective."

Representative Rees set no date for hearings. He said he hopes to get started during the special session of Congress. If this is not possible, a subcommittee may take over the job after adjournment.

Meantime Rees promised to name on the House floor sometime in the next few days some Government workers who, he said, ought to be fired. He emphasized, though, that the overwhelming majority of Federal workers are loyal.

The Kansan said loyalty officials, acting under orders from President Truman, have refused his request for information on 5,510 cases in which full FBI investigations have been ordered.

(Chairman Seth Richardson, of the Loyalty Review Board told the United Press that in cases appealed to his top-level board, no worker has been discharged. He said he did not know offhand whether individual loyalty boards, within Government agencies, had prompted any firings.)

"For more than 3 years," said Rees, "I have urged the executive branch to eliminate Federal employees who advocate Communist Party doctrines and believe in the forcible overthrow of our form of government. On numerous occasions I have advised Congress as to the continued employment of persons about whom there was a reasonable doubt of their loyalty to the United States. In each instance the executive branch has refused me information."

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#### NEW LOYALTY INQUIRY

Representative Ed Rees (Republican, Kansas) says his House Civil Service Committee will hold hearings on the progress of the Federal employee loyalty program. And in all probability, these hearings will take place during Congress.

Mr. Rees charged today that, except for the 438 employees who have resigned while under FBI investigation, the loyalty program has been ineffective.

He said "no information is available" on 5,510 employees found suspect by the FBI who still remain on their pay roll.

President Truman, Mr. Rees pointed out, has given strict orders that Federal agencies must not release loyalty case data to Congress without prior approval from the White House. He implied that this is the reason no information is available on the 5,510 cases.

During the committee hearings, Mr. Rees said, agency loyalty boards will be asked to give full details on their policies, procedures, and accomplishments. He added:

"Unless the FBI investigations are seriously considered by the loyalty boards and disloyal employees removed from the pay roll, the \$12,000,000 spent on the loyalty program will have been wasted."

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[From the Washington Post, Wednesday, February 6, 1935, pp. 1 and 3]

#### FRANK LOSES POST IN AAA SHAKE-UP

COUNSEL'S JOB ABOLISHED, DUTIES TRANSFERRED; HOWE, ALSO LEFT-WINGER, BELIEVED ELIMINATED FROM KEY POSITION; REORGANIZATION VIEWED VICTORY FOR DAVIS OVER TUGWELL'S FACTION

A drastic shake-up was announced by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration last night, resulting in elimination of Jerome Frank, one of the best-known New Deal legal lights and a close associate of Under Secretary of Agriculture Rexford Guy Tugwell.

Frank's post as counsel for AAA was abolished and its functions transferred to the office of the Solicitor of the Department of Agriculture.

Another well-known left-winger, Frederic C. Howe, consumers' counsel, appears to have been shuffled out of his key position. His post was merged into a new operating council. It was understood he would not retain his position, but whether he would remain in some other capacity was not clear.

Three others in the Administration are understood to have resigned, two of them members of Frank's legal staff. They are Victor Rotman, Chief of the Marketing Agreement Section, and Francis M. Shea, Chief of the Opinion Section.

The third resignation was that of Howe's assistant, Gardner Jackson, who was recently mentioned by Representative Hamilton Fish as having contributed, among others, to the rank and file committee seeking to promote a bonus march on Washington.

It was uncertain as to what another of Frank's assistants, Alger Hiss, would do. It was understood Mr. David would be glad to retain him. He was recently assigned to assist Senator Nye's committee in its munitions investigation.

Lee Pressman, another member of Frank's legal staff, may resign.

The regrouping brought a number of subordinates into the new operating council, which will function under Chester C. Davis, AAA Administrator.

This development, which has been brewing for some time, appeared to be a blow at the Tugwell wing in the Agriculture Department. Dr. Tugwell himself is in Florida. In some quarters it was said he had no advance notice of the reorganization. The shift was interpreted as indicating a victory for Mr. Davis in an internal struggle with the brain trust left-wingers.

Officials said no specific thing caused the reorganization, but there was a conflict in personal views with Chester Davis and as was said he had encountered resistance in attempts to have his policies carried out.

Davis has held the function of the consumers' counsel was to analyze policies and criticize them from the point of view of the consumer, reporting to the Administrator. It was said that Davis had been displeased in a number of instances where the consumers' counsel chose to champion its views through publicity, thus carrying its battle to the public instead of confining the discussions to officials in the AAA.

Numerous clashes have occurred over the AAA milk policies, with the consumers' counsel charging that the Administration was too lenient with the middlemen and distributors. The consumers' counsel challenged the action of the AAA in dismissing two subordinate officials. The counsel alleged the men were dropped because of activities in fighting middlemen, while AAA officials insisted that they had been impractical and visionary in attempts to handle the milk problems.

The shake-up was reminiscent of a previous explosion more than a year ago when George N. Peek was forced out as co-Administrator of AAA after a bitter controversy with Jerome Frank, who was backed by Dr. Tugwell. Brain trust forces lost that battle, just as they appear to have lost ground in the present shake-up.

Davis has insisted on a more conciliatory attitude toward business interests involved in AAA policies, while Frank and his group insisted upon more drastic regulatory measures.

The following announcement was issued at 7 o'clock last night:

"Reorganization of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was announced today by Chester C. Davis, Administrator.

"Mr. Davis announced that the reorganization follows several months of study of ways and means to make the Administration a more efficient operating unit of the Department of Agriculture.

#### CONSOLIDATION OF UNITS

"The reorganization will consolidate the AAA Legal Division with the Office of the Solicitor of the Department of Agriculture, will subdivide the Commodities Division into several smaller divisions reporting directly to the Administrator's office, and set up an operating council headed by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Administrator, with other executives as members.

"Effective at once and in conformity with the practice otherwise obtaining in the Department of Agriculture, the legal work of the Agriculture Adjustment Administration will be performed under the supervision and direction of the Solicitor of the Department.

"In addition to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Administrator, members of the operating council with their divisions include A. G. Black, in charge of all livestock, including corn-hogs, cattle, and sheep; Ward M. Buckles, finance, with the Office of the Comptroller transferred under his direction; Cully A. Cobb, cotton; Victor A. Christgau, commodities purchase, agricultural labor, drought, and other emergency programs; J. B. Hutson, tobacco, sugar, peanuts, and rice; George A. Farrell, wheat, flax, barley, rye, and other grains; Alfred D. Stedman, information; Jesse W. Tapp, dairy and other marketing agreements and licenses, general crops, and field investigation; H. R. Tolley, planning; Seth Thomas, Solicitor of the Department of Agriculture; the consumers counsel.

"The reorganization will group the sections of the Commodities Division into six smaller divisions, each covering closely related activities."

BROUGHT IN BY TUGWELL

Frank was brought into the AAA by Tugwell, to whom he had been recommended by Felix Frankfurter, the Harvard legal light who has delivered many protégés to the New Deal legal staff.

Secretary Wallace and Tugwell attempted first to make Frank Solicitor of the Department, but this was blocked by Postmaster General Farley. Whereupon, Secretary Wallace made him general counsel to AAA, which the Secretary had kept out of the general patronage market.

Mr. MUNDT. The Chair wishes to express the appreciation of the committee for your testimony. You have gotten into a phase of this investigation which is of very pertinent significance, and that is the manner in which these Communists and espionage agents have been able to weasel their way into Government, escape detection, and secure promotion after they have been there.

What you have said has been very helpful. I have no other questions.

The Chair wishes to say that there is something rather strange and unusual about the fact that we are living in an era when the executive departments have 22,000 times consulted the files of Un-American Activities—we are glad to have the executive agencies do that—but it is more than passing strange in my opinion that in this same era the President's loyalty policy has prevented the Members of Congress from consulting the loyalty files of the executive department.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I would like to state that if it were possible to get into the files of the Civil Service Commission you would find that they gave clearance to many Communists, Communist sympathizers, and fellow travelers during the war without any investigation whatever.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you very much, Mr. Busbey.

Call the next witness, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Alger Hiss.

Mr. MUNDT. Are you Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. HISS. Yes; I am.

Mr. MUNDT. Please stand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HISS. I do.

Mr. MUNDT. Be seated.

### TESTIMONY OF ALGER HISS

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, may I be permitted to make a brief statement to the committee?

Mr. MUNDT. You may.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before you proceed, I want you to give the committee your full name and your present address.

Mr. HISS. My name is Alger Hiss. My residence is 22 East Eighth Street, New York City.

Mr. RANKIN. Will you please give your age and place of birth?

Mr. HISS. I was born in Baltimore, Md., on November 11, 1904. I am here at my own request to deny unqualifiedly various statements about me which were made before this committee by one Whittaker Chambers the day before yesterday. I appreciate the committee's having promptly granted my request. I welcome the opportunity to an-

swer to the best of my ability any inquiries the members of this committee may wish to ask me.

I am not and never have been a member of the Communist Party. I do not and never have adhered to the tenets of the Communist Party. I am not and never have been a member of any Communist-front organization. I have never followed the Communist Party line, directly or indirectly. To the best of my knowledge, none of my friends is a Communist.

As a State Department official, I have had contacts with representatives of foreign governments, some of whom have undoubtedly been members of the Communist Party, as, for example, representatives of the Soviet Government. My contacts with any foreign representative who could possibly have been a Communist have been strictly official.

To the best of my knowledge, I never heard of Whittaker Chambers until in 1947, when two representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation asked me if I knew him and various other people, some of whom I knew and some of whom I did not know. I said I did not know Chambers. So far as I know, I have never laid eyes on him, and I should like to have the opportunity to do so.

I have known Henry Collins since we were boys in camp together. I knew him again while he was at the Harvard Business School while I was at the Harvard Law School, and I have seen him from time to time since I came to Washington in 1933.

Lee Pressman was in my class at the Harvard Law School and we were both on the Harvard Law Review at the same time. We were also both assistants to Judge Jerome Frank on the legal staff of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Since I left the Department of Agriculture I have seen him only occasionally and infrequently. I left the Department, according to my recollection, in 1935.

Witt and Abt were both members of the legal staff of the AAA. I knew them both in that capacity. I believe I met Witt in New York a year or so before I came to Washington. I came to Washington in 1933. We were both practicing law in New York at the time I think I met Witt.

Kramer was in another office of the AAA, and I met him in that connection.

I have seen none of these last three men I have mentioned except most infrequently since I left the Department of Agriculture.

I don't believe I ever knew Victor Perlo.

Except as I have indicated, the statements made about me by Mr. Chambers are complete fabrications. I think my record in the Government service speaks for itself.

Mr. MUNDT. Does that conclude your statement, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. It does.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Stripling, have you any questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, while the witness answered some of my questions, I wish to proceed to ask direct questions and get direct replies.

Mr. MUNDT. You may proceed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, would you give the committee a résumé of your educational background, please.

Mr. HISS. I was educated in the public schools of Baltimore. I spent 1 year after leaving the Baltimore City College, a high school,

after graduating there at a preparatory school in Massachusetts. I then entered Johns Hopkins University from which I graduated with an A. B. degree in 1926. I then entered the Harvard Law School from which I graduated in 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you now give the committee a brief résumé of your Federal employment.

Mr. HISS. My first employment with the Federal Government was immediately after my graduation from law school when I served as a secretary to one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. I then went into private practice in Boston and New York for a period of 3 years or so, and came to Washington on the request of Government officials in May 1933 as an assistant general counsel to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Mr. RANKIN. Will you give the name of that Justice, please.

Mr. HISS. The Justice was Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Mr. NIXON. Would you please give the names of the Government officials who requested you to come to Washington with the AAA?

Mr. HISS. Yes. Judge Jerome Frank was general counsel. He requested me to come to Washington to be an assistant on his staff.

Mr. NIXON. You said it in the plural. Was he the only one then?

Mr. HISS. There were some others. Is it necessary? There are so many witnesses who use names rather loosely before your committee, and I would rather limit myself.

Mr. NIXON. You made the statement—

Mr. HISS. The statement is correct.

Mr. NIXON. I don't question its correctness, but you indicated that several Government officials requested you to come here and you have issued a categorical denial to certain statements that were made by Mr. Chambers concerning people that you were associated with in Government. I think it would make your case much stronger if you would indicate what Government officials.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, regardless of whether it strengthens my case or not, I would prefer, unless you insist, not to mention any names in my testimony that I don't feel are absolutely necessary. If you insist on a direct answer to your question, I will comply.

Mr. NIXON. I would like to have a direct answer to the question.

Mr. HISS. Another official of the Government of the United States who strongly urged me to come to Washington after I had told Judge Frank I did not think I could financially afford to do so—and I am answering this only because you ask it—was Justice Felix Frankfurter.

Mr. NIXON. Is that all?

Mr. HISS. That is all I care to say now.

Mr. NIXON. There were other officials, however?

Mr. HISS. When I came to Washington for interviews with respect to my proposed appointment, I also talked naturally to the Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, who would have been my main chief. His name was George Peek. The co-Administrator was Charles Bryan. Both of them urged me to join the legal staff.

Mr. NIXON. That completes the group?

Mr. HISS. That completes it as far as I am concerned. I might think of a few others.



Mr. STRIPLING. Would you continue then with the chronology of your Government employment?

Mr. HISS. A Senate committee known as the Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry, of which Senator Nye was the chairman, formally requested the Department of Agriculture to lend my services to that committee in its investigations as their counsel. That permission was granted and I served on the staff of the Senate committee. I haven't checked the dates recently, but my recollection is that this was either early in 1934 or the latter part of 1933. I think it was early in 1934 when I first started on that committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your capacity?

Mr. HISS. I was counsel. The technical title was legal assistant.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. HISS. When I left the Senate committee I was next employed in the office of the Solicitor General of the United States at my request, Mr. Nixon. I applied to the Solicitor General for a position. There was then before that office the constitutionality of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. I was much interested in that, having worked on many legal and administrative phases of the act, and I desired to work on that case.

The then Solicitor General hired me. I remained until that case was through.

Mr. RANKIN. Who was the Solicitor General at that time?

Mr. HISS. Now Mr. Justice Stanley Reed. While I was still in the Solicitor General's office, one of the cases I was working on involved the constitutionality of the Trade Agreement Act. Mr. Francis B. Sayre, then Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the Trade Agreements Act, asked me to come to his office as his assistant to supervise the preparation within the Department of State of the constitutional arguments on the Trade Agreements Act. I did so and I remained in the Department of State in various capacities until January 15, 1947.

I entered the Department of State, I think it was, in September, 1936. I resigned in January, 1947, to accept the appointment to my present position in private life to which I had been elected the preceding December.

Mr. RANKIN. What is that?

Mr. HISS. I am president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Mr. HÉBERT. May I ask the witness a question in connection with his present association?

Mr. MUNDT. Proceed.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know Mr. John Foster Dulles?

Mr. HISS. I do. He is the chairman of my board of trustees.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did he assist you in any way in getting your present position?

Mr. HISS. He urged me to take my present position.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then you are in your present position through the urging of Mr. John Foster Dulles?

Mr. HISS. And other members of the board of trustees.

Mr. HÉBERT. But in particular, Mr. Dulles?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Dulles and others.

Mr. HÉBERT. But in particular Mr. Dulles?

Mr. HISS. I am afraid I cannot answer it exactly in those terms.

Mr. HÉBERT. Was he the leading urgency?

Mr. HISS. He was the chairman of the board of trustees. I don't think he was more urgent for my services than some of the other trustees.

Mr. HÉBERT. But he first approached you?

Mr. HISS. He first approached me.

Mr. MÜNDR. In that connection, Mr. Hiss, I would like to ask a question. Did you know at the time you were appointed to this position that you hold with the Carnegie Foundation, did you know at the time you were being considered for that position about the fact that Chambers was supposed to have told Secretary Berle that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. MÜNDR. You had not heard that?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, in that connection so much has been said in the last 4 days that I have forgotten entirely what charge was made by Mr. Chambers. Would the chief investigator enlighten me?

Mr. MÜNDR. I was going to interrogate the witness about that and I will do that at this time for the benefit of Mr. McDowell.

Have you seen a transcript?

Mr. HISS. I carefully read the entire transcript of Mr. Chambers' testimony before I came to this committee.

Mr. MÜNDR. Then I don't have to go into that in so much detail.

Mr. McDOWELL. I want to find out what was said.

Mr. MÜNDR. I am getting to it. I want to say for one member of the committee that it is extremely puzzling that a man who is senior editor of Time Magazine, by the name of Whittaker Chambers, whom I had never seen until a day or two ago, and whom you say you have never seen—

Mr. HISS. As far as I know, I have never seen him.

Mr. MÜNDR. Should come before this committee and discuss the Communist apparatus working in Washington, which he says is transmitting secrets to the Russian Government, and he lists a group of seven people—Nathan Witt, Lee Pressman, Victor Perlo, Charles Kramer, John Abt, Harold Ware, Alger Hiss, and Donald Hiss—

Mr. HISS. That is eight.

Mr. MÜNDR. There seems to be no question about the subversive connections of the six other than the Hiss brothers, and I wonder what possible motive a man who edits Time magazine would have for mentioning Donald Hiss and Alger Hiss in connection with those other six.

Mr. HISS. So do I, Mr. Chairman. I have no possible understanding of what could have motivated him. There are many possible motives, I assume, but I am unable to understand it.

Mr. MÜNDR. You can appreciate the position of this committee when the name bobs up in connection with those associations.

Mr. HISS. I hope the committee can appreciate my position, too.

Mr. MÜNDR. We surely can and that is why we responded with alacrity to your request to be heard.

Mr. HISS. I appreciate that.

Mr. MÜNDR. All we are trying to do is find the facts.

Mr. HISS. I wish I could have seen Mr. Chambers before he testified.

Mr. RANKIN. After all the smear attacks against this committee

and individual members of this committee in Time magazine. I am not surprised at anything that comes out of anybody connected with it. [Laughter.]

Mr. MUNDT. I believe that answers the situation as far as Mr. McDowell is concerned.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask the witness: Mr. Hiss, when did you first hear of these allegations on the part of Mr. Chambers?

Mr. HISS. May I answer that this way, Mr. Stripling? By saying that the night before he testified a reporter for a New York paper called me and said he had received a tip that Chambers was to testify before this committee the next morning and that he would mention me and would call me a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say you have never seen Mr. Chambers?

Mr. HISS. The name means absolutely nothing to me, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have here, Mr. Chairman, a picture which was made last Monday by the Associated Press. I understand from people who knew Mr. Chambers during 1934 and '35 that he is much heavier today than he was at that time, but I show you this picture, Mr. Hiss, and ask you if you have ever known an individual who resembles this picture.

Mr. HISS. I would much rather see the individual. I have looked at all the pictures I was able to get hold of in, I think it was, yesterday's paper which had the pictures. If this is a picture of Mr. Chambers, he is not particularly unusual looking. He looks like a lot of people. I might even mistake him for the chairman of this committee. [Laughter.]

Mr. MUNDT. I hope you are wrong in that.

Mr. HISS. I didn't mean to be facetious but very seriously. I would not want to take oath that I have never seen that man. I would like to see him and then I think I would be better able to tell whether I had ever seen him. Is he here today?

Mr. MUNDT. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. HISS. I hoped he would be.

Mr. MUNDT. You realize that this man whose picture you have just looked at, under sworn testimony before this committee, where all the laws of perjury apply, testified that he called at your home, conferred at great length, saw your wife pick up the telephone and call somebody whom he said must have been a Communist, plead with you to divert yourself from Communist activities, and left you with tears in your eyes, saying, "I simply can't make the sacrifice."

Mr. HISS. I do know that he said that. I also know that I am testifying under those same laws to the direct contrary.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, could I pursue one point?

Mr. MUNDT. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say you first heard of Mr. Chambers' accusations against you, concerning you, the night before he testified?

Mr. HISS. I would like to amplify that by saying I also had heard in the course of last winter indirectly that a man named Chambers was calling me a Communist. I heard that while I was in New York last year, but I did not know—

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the FBI investigate you?

Mr. HISS. Two agents of the FBI, as I stated in my initial statement, came to see me in my office after I had left the Government.

I think it was in May 1947. They asked me about various individuals. They also asked me if I was a Communist. They asked me a number of questions not unlike the points Mr. Chambers testified to in the course of their investigation. They asked me if I knew the names of a number of people.

One of those names was Chambers. I remember very distinctly because I had never heard the name Whittaker Chambers. They asked me first if I knew anyone named Chambers, and I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you investigated under the loyalty program?

Mr. HISS. I am afraid I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. You went to the FBI and made a statement?

Mr. HISS. In 1946, shortly after I came back from London where I had been at the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Justice Byrnes, then Secretary of State and my chief, called me into his office. He said that several Members of Congress were preparing to make statements on the floor of Congress that I was a Communist. He asked me if I were, and I said I was not. He said, "This is a very serious matter. I think all the stories center from the FBI. I think they are the people who have obtained whatever information has been obtained. I think you would be well advised to go directly to the FBI and offer yourself for a very full inquiry and investigation."

He also said he thought it would be sensible for me to go to the top man, and I agreed.

I immediately went to my own office, put in a call for Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, who was not in town. I was courteously received by his second in command. I think it was Mr. Tamm in those days. I saw Mr. Tamm fairly shortly after that at his convenience. He arranged an appointment. I am not absolutely sure he was the one I saw. He was the one I called and talked to.

I told him my conversation with the Secretary of State and said I offered myself for any inquiry. They said did I have any statement to make? I said I was glad to make any statement upon any subject they suggested, and they had no specific one initially. So I simply recited every organization I had been connected with to see if that could possibly be of any significance to them. They asked me if I knew certain individuals. Among the names I remember was that of Lee Pressman. I told them how I had known him and the extent to which I had known him as I have before this committee. They did not mention the name Chambers, I am quite sure.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they mention Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. HISS. I am quite sure the first time I ever heard that name was in May 1947 when two other agents of the FBI came to my office—I was not then in Government—at 700 Jackson Place and interrogated me.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were not aware that Mr. Chambers had given this affidavit to the Federal authorities?

Mr. HISS. I was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. In which your name and that of your wife was connected?

Mr. HISS. I certainly was not.

Mr. RANKIN. When was it you were called into Justice Byrnes' office?

Mr. HISS. I think it was about March or April 1946, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Hiss, didn't you call on me early this year?

Mr. HISS. I did, Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I recall now.

Mr. HISS. Under very different connections.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Berle never told you anything of his conversations?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Berle never spoke to me about this subject.

Mr. HÉBERT. Never discussed the possibility that you were a Communist or the charges that you were a Communist?

Mr. HISS. No; he did not.

Mr. MUNDT. Can you think of anything which might throw any light on the reason why these charges have been made, either by Chambers or by some Members of Congress? Anything in your association other than the fact that you were thrown in connection with Pressman as a part of your official duties?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, as to the Members of Congress, I have the same impression the Secretary of State had—that their information all came from the same source. As to the FBI information, it seems in the light of Chambers' testimony that they, too, had only that source of information. I have no basis, as I said before, for imagining why he should have used my name.

Mr. MUNDT. Have you ever belonged to any of the organizations the Attorney General's office has listed?

Mr. HISS. I have not, Mr. Chairman, and I so stated in my opening remarks.

Mr. MUNDT. Has your wife ever belonged?

Mr. HISS. She has not, to the best of my knowledge—and I think I would know.

Mr. MUNDT. She has never been a Communist?

Mr. HISS. She has not. Again I must say under oath, to the best of my knowledge. I think my knowledge is better than Mr. Chambers on that.

Mr. MUNDT. Especially about your wife.

Mr. HISS. That is what I am saying.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, do you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. HISS. No; I do not. As far as I know, I have never seen him.

Mr. RANKIN. Before you get to that, may I ask you if you are a member of a church?

Mr. HISS. I am. I have been an Episcopalian all my life.

Mr. RANKIN. Is your wife a member of a church?

Mr. HISS. My wife is a member of the Society of Friends.

Mr. RANKIN. That is what we call the Quaker Church, is it not?

Mr. HISS. That is correct. It isn't a church exactly; it is a society, a religious society.

Mr. RANKIN. A religious society?

Mr. HISS. It is, indeed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, where were you residing in 1935?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Stripling, I am afraid I would have to consult copies of old leases and things.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever live in Georgetown?

Mr. HISS. I have lived in Georgetown most of the time I have been in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you live on P Street?

Mr. HISS. I owned a house on P Street the last few years I was in Washington. That was the only time I ever owned property in Washington. I was a renter before that.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to refer to the testimony Mr. Chambers gave on Monday and read it to the witness:

Mr. STRIPLING. When you left the Communist Party in 1937, did you approach any of these seven to break with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. The only one of those people who I approached was Alger Hiss. I went to Hiss' home in the evening at what I considered considerable risk to myself and found Mr. Hiss at home. Mrs. Hiss was also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MUNDT. Mrs. Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mrs. Alger Hiss. Mrs. Donald Hiss, I believe, is not. Mrs. Hiss attempted while I was there to make a call, which I can only presume was to other Communists, but I quickly went to the telephone and she hung up and Mr. Hiss came in shortly afterward and we talked and I tried to break him away from the party. As a matter of fact, he cried when we separated. When I left him, he absolutely refused to break.

Mr. McDOWELL. He cried?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; he did. I was very fond of Mr. Hiss.

Mr. MUNDT. He must have given you some reason why he did not want to sever the relationship.

Mr. CHAMBERS. His reason was simply the party line.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in the affidavit which Mr. Chambers made to the Federal authorities a few years ago, he stated that he went to Mr. Hiss' home in Georgetown. You never recall any individual, whether under the name of Chambers or any other name coming to your home in Georgetown and such a conversation as this?

Mr. HISS. I certainly do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, there is very sharp contradiction here in the testimony. I certainly suggest Mr. Chambers be brought back before the committee and clear this up.

Mr. MUNDT. It would seem that the testimony is diametrically opposed and it comes from two witnesses whom normally one would assume to be perfectly reliable. They have high positions in American business or organizational work. They both appear to be honest. They both testify under oath. Certainly the committee and the country must be badly confused about why these stories fail to jibe so completely.

I think we have neglected to ask you, Mr. Hiss, one other possible clue to this situation. It could be that Mr. Chambers has mistaken you for your brother. Would you know if he would testify under oath whether your brother has ever belonged to any subversive organizations or is a Communist?

Mr. HISS. I am not a qualified witness to testify absolutely. I would like to say that absolutely in my opinion he is not and never has been.

Mr. MUNDT. So far as you know.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is he your younger brother.

Mr. HISS. He is a younger brother.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know he has never belonged to any of the organizations listed?

Mr. HISS. So far as I know he has never belonged to any organization that could be called a Communist front organization.

Mr. MUNDT. Unless there are other questions from the committee members—

Mr. RANKIN. Have you ever belonged to any Communist front organizations?

Mr. HISS. No, Mr. Rankin. As I testified at the beginning of my testimony, I have not.

Mr. RANKIN. You are not a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, then?

Mr. HISS. No; I am not.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I think in justice to both of these witnesses and in order to avoid what might be a useless appearance on the part of Mr. Chambers, when arrangements are made for his being here, that the witnesses be allowed to confront each other so that any possibility of a mistake in identity may be cleared up. It may be that Mr. Chambers' appearance has changed through the years but it is quite apparent that Mr. Hiss has not put on much weight. He must have been very thin before if he did.

I think if there is mistaken identity on Mr. Chambers' part he will be able to recall it when he confronts Mr. Hiss.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a few questions here? I have a list of people here I would like to ask the witness if he is acquainted with.

Mr. MUNDT. Surely.

Mr. STRIPLING. First, I would like to go back to your statement, Mr. Hiss, in which you referred to your friendship with Henry Collins.

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was at Henry Collins' apartment in St. Matthews Court in Washington, D. C., that Mr. Whittaker Chambers testified that the members of this Communist apparatus within the Government met. Did you ever go to Mr. Collins' apartment in St. Matthews' Court?

Mr. HISS. I am not sure I ever went to any apartment he had in St. Matthews Court. I have in the course of the years been to a number of apartments and dwelling houses where Mr. Collins resided and he has been to my house.

Mr. STRIPLING. At any time that you were at Mr. Collins' home, was Mr. Lee Pressman present?

Mr. HISS. I couldn't be sure that he wasn't. He may well have been.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Mr. Nathan Witt present?

Mr. HISS. Not to my recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Mr. Harold Ware present?

Mr. HISS. Not to my recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe you testified you didn't know Victor Perlo.

Mr. HISS. I don't believe I know Victor Perlo.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was John Abt present?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Charles Kramer present?

Mr. HISS. Again not to the best of my recollection. Certainly not in recent years.

Mr. STRIPLING. We are not referring to recent years. We are referring back to the period 1934 through 1937.

Mr. HISS. To the best of my recollection I do not recall the men I have already testified about in answer to your questions being present.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, did you testify earlier that you did or did not know Mr. Ware?

Mr. HISS. I hadn't been asked the question. I did know Mr. Ware while I was in the Department of Agriculture. My recollection is that he was an agricultural specialist and I think he had been a member of an unofficial mission according to my recollection that went to Russia in connection with studying large-scale wheat farming. My recollection is he came into my offices in the Department of Agriculture, as many callers did, on several occasions. I do remember hearing of a wheat mission which was studying large-scale wheat farming with combines and tractors and things of that sort, and I think I remember Mr. Harold Ware in that connection.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony in effect is that your acquaintance with Mr. Ware was only casual in the course of your employment.

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And not otherwise.

Mr. HISS. And not otherwise.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were very closely associated with Mr. Pressman at the time you were both with the AAA; is that right?

Mr. HISS. We had the same status, that of assistant general counsel. We were the two assistant general counsels, as I recall it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were certain members of the staff of AAA removed by Jerome Frank?

Mr. HISS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't recall Mr. Pressman resigning from the AAA?

Mr. HISS. May I ask you a question? Perhaps you are thinking some of them were removed by Secretary Wallace and not by Mr. Frank. Mr. Frank was one of those removed.

Mr. STRIPLING. They were removed. Is that correct?

Mr. HISS. I don't know the details. I believe they were asked to resign. I don't think they had to be removed. I think the mere request for their resignation was all that was necessary.

Mr. RANKIN. Who requested their resignation?

Mr. HISS. My understanding is it was the Secretary of Agriculture, who was then Mr. Henry A. Wallace.

Mr. RANKIN. What year was that?

Mr. HISS. 1934, I would guess, and 1935. I am not absolutely sure. Maybe Mr. Stripling knows the dates.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did Secretary Wallace ask them to resign?

Mr. HISS. I can only speak from hearsay and my recollection of various events that occurred there with which I am personally familiar. My own experience with that situation began when Mr. Chester Davis, who was then the Administrator—he had succeeded Mr. George Peek—of the AAA called me into his office. He was in a high state of perturbation and he said:

"Alger, did you approve this opinion about distribution of benefit payments under the cotton contracts?"

I said, "Yes, Chester; I did."

He said, "How could you? It is a dishonest opinion."

And I said, "Chester, if you think any legal opinion I have approved is dishonest, I am no longer your lawyer, I resign; I cannot serve any client who does not have confidence in me."



He immediately said, "Oh, I don't mean that." and that he had confidence in me. I refused at that time to withdraw my resignation.

In the course of that day an announcement was made that Secretary Wallace had asked for the resignation. My resignation was never asked for. He asked for the resignation of certain members of the staff of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. I think Mr. Frank was one of them. I believe Mr. Gardner Jackson was one of them. I don't recall the details, but the three or four men whom I knew—one of them was my chief, Mr. Frank, whom I knew very well—and it was my understanding that it was not really over a question of law because subsequently Mr. Chester Davis apologized for calling it a dishonest opinion and said he did not question my integrity.

I think it was the culmination to a long period of disagreement on substantive political issues between Mr. Frank and some of his staff and Mr. Chester Davis, the Administrator.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. HISS, I have a list of names here and I am going to ask you if you are acquainted with them. The first is John J. Abt.

Mr. HISS. I am acquainted with Mr. Abt as I testified at the beginning of my statement. I met Mr. Abt first in the Legal Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. We were both employed in that office.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Solomon Adler?

Mr. HISS. I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Norman Bursler, B-u-r-s-l-e-r?

Mr. HISS. Would you spell that again?

Mr. STRIPLING. Norman Bursler, B-u-r-s-l-e-r.

Mr. HISS. No; I don't think I have ever heard of him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Frank V. Coe, C-o-e?

Mr. HISS. I have known a Mr. Coe in Government service. Could you identify him? I don't remember the first name.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the Treasury Department, Division of Monetary Research, on June 17, 1946, a position with the Monetary Fund.

Mr. HISS. I know that Mr. Coe.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know Mr. Coe?

Mr. HISS. I have only known him officially while I was in the Department of State. I have also known him since he has been with the International Fund; or is it the bank?

Mr. STRIPLING. International Fund.

Mr. HISS. Since he has been with the International Monetary Fund because I have been interested in all phases of United Nations activities, I do know Mr. Coe.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. HISS. I know Lauchlin Currie very well and have a high regard for him.

Mr. MUNDT. May I ask, since you are qualifying your relationships, do you have a high regard for Lee Pressman?

Mr. HISS. I knew Pressman first at law school and I have seen very little of him recently. I liked him and admired him as a law student, and knew him and admired him as a fellow lawyer in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. HISS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harold Glasser, G-l-a-s-s-e-r?

Mr. HISS. I know Mr. Glasser. He was an official of the Treasury when I knew him and I was in the State Department and knew him officially, and I think only officially.

Mr. STRIPLING. Sonia S. Gold, G-o-l-d?

Mr. HISS. I think not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. William Gold or Mrs. Bela Gold?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. She was secretary to Harry Dexter White.

Mr. HISS. I knew Mr. White and may have met Mrs. Gold in going into his office if she was his secretary. I don't recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William J. Gold?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Jacob Golos?

Mr. HISS. No; definitely not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Joseph B. Gregg—G-r-e-g-g?

Mr. HISS. There was a Joe Gray in the State Department.

Mr. STRIPLING. Resigned from the Department of State April 1, 1946.

Mr. HISS. Was this the Joe Gray—

Mr. STRIPLING. That is spelled G-r-e-g-g.

Mr. HISS. I thought you meant G-r-a-y, excuse me. Excuse me for dragging the name in.

Mr. STRIPLING. Michael Greenberg?

Mr. HISS. I did know a Michael Greenberg. He, according to the best of my recollection, was an assistant to Mr. Currie at the time I knew him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he in the Department of State at any time?

Mr. HISS. Not so far as I know.

Mr. STRIPLING. According to the Civil Service records, Michael Greenberg was separated for reduction in force from the Department of State June 15, 1946. He resided at 2700 Eighth Street South, Arlington, Va. Do you know that Michael Greenberg?

Mr. HISS. I never went to his house, so the address doesn't help me.

Mr. STRIPLING. It is done for the purpose of identification.

Mr. HISS. I did know a Michael Greenberg as a State Department official. I remember quite well a young assistant, I think, to Mr. Currie, who was a specialist on the Far East.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Maurice Halperin?

Mr. HISS. I do not, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Julius J. Joseph?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Charles Kramer?

Mr. HISS. I do, and I have already referred to Kramer as an official of the Department of Agriculture in a different office. He was not a lawyer. I knew him officially.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you last see Charles Kramer?

Mr. HISS. I couldn't be sure. I have probably seen him on the street. He is a rather distinctive looking person. Do you know him?

Mr. STRIPLING. I know him.

Mr. HISS. He has reddish hair, very distinctive. I think I recall having seen him, though not to talk to, in Washington sometime

in the last couple of years. I don't think I have seen him to talk to since I left the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual named Irving Kaplan?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Duncan C. Lee?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry Magdoff—M-a-g-d-o-f-f?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert T. Miller?

Mr. HISS. Would you identify him? There was a Mr. Miller at the Department of State whom I did know officially.

Mr. STRIPLING. Resigned from the Department of State on December 13, 1946.

Mr. HISS. Was he an information officer? An information specialist?

Mr. STRIPLING. I don't have that information.

Mr. HISS. According to my recollection, there was a Mr. Miller in the Department of State who was what was known as an information officer, and I knew him officially in the Department of State, if that is the same individual.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Willard Z. Park?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Victor Perlo?

Mr. HISS. I have already said I don't believe I know Mr. Perlo. I noticed his name in Mr. Chambers' testimony. May I say, Mr. Stripling, that I have been in Washington about 14 or 15 years. I have met casually a great many people. I am testifying to the best of my recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. The committee wants to know whether or not you know these people. We are not interested in whether or not you have just met them.

Mildred Price?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Bernard S. Redmont—R-e-d-m-o-n-t?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. William W. Remington?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Allan — A-l-l-a-n — R. Rosenberg — R-o-s-e-n-b-e-r-g?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Abraham B. Silverman—S-i-l-v-e-r-m-a-n?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know why Mr. Silvermaster would refuse to answer the question when he was asked whether he knew Alger Hiss, he replied, "I refuse to answer this question on the grounds that any answer I may give to this question may be self-incriminating"?

Mr. HISS. I certainly do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William H. Taylor, T-a-y-l-o-r?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge. Can you identify him? Taylor is a very familiar name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Taylor was with the Treasury Department, resigned December 14, 1946, to accept a position with the International Monetary Fund.

Mr. HISS. I think I know that Mr. Taylor. Have you seen him? Do you know what he looks like?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; I don't.

Mr. HISS. I think I did know him officially.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Helen B. Tenney, T-e-n-n-e-y?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William L. Ullman, U-l-l-m-a-n?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Donald N. Wheeler?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry D. White?

Mr. HISS. I do know Mr. Harry D. White.

Mr. RANKIN. But you don't know Mr. Remington?

Mr. HISS. I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Hiss, you have gone into some detail concerning your work and responsibilities in the Department of Agriculture. I would like to ask you a few questions concerning your work and responsibilities while working for the Department of State.

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you participate in the Yalta Conference?

Mr. HISS. I did, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you draft or participate in the drafting of parts of the Yalta agreement?

Mr. HISS. I think it is accurate and not an immodest statement to say that I did to some extent, yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you participate in those parts which gave Russia three votes in the Assembly?

Mr. HISS. I was present at the Conference and am familiar with some of the facts involved in that particular arrangement.

Mr. MUNDT. You would say you did participate in the formation of that part of the agreement?

Mr. HISS. I had nothing to do with the decision that these votes be granted. I opposed them.

Mr. MUNDT. You opposed them?

Mr. HISS. I did.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you participate—I am glad to hear that—

Mr. RANKIN. Let's get that answer straight. You opposed the Yalta agreement?

Mr. HISS. I opposed the particular point that the chairman referred to by which the United States agreed to support Soviet Russia's application for votes in the Assembly and membership in the United Nations Organization to Byelo Russia and the Ukraine. I did not oppose the Yalta agreement as a whole—quite the contrary. I still think the political agreement was a very valuable agreement for the United States.

Mr. MUNDT. I congratulate you on your opposition to that particular section. Did you participate in the portion of the Yalta agreement which gave Russia control of the chief Manchurian railway?

Mr. HISS. That was not part of the political agreement. I knew nothing of that until many months later. That was in the military talks in which I did not participate.

Mr. MUNDT. As an employee in the Department of State, did you have anything to do with the departmental policy which was proclaimed on December 15, 1945, before General Marshall went out to China?

Mr. HISS. No; I did not. I had been connected with far eastern affairs, before, but about February 1944, I was assigned to United Nations work and specialized entirely in that field thereafter.

Mr. MUNDT. Referring especially to that portion of the Secretary's proclamation which said that we must have peace and unity with the Communists in China.

Mr. HISS. I was not consulted on that. It was not in my area of activity at all.

Mr. RANKIN. Who was Secretary of State at that time?

Mr. HISS. In 1945, I think Mr. Byrnes.

Mr. MUNDT. The Yalta agreement, which wrote out, according to my information, quite well the text of the United Nations charter dealing with the veto provisions—did you participate in the drawing up of those veto provisions?

Mr. HISS. My best recollection without consulting the actual records is that the text of what is now article 27 of the Charter was drafted in the Department of State in the early winter of 1944 before the Yalta Conference, as part of the negotiations preceding that Conference, was dispatched by the President of the United States to the Prime Minister of Great Britain and to Marshal Stalin for their agreement and represented the proposal made by the United States at the Yalta Conference and was accepted by the other two after some discussion. I did participate in the Department of State in the drafting of the messages I have referred to that President Roosevelt sent in, I think, December 1944 prior to the Yalta Conference.

Mr. MUNDT. Those were the messages which described the veto provisions?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is they set out an actual suggested draft and that the variations between that draft and the present language of the Charter is immaterial.

Mr. MUNDT. What I was trying to get to is whether you participated in the creation of the draft.

Mr. HISS. I did participate in the creation of the draft that was sent by President Roosevelt to Churchill and Stalin, which was the draft actually adopted at Yalta and actually adopted at San Francisco.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you lend your influence in the direction of having the veto provision included in that draft?

Mr. HISS. I did. That was practically the unanimous position of the American Government, I might add.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you have a question, Mr. McDowell?

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. HISS, do you feel you have had a free and fair and proper hearing this morning?

Mr. HISS. Mr. McDowell, I think I have been treated with great consideration by this committee. I am not happy that I didn't have a chance to meet with the committee privately before there was such a

great public press display of what I consider completely unfounded charges against me. Denials do not always catch up with charges.

Mr. McDOWELL. I am very familiar with that, but I think they will in your case, Mr. Hiss, because you have the same radio facilities, the same news-reel facilities, and the same press facilities as the man who made the charges. You will appreciate that this committee has no way of reading into a witness' mind what he is going to say. Sometimes we are greatly surprised, too, in reading over a list of people whom we have reason to suspect are Communists or espionage agents, there is brought in a name which many Americans, including members of this committee, hold in high repute.

Mr. HISS. I would rather not comment on that particular point. I don't think I am in the best frame of mind to comment on that right now.

Mr. MUNDT. I think that is probably correct. Mr. Nixon, do you have further questions?

Mr. NIXON. From your experience in the State Department, is it your opinion that every effort should be made by the investigative authorities of the Government and by the committees of Congress to look into the alleged subversive activities of Communists in the United States?

Mr. HISS. Was your question "every effort"? Every effort which is compatible with the protection of the reputations of innocent persons, I certainly do.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you feel then that there is definite danger to the security of the United States from Communist underground activities which requires investigation?

Mr. HISS. I think it would be very unwise for the Government to employ anyone in whose loyalty it did not have complete confidence, and it should establish its judgment as carefully and reliably as possible.

Mr. NIXON. For that reason since it is essential that the Government have complete confidence in its employees that investigation—and I am referring now to Communist activities because that is what both Senate and House committees are interested in—the investigation of Communist activities, having in mind the rights of individuals concerned, as you have indicated, should proceed so that we can protect the national security from the activities of American Communists who will be serving the interests of a foreign government.

Mr. HISS. I do. I think some distinction should be made with respect to so-called sensitive positions and other types of positions, but I am not an expert on that type of personnel problem. It is just my offhand impression.

Mr. MUNDT. Are there any positions in Government where you feel that Communists should be employed?

Mr. HISS. As I say, I am not an expert on that question. Whether someone who is sweeping the halls or a charwoman—I really don't know.

Mr. MUNDT. If you were in charge—

Mr. HISS. I wouldn't make the same kind of investigation, I would say that.

Mr. MUNDT. If you were in charge of an executive agency would you employ a Communist as a charwoman if you knew it?

Mr. HISS. That is what President Roosevelt used to call an "iffy" question.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you want to give an "iffy" answer?

Mr. HISS. I don't think I shall ever have that decision to face. I think, trying to answer your question very responsibly, I would not.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. I have two questions. I believe you said you were recommended for your present position by Mr. John Foster Dulles. That is correct, isn't it?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, Mr. Mundt questioned you about your attitude on the veto and the United Nations Charter.

Mr. HISS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. And you say you favored it?

Mr. HISS. I did.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, whose interest did you have at heart and in mind at the time, the interest of the United States or the interest of a foreign power?

Mr. HISS. The interest of the United States and of the United Nations Organization. I think without the veto there would have been no United Nations Organization. I think it was highly desirable to the interest of the United States that there be such an organization in which the United States participated.

Mr. RANKIN. You think that veto is in the interest of the United States?

Mr. HISS. I think, Mr. Rankin, that various changes and modifications could helpfully and desirably be made in the veto provision. I think on the question of enforcement in particular, on the calling out of contingents of armed forces supplied by member states, that in the present state of the world that each of the major powers, including particularly the United States, must reserve its own judgment as to whether it thinks its own troops should move in a given case.

Mr. RANKIN. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. The Chair has one additional question. I think counsel neglected to ask you, Mr. Hiss.

During the time you were employed with the State Department, before or since, did you ever see or meet Carl Aldo Marzani?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. MUNDT. The Chair wishes to express the appreciation of the committee for your very cooperative attitude, for your forthright statements, and for the fact that you were first among those whose names were mentioned by various witnesses to communicate with us asking for an opportunity to deny the charges.

Mr. RANKIN. And another thing. I want to congratulate the witness that he didn't refuse to answer the questions on the ground that it might incriminate him, and he didn't bring a lawyer here to tell him what to say.

Mr. MUNDT. The committee will meet in executive session at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p. m., the committee adjourned.)





# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New York, N. Y.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION<sup>2</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 o'clock in room 101, Federal Courthouse, 2 Foley Square, New York, N. Y., Hon. Richard M. Nixon presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Richard M. Nixon, John McDowell, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, Donald P. Appell, and C. E. McKillips, investigators, and Benjamin Mandel, director of research for the committee.

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show that this is an executive session of a subcommittee appointed by the acting chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, Karl Mundt, on August 5.

Mr. Stripling, will you call the first witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should show those present.

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show Mr. McDowell, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Nixon are present.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Be seated.

## TESTIMONY OF WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, you are aware of the fact that Mr. Alger Hiss appeared before this committee, before the Un-American Activities Committee, in public session and swore that the testimony which had been given by you under oath before this committee was false. The committee is now interested in questioning you further concerning your alleged acquaintanceship with Mr. Alger Hiss so that we can determine what course of action should be followed in this matter in the future.

Mr. Hiss in his testimony was asked on several occasions whether or not he had ever known or knew a man by the name of Whittaker Chambers. In each instance he categorically said "No."

At what period did you know Mr. Hiss? What time?

<sup>2</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and released during public hearing, August 25, 1948.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I knew Mr. Hiss, roughly, between the years 1935 to 1937.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know him as Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did you happen to see Mr. Hiss' pictures in the newspapers as a result of these recent hearings?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

Mr. NIXON. Was that the man you knew as Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; that is the man.

Mr. NIXON. You are certain of that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am completely certain.

Mr. NIXON. During the time that you knew Mr. Hiss, did he know you as Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, he did not.

Mr. NIXON. By what name did he know you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He knew me by the party name of Carl.

Mr. NIXON. Did he ever question the fact that he did not know your last name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not to me.

Mr. NIXON. Why not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Because in the underground Communist Party the principle of organization is that functionaries and heads of the group, in other words, shall not be known by their right names but by pseudonyms or party names.

Mr. NIXON. Were you a party functionary?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was a functionary.

Mr. NIXON. This entire group with which you worked in Washington did not know you by your real name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No member of that group knew me by my real name.

Mr. NIXON. All knew you as Carl?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. No member of that group ever inquired of you as to your real name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. To have questioned me would have been a breach of party discipline, Communist Party discipline.

Mr. NIXON. I understood you to say that Mr. Hiss was a member of the party.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. How do you know that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was told by Mr. Peters.

Mr. NIXON. You were told that by Mr. Peters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. On what facts did Mr. Peters give you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Peters was the head of the entire underground, as far as I know.

Mr. NIXON. The entire underground of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Of the Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any other evidence, any factual evidence, to bear out your claim that Mr. Hiss was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Nothing beyond the fact that he submitted himself for the 2 or 3 years that I knew him as a dedicated and disciplined Communist.

Mr. NIXON. Did you obtain his party dues from him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, I did.

Mr. NIXON. Over what period of time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Two or three years, as long as I knew him.

Mr. NIXON. Party dues from him and his wife?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I assume his wife's dues were there; I understood it to be.

Mr. NIXON. You understood it to be?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss would simply give me an envelope containing party dues which I transferred to Peters. I didn't handle the money.

Mr. NIXON. How often?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Once a month.

Mr. NIXON. What did he say?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That was one point it wasn't necessary to say anything. At first he said, "Here are my dues."

Mr. NIXON. And once a month over a period of 2 years, approximately, he gave you an envelope which contained the dues?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. What did you do with that envelope?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I gave it to Peters.

Mr. NIXON. In New York?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Or Washington.

Mr. NIXON. This envelope contained dues of Hiss and other members of the group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Only Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. You collected dues from the other members of the group individually?

Mr. CHAMBERS. All dues were collected individually.

Mr. NIXON. I see. So this money could not have been money from anybody but Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Only from Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. Couldn't have been giving you dues for his wife and not for himself?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I suppose it is possible, but that was certainly not the understanding.

Mr. NIXON. The understanding was it was his dues?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The understanding was it was his dues. Not only that, but he was rather pious about paying his dues promptly.

Mr. NIXON. Is there any other circumstance which would substantiate your allegation that he was a member of the party? You have indicated he paid dues, you indicated that Mr. Peters, the head of the Communist underground, informed you he was a member of the party before you met him the first time.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I must also interpolate there that all Communists in the group in which I originally knew him accepted him as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Referred to him as a member of the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That doesn't come up in conversation, but this was a Communist group.

Mr. NIXON. Could this have possibly been an intellectual study group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was in nowise an intellectual study group. Its primary function was not that of an intellectual study group. I certainly supplied some of that intellectual study business, which was

part of my function, but its primary function was to infiltrate the Government in the interest of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. At that time, incidentally, Mr. Hiss and the other members of this group who were Government employees did not have party cards?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No members of that group to my knowledge ever had party cards, nor do I think members of any such group have party cards.

Mr. NIXON. The reason is—

Mr. CHAMBERS. The reason is security, concealment.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, people who are in the Communist underground are in fact instructed to deny the fact that they are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was told by Peters that party registration was kept in Moscow and in some secret file in the United States.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Hiss have any children?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss had no children of his own.

Mr. NIXON. Were there any children living in his home?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mrs. Hiss had a son.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know the son's name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Timothy Hobson.

Mr. NIXON. Approximately how old was he at the time you knew him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It seems to me he was about 10 years old.

Mr. NIXON. What did you call him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Timmie.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Hiss call him Timmie also?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think so.

Mr. NIXON. Did he have any other nickname?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not that I recall. He is the son, to the best of my knowledge, of Thayer Hobson, who I think is a member of the publishing house of William Morrow here in New York.

Mr. NIXON. What name did Mrs. Hiss use in addressing Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Usually "Hilly."

Mr. NIXON. "Hilly"?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Quite often?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. In your presence?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Not "Alger"?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not "Alger."

Mr. NIXON. What nickname, if any, did Mr. Hiss use in addressing his wife?

Mr. CHAMBERS. More often "Dilly" and sometimes "Pross." Her name was Priscilla. They were commonly referred to as "Hilly" and "Dilly."

Mr. NIXON. They were commonly referred to as "Hilly" and "Dilly"?

Mr. CHAMBERS. By other members of the group.

Mr. NIXON. You don't mean to indicate that was simply the nicknames used by the Communist group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. This was a family matter.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, other friends and acquaintances of theirs would possibly have used these names?

Did you ever spend any time in Hiss' home?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did you stay overnight?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I stayed overnight for a number of days.

Mr. NIXON. You mean from time to time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. From time to time.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever stay longer than 1 day?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have stayed there as long as a week.

Mr. NIXON. A week one time. What would you be doing during that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Most of the time reading.

Mr. NIXON. What arrangements was made for taking care of your lodging at that time? Were you there as a guest?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I made that a kind of informal headquarters.

Mr. NIXON. I understand that, but what was the financial arrangement?

Mr. CHAMBERS. There was no financial arrangement.

Mr. NIXON. You were a guest?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Part of the Communist pattern.

Mr. NIXON. Did the Hisses have a cook? Do you recall a maid?

Mr. CHAMBERS. As nearly as I can remember, they had a maid who came in to clean, and a cook who came in to cook. I can't remember they had a maid there all the time or not. It seems to me in one or two of the houses they did.

In one of the houses they had a rather elderly Negro maid whom Mr. Hiss used to drive home in the evening.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall the names of the maids?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't.

Mr. NIXON. Did the Hisses have any pets?

Mr. CHAMBERS. They had, I believe, a cocker spaniel. I have a bad memory for dogs, but as nearly as I can remember it was a cocker spaniel.

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember the dog's name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. I remember they used to take it up to some kennel. I think out Wisconsin Avenue.

Mr. NIXON. They took it to board it there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. They made one or two vacation trips to the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Mr. NIXON. They made some vacation trips to the Eastern Shore of Maryland?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, and at those times the dog was kept at the kennel.

Mr. NIXON. You state the Hisses had several different houses when you knew them? Could you describe any one of those houses to us?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think so. It seems to me when I first knew him he was living on 28th Street in an apartment house. There were two almost identical apartment houses. It seems to me that is a dead-end street and this was right at the dead end and certainly it is on the right-hand side as you go up.

It also seems to me that apartment was on the top floor. Now, what was it like inside, the furniture? I can't remember.

Mr. MANDEL. What was Mr. Hiss' library devoted to?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Very nondescript, as I recall.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall what floor the apartment was on?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think it was on the top floor.

Mr. NIXON. The fourth?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was a walk-up. I think the fourth.

Mr. NIXON. It could have been the third, of course?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It might have been.

Mr. NIXON. But you think it was the top, as well as you can recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think it was the top.

Mr. NIXON. Understand, I am not trying to hold you to absolute accuracy.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am trying to recall.

Mr. NIXON. Was there any special dish they served?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. I think you get here into something else. Hiss is a man of great simplicity and a great gentleness and sweetness of character, and they lived with extreme simplicity. I had the impression that the furniture in that house was kind of pulled together from here or there, maybe got it from their mother or something like that, nothing lavish about it whatsoever, quite simple.

Their food was in the same pattern and they cared nothing about food. It was not a primary interest in their lives.

Mr. MANDEL. Did Mr. Hiss have any hobbies?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; he did. They both had the same hobby—amateur ornithologists, bird observers. They used to get up early in the morning and go to Glen Echo, out the canal, to observe birds.

I recall once they saw, to their great excitement, a prothonotary warbler.

Mr. McDOWELL. A very rare specimen?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I never saw one. I am also fond of birds.

Mr. NIXON. Did they have a car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; they did. When I first knew them they had a car. Again I am reasonably sure—I am almost certain—it was a Ford and that it was a roadster. It was black and it was very dilapidated. There is no question about that.

I remember very clearly that it had hand windshield wipers. I remember that because I drove it one rainy day and had to work those windshield wipers by hand.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall any other car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It seems to me in 1936, probably, he got a new Plymouth.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall its type?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was a sedan, a two-seated car.

Mr. MANDEL. What did he do with the old car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The Communist Party had in Washington a service station—that is, the man in charge or owner of this station was a Communist—or it may have been a car lot.

Mr. NIXON. But the owner was a Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The owner was a Communist. I never knew who this was or where it was. It was against all the rules of underground organization for Hiss to do anything with his old car but trade it in, and I think this investigation has proved how right the Communists are in such matters, but Hiss insisted that he wanted that car turned over to the open party so it could be of use to some poor organizer in the West or somewhere.

Much against my better judgment and much against Peters' better judgment, he finally got us to permit him to do this thing. Peters

knew where this lot was and he either took Hiss there, or he gave Hiss the address and Hiss went there, and to the best of my recollection of his description of that happening, he left the car there and simply went away and the man in charge of the station took care of the rest of it for him. I should think the records of that transfer would be traceable.

Mr. NIXON. Where was that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In Washington, D. C., I believe; certainly somewhere in the District.

Mr. NIXON. You don't know where?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; never asked.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall any other cars besides those two?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, I think he had the Plymouth when I broke with the whole business.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall any other hobbies he had?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think he had any other hobbies.

Mr. NIXON. Did they have a piano?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't believe so. I am reasonably sure they did not.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall any particular pieces of furniture that they had?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The only thing I recall was a small leather cigarette box, leather-covered cigarette box, with gold tooling on it. It seems to me that box was red leather.

Mr. NIXON. Red leather cigarette box with gold tooling?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall any particular pieces of bedroom furniture they had?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall possibly what the silver pattern was, if any? Was it sterling?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't recall.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall what kind of chinaware they used?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. I have been thinking over these things and none of that stands out.

Mr. NIXON. What kind of cocktail glasses did they have?

Mr. CHAMBERS. We never drank cocktails.

Mr. NIXON. Did they drink?

Mr. CHAMBERS. They did not drink. They didn't drink with me. For one thing, I was strictly forbidden by the Communist Party to taste liquor at any time.

Mr. NIXON. And you didn't drink?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I never drank.

Mr. NIXON. As far as you know, they never drank, at least with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He gave cocktail parties in Government service.

Mr. NIXON. Could you describe Mr. Hiss' physical appearance for us?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss, I should think, is about 5 feet 8 or 9, slender. His eyes are wide apart and blue or gray.

Mr. NIXON. Blue or gray?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think they change.

Mr. NIXON. Sort of a blue-gray?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Blueish gray, you could say. In his walk, if you watch him from behind, there is a slight mince sometime.

Mr. NIXON. A slight mince?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mince. Anybody could observe.

Mr. NIXON. Does Mrs. Hiss have any physical characteristics?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mrs. Hiss is a short, highly nervous, little woman. I don't, as a matter of fact, recall the color of her eyes, but she has a habit of blushing red when she is excited or angry, fiery red.

Mr. MANDEL. A picture of Hiss shows his hand cupped to his ear.

Mr. CHAMBERS. He is deaf in one ear.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss is deaf in one ear?

Mr. HÉBERT. Which ear?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know. My voice is pitched very low and it is difficult for me to talk and make myself understood.

Mr. NIXON. Did he wear glasses at the time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think he wore glasses only for reading.

Mr. NIXON. Did he tell you how he became deaf in one ear?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't recall that he did. The only thing I remember he told me was as a small boy he used to take a little wagon—he was a Baltimore boy—and walk up to Druid Hill Park, which was up that time way beyond the civilized center of the city, and fill up bottles with spring water and bring them back and sell it.

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember any physical characteristics of the boy?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Timmie?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Timmie was a puny little boy, also rather nervous.

Mr. NIXON. This is Mrs. Hiss' son?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mrs. Hiss' son by Thayer Hobson, who I think is one of the Hobson cousins, a cousin of Thornton Wilder. It is possible I could be mistaken about that.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall anything else about the boy? Do you recall where he went to school?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I do. I don't know the name of the school he was attending then, but they told me that Thayer Hobson was paying for his son's education, but they were diverting a large part of that money to the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Hiss told you that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Did he say how much he was paying?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't know how much he was paying.

Mr. NIXON. Did he name the Communist Party as the recipient?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. NIXON. He might not have said simply "the party"? Could it have been the Democratic Party or Socialist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. Hobson was paying for the boy's education?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; and they took him out of a more expensive school and put him in a less expensive school expressly for that purpose. That is my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. When would that have occurred?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Probably about 1936.

Mr. NIXON. Did they change in the middle of the year?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't recall. He was a slightly effeminate child. I think there was some worry about him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you remember anything about his hands?



Mr. CHAMBERS. Whose?

Mr. STRIPLING. Alger Hiss'.

Mr. CHAMBERS. He had rather long delicate fingers. I don't remember anything special.

Mr. MANDEL. How is it he never wrote anything publicly?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, he came into the underground like so many Communists did—this was a new stage in the history of American Communists.

Mr. MANDEL. He was never in the open Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was never in the open Communist Party, came in as an underground Communist.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did he have any other brothers or sisters besides Donald?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He had one sister, I believe, living with her mother in Baltimore.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did he ever talk about her?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; once or twice, and mentioned his mother. He once drove me past their house, which as I recall, was on or near Linden Street.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did the sister do?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think she did anything besides live with her mother. Whether he had any more than that I don't know.

Mr. HÉBERT. You know he referred to at least one sister?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He did.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you recall her name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. And you don't recall what the sister did?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't think she did anything.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did it ever come up in conversation that the sister was interested in athletics?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. Was he interested in athletics?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think he played tennis, but I am not certain.

Mr. HÉBERT. With the sister now—it is very important—you don't recall the sister?

Mr. CHAMBERS. We merely brushed that subject.

Mr. NIXON. You never met the sister?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; nor never met the mother. My impression was his relations with his mother were affectionate but not too happy. She was, perhaps, domineering. I simply pulled this out of the air in the conversation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he go to church?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was forbidden to go to church.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he was a member of a church?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know if his wife was a member of a church?

Mr. CHAMBERS. She came from a Quaker family. Her maiden name was Priscilla Fansler before she was married. She came from the Great Valley near Paoli, Pa.

Mr. NIXON. Did she tell you anything about her family?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; but she once showed me while we were driving beyond Paoli the road down which their farm lay.

Mr. NIXON. You drove with them?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever go on a trip with them other than by automobile?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. NIXON. Did you stay overnight on any of these trips?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did she ever refer to her first husband?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I hope he will never hear this. She referred to him almost with hatred.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did she call him, what name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Probably Thayer.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. NIXON. When did you meet Donald Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Probably within the same week in which I met Alger Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever stay in Donald Hiss' home?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, my relation with Donald Hiss was much less close. I can make that point now, if you will permit. My relationship with Alger Hiss quickly transcended our formal relationship. We became close friends.

Mr. NIXON. Donald Hiss—what relation did you have with him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. A purely formal one.

Mr. NIXON. He knew you as Carl?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did you collect dues from him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did you meet his wife?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think I met her once, not very often.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you collect the dues from him, at his home?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Probably in Alger's house. He frequently came there.

Mr. NIXON. He came there to see you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall anything significant about Donald Hiss, as to personal characteristics, hobbies?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. Something else is involved there, too. Donald Hiss was married, I think, to a daughter of Mr. Cotton, who is in the State Department. She was not a Communist, and everybody was worried about her.

Mr. NIXON. Getting back to Alger Hiss for the moment, do you recall any pictures on the wall that they might have owned at the time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I am afraid I don't.

Mr. NIXON. Donald Hiss—do you know any other characteristics about him, can you recall any?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Except I can give you the general impression. He was much less intelligent than Alger. Much less sensitive than his brother. I had the impression he was interested in the social climb and the Communist Party was interested in having him climb. At one point I believe he was fairly friendly with James Roosevelt.

Mr. NIXON. Did you have any conversations with him you can recall that were out of the ordinary?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; one I think I can recall. He was working in the Labor Department, I believe in the Immigration Section, and it

was the plan of the Communist Party to have him go to California, get himself sent by the Government to California, to work in the Bridges case.

At that moment he had an opportunity to go into the State Department as, I think, legal adviser to the Philippine Section, which had just been set up.

It was the opinion of the party that he should do that and not the Bridges matter. It was his opinion that he should continue in the Bridges matter and there was a fairly sharp exchange, but he submitted to discipline and went to the State Department.

Mr. NIXON. Did you make an affidavit concerning Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I made a signed statement. I should think it was about 1945. Before that I had reported these facts at least 2 years before to the FBI and 9 years ago to Mr. Berle and mentioned Hiss' name.

Mr. NIXON. Nine years ago, are you certain that you did mention Hiss' name to Berle?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I certainly mentioned Hiss' name to Berle. I was there with Berle precisely because—may we go off the record?

Mr. NIXON. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. NIXON. Have you seen Hiss since 1938?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; since the time I went to his house and tried to break him away, I have never seen him since.

Mr. NIXON. Would you be willing to submit to a lie detector test on this testimony?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; if necessary.

Mr. NIXON. You have that much confidence?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am telling the truth.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you. I have no further questions.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am interested in the houses he lived in. You said several houses. How many houses? Start from the beginning.

Mr. CHAMBERS. As well as I can remember, when I first knew him he was living on Twenty-eighth Street and when I went to see Mr. Berle it struck me as strange, because Mr. Berle was living in Stimson's house on Woodley Road near Twenty-eighth Street. From there I am not absolutely certain the order of the houses, but it seems to me he moved to a house in Georgetown—that I know; he moved to a house in Georgetown—but it seems it was on the corner of P Street, but again I can't be absolutely certain of the streets.

Mr. HÉBERT. It was on a corner?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; and as I recall, you had to go up steps to get to it.

Mr. MANDEL. How many rooms were there in that house?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know offhand, but I have the impression it was a three-story house. I also think it had a kind of a porch in back where people sat.

Then if I have got the order of the houses right, he moved to a house on an up-and-down street, a street that would cross the lettered streets, probably just around the corner from the other house and very near to his brother Donald.

Mr. HÉBERT. Still in Georgetown?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Still in Georgetown. I have forgotten the reason for his moving. That was a smaller house and, as I recall, the dining

room was below the level of the ground, one of those basement dining rooms; that it had a small yard in back.

I think he was there when I broke with the Communist Party.

Mr. HÉBERT. Three houses?

Mr. CHAMBERS. But I went to see him in the house he later moved to, which was on the other side of Wisconsin Avenue.

Mr. HÉBERT. Three houses in Georgetown?

Mr. CHAMBERS. One on Twenty-eighth Street.

Mr. HÉBERT. The last time you saw him when you attempted to persuade him to break away from the party—

Mr. CHAMBERS. That was beyond Wisconsin Avenue.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you ever see their bedroom; the furniture?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; but I don't remember the furniture.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did they have twin beds or single beds?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am almost certain they did not have twin beds.

Mr. HÉBERT. In any of the four houses?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can't be sure about the last one, but I am reasonably sure they did not have twin beds before that.

Mr. HÉBERT. This little boy, Timmie—can you recall the name of the school that he went to?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you do recall that he changed schools?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; as nearly as I can remember, they told me they had shifted him from one school to another because there was a saving and they could contribute it to the party.

Mr. HÉBERT. What year?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Probably 1936.

Mr. HÉBERT. Or 1937, but probably '36?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is possible.

Mr. HÉBERT. We can check the year.

Mr. CHAMBERS. The school was somewhere in Georgetown. He came back and forth every day.

Mr. NIXON. Is there anything further? If not, thank you very much, Mr. Chambers.

The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1:10 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Richard M. Nixon presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Richard M. Nixon (presiding), John McDowell, and F. Edward Hébert.

Also present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas (chairman of the full committee) and Karl E. Mundt.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and William A. Wheeler, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

Mr. NIXON. The hearing will come to order.

This is a meeting of a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities appointed by the acting chairman, Karl E. Mundt, on August 5. The record will show that the following members of the subcommittee are present. Mr. McDowell, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Stripling, will you call the first witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Alexander Koral.

Mr. FORER. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment.

Mr. Koral, you are here in response to a subpoena which was served upon you on August 6 in New York City, directing you to appear before a subcommittee in the Federal Building in New York City at 7 p. m., on August 6, the said subcommittee being composed of Mr. Nixon of California, the chairman, Mr. McDowell of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Hébert of Louisiana.

You appeared at the Federal Building in response to that subpoena, did you not?

Mr. KORAL. I did, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the conclusion of your testimony you were directed to appear before the subcommittee at 10:30 a. m., this morning, here in the caucus room. Is that correct?

Mr. KORAL. That is correct, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe the subpoena directed you to appear at room 226, but the hearing has been removed to this room. You are here in response to that subpoena?

Mr. KORAL. I am here in response to that subpoena. I was supposed to appear in room 13.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Koral, do you have counsel with you?

Mr. KORAL. No, sir; I haven't.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Stripling, if the witness is going to testify to something, I want him sworn at this time.

Raise your right hand, Mr. Korál.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KORAL. I do, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Be seated, sir.

### TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER KORAL

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have counsel with you, Mr. Korál?

Mr. KORAL. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Forer, do you have a statement you would like to make?

Mr. FORER. My name is Joseph Forer. I am an attorney. I do not represent Mr. Korál except for a very limited purpose, which I shall now explain. This morning, at home, at about 8:40 or so, I received a telephone call from Boston from Mr. Leo Praeger, who is counsel for Mr. Korál, with whom I happen to be acquainted. Mr. Praeger told me over the phone that he was coming down from New York to be counsel for Mr. Korál at this hearing, but, unfortunately, he had taken the wrong plane and ended up in Boston instead of in Washington. He called me to ask if I would get in touch with the committee, explain that he had caught the wrong plane, and to inform the committee that he was getting a plane from Boston to Washington which would get him here at about 12:30, and asked me if I would ask the committee if they could postpone Mr. Korál's appearance until early this afternoon, when Mr. Praeger would get here.

I telephoned Mr. Stripling and conveyed that information to him, and Mr. Stripling suggested that I appear before you at this time to convey Mr. Praeger's message.

Mr. NIXON. Do I understand, Mr. Forer, that Mr. Praeger will be here in Washington at 12:30 this afternoon?

Mr. FORER. Yes; I understand that. He told me the plane he had gotten space on was due to arrive at about that time.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Korál, do I understand you want Mr. Praeger to represent you in these proceedings?

Mr. KORAL. I do, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that you now direct the witness to appear at 2 o'clock and to appear at that time before the full committee.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt before you rule on Mr. Stripling's request? I think the record should show that in New York at the time this witness was instructed to appear here, his attorney at that time tried to get a delay and was refused by the committee. I am perfectly willing to let him come here at 2 o'clock—that is all right with me—but as I recall, in New York, he wanted just a few hours' delay, and to accomplish the same purpose that is being accomplished here now.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Korál, you are here, as you understand, in answer to the subpoena. You are directed to appear in answer to that subpoena here at 2 p. m. this afternoon with your attorney.

Mr. KORAL. Yes, sir. May I make a remark, please?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. KORAL. I believe, if my memory serves me correctly, that my attorney, Mr. Leo Praeger, asked for a delay of a couple of days, not for a couple of hours.

Mr. McDOWELL. He asked for both; a couple of days and a couple of hours.

Mr. KORAL. That may be so. I recall he spoke of a number of days.

Mr. HÉBERT. A day, and then when we insisted on his being here this morning, he asked couldn't it be the afternoon. It is perfectly all right. I just wanted to make the observation, Mr. Chairman, just to keep the record straight. I am particularly interested in the fact that the witness has such an active memory that he can remember things in detail.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Koral, I shall direct you now, when you return at 2 o'clock, that you shall appear at that time before the full committee which will be sitting in this room at 2 o'clock. You understand the directions?

Mr. KORAL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. The witness may step down.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is there another witness to be heard at this time before the subcommittee?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Victor Perlo. Mr. Perlo wasn't directed to appear until 11 o'clock but it is 5 minutes to 11 now.

Mr. NIXON. In view of the fact that Mr. Perlo is not here and was not directed to appear until 11 o'clock, the subcommittee will recess until 11 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 10:53 a. m., a recess was taken until 11 a. m., at which time the following occurred:)

Mr. NIXON. The meeting of the subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you call the next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Victor Perlo.

Do you have counsel with you, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will counsel identify himself?

Mr. GOLLOBIN. Ira Gollobin.

Mr. STRIPLING. And your business address?

Mr. GOLLOBIN. 1441 Broadway, New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, you are here this morning in response to a subpoena which was served upon you on August 6, by Donald T. Appell, in New York City, calling for your appearance in room 108, Federal Building, New York City, on August 7, at 10:30 a. m.; is that correct?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were directed at the conclusion of your testimony on that date to appear before the subcommittee headed by Mr. Nixon, of California, the chairman; Mr. McDowell, of Pennsylvania; and Mr. Hébert, of Louisiana. They directed you to appear before this subcommittee in Washington in room 226 at 11 a. m. You are here in response to that direction from the authority of the subpoena?

Mr. PERLO. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Perlo, I now direct that you appear before the full Committee on Un-American Activities at this time.

The meeting of the subcommittee will adjourn, and we will now go into a full committee meeting.

(Whereupon, at 11:10 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)





# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 11:10 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), Karl E. Mundt, John McDowell, Richard M. Nixon, J. Hardin Peterson, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor; for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. The record will show that those present are Mr. Nixon, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Mundt, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas. A quorum is present.

Mr. Perlo, will you please rise and be sworn?

Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give here before this committee is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PERLO. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down. Mr. Stripling, you take the witness.

## TESTIMONY OF VICTOR PERLO (ACCOMPANIED BY IRA GOLLOBIN, COUNSEL FOR THE WITNESS)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Public Law 601 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, and House Resolution 5 of the Eightieth Congress provides the authority for the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives. Public Law 601 states in part:

Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole or by subcommittee is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

Pursuant to this mandate the committee has been conducting an investigation for the past several months into alleged Communist in-

filtration of Communist agents into the Federal Government, and the operation within the Government of certain persons who were collecting information to be turned over to a foreign government.

The hearing this morning is for the purpose of pursuing this investigation. Victor Perlo, a former employee of the Government, who was subpoenaed to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities today, is before the committee this morning in connection with the above-mentioned inquiry. All questions propounded to Mr. Perlo will be pertinent to the inquiry and he shall be required to answer them.

Mr. Perlo, will you please state your full name?

Mr. PERLO. Mr. Chairman, before going into the questions I wish to announce that I have a statement to read to the committee and to present as testimony at this hearing. I wonder if I may be permitted to.

Mr. STRIPLING. We will be glad to take the statement under consideration at the proper time, Mr. Perlo. We would like to have you identify yourself and I would also like to get your employment background.

Will you please state your full name?

Mr. PERLO. Victor Perlo.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. PERLO. 39 Park Avenue.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that your business address?

Mr. PERLO. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your home address?

Mr. PERLO. I gave the committee my home address in executive session and I would prefer to leave it out of the public hearing if it doesn't make any material difference.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is agreeable with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. PERLO. I am an economist.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are you employed?

Mr. PERLO. By the Progressive Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the address of the Progressive Party?

Mr. PERLO. 39 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. PERLO. I was born in the county of Queens, New York State, May 15, 1912.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were your parents born?

Mr. PERLO. My parents were born in towns in what is now the country of Poland. I wish to state in further development of that question that both of my parents came here at a very early age, that they are honored and respected American citizens, that my father has been a practicing attorney for 43 years and was a member of the Selective Service Board during World War II for 5 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, would you now detail for the committee in chronological order your employment in the Federal Government?

Mr. PERLO. In 1933 I went to work for the Federal Government in Washington for the National Recovery Administration. I was engaged there in doing statistical research, economic research, into various questions of the operation of the economy that were wanted by those officials that were making decisions on certain of the operating

problems connected with the NRA codes and other regulations concerning working hours and other factors under the NRA.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you leave the NRA?

Mr. PERLO. In 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you go?

Mr. PERLO. I went to the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain there?

Mr. PERLO. For 2 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of work did you do for the Home Owners' Loan Corporation?

Mr. PERLO. At the Home Owners' Loan Corporation I was engaged primarily in statistical research involving, for example, the establishment of statistical analyses of the properties mortgaged to the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and a projection of the financial accounts of that agency over a long period of time and similar problems that were of interest to the officials of the agency.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain with the Home Owners' Loan Corporation?

Mr. PERLO. Two years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Then where did you go?

Mr. PERLO. Then I went to the Brookings Institution.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt? I would like to have the record show that Mr. Peterson is present.

Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. PERLO. At the Brookings Institution I assisted in the preparation of a volume on wages, production, and national income, which was an economic analysis of important factors in our economy.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain at Brookings Institution?

Mr. PERLO. For 2 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you go then?

Mr. PERLO. Commerce Department.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you remember the date you went to the Commerce Department?

Mr. PERLO. It was in 1939.

Mr. STRIPLING. September 1939?

Mr. PERLO. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain in Commerce?

Mr. PERLO. I remained in Commerce for approximately a year and a half.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were in Commerce, were you a special agent, senior economic analyst in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce?

Mr. PERLO. That might well be the case. I haven't looked at that record in some time and I don't recall my exact title, but those may be the proper titles.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you left Commerce, where did you go?

Mr. PERLO. I went to the Office of Price Administration. It wasn't yet named the Office of Price Administration, but it was soon given that name. At the Office of Price Administration I was Chief of the Statistical Analysis Branch of the Research Division. I participated in the analysis of the inflationary pressures developing as we got into a war economy and consequently forming the basis for decisions as to the necessity for price control.

In short, in the course of my work there, I think in my own small way I helped a little bit in preventing ruinous inflation during the war.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you go after you left OPA?

Mr. PERLO. I went to the War Production Board.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position did you hold at the War Production Board?

Mr. PERLO. In the War Production Board I was one of the analysts in the Office of Progress Reports. It was my specific responsibility to analyze problems involved in the production of aircraft and to prepare reports which I trust were of some small assistance in helping to increase and accelerate the production of military aircraft during the war.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt right there? Mr. Stripling, you didn't get the date when he started with WPB.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that February 17, 1943?

Mr. PERLO. That sounds about right, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were in the War Production Board, did you work with the Resources Protection Board?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember for sure, to tell you the honest truth. Perhaps you can help me out on that. Do you know whether that was part of the War Production Board?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, it was made up of War Production Board personnel assigned to the Resources Protection Board, which consisted of a general representing the Army, an admiral representing the Navy, a colonel representing the Air Forces, a colonel representing Civilian Defense and an official representing the Provost Marshal General of the Army and one official representing the War Production Board.

Mr. PERLO. Come to think of it, I probably never did then. I did have some contact, very minor contact, with an agency that had to do with production of war plants. Whether that was the same one, I don't know. In any case, it was a minor and secondary contact.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Robert A. Graham?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel and on my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert A. Graham was employed, was he not, by the Resources Protection Board? Didn't Mr. Graham give you special permission to examine the secret data in the files of the Resources Protection Board?

Mr. PERLO. I don't recall any such incident.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Robert A. Graham?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Perlo, how will this incriminate you? How will it incriminate you by answering as to whether or not you know this person?

Mr. PERLO. It is my understanding that it is not necessary to defend one's use of the fifth amendment to the Constitution in refusing to answer questions on the ground that they might tend to incriminate one, and I have to adhere to that position on these questions.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get back to that later. You go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, where did you go when you left the War Production Board?

Mr. PERLO. I went to the Treasury Department.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you go to the Treasury Department?

Mr. PERLO. I went to the Treasury Department in, I guess, about December of 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who requested you to come to the Treasury Department?

Mr. PERLO. Well, nobody exactly requested me to come to the Treasury Department, as I explained to you Saturday. I was informed that I had been recommended by various people to Mr. Harry D. White, then I think an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and I went to see him. Subsequent to that conversation I was hired by the Treasury Department.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is Harry Dexter White, the head of Monetary Research?

Mr. PERLO. He was not head of Monetary Research at that time. He was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. STRIPLING. You accepted employment in Monetary Research?

Mr. PERLO. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain in Monetary Research?

Mr. PERLO. Oh, for about a little less than a year and a half, I guess.

Mr. MUNDT. Who recommended you to Mr. White?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know.

Mr. MUNDT. You said you went to see Mr. White on the recommendation of somebody.

Mr. PERLO. I said somebody told me. I don't remember who now, frankly. Somebody told me that various people had recommended me to Mr. White and that Mr. White was looking for people to increase his staff and replace people with, and suggested that I call him up and go around and see him. That is what I did.

Mr. MUNDT. Did those people tell you who it was that recommended you to Mr. White?

Mr. PERLO. As a matter of fact, I am not sure. I think I may have been told but I don't retain that information in my memory if I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were in the Treasury Department were you a member of the Committee for Reciprocity Information?

Mr. PERLO. That is right. The Committee for Reciprocity Information—I was officially—I will explain my duties there a little bit in connection with that.

I think I was officially an alternate member on the Committee for Reciprocity Information and the Trade Agreements Committee, which were identical or substantially identical in membership. These were interdepartmental committees which took care of all of the technical work in the preparation of trade agreements under the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act and also to a certain extent a lot of preparatory work for the International Trade Organization.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question both on my rights under the first amendment of the Constitution and on my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might infringe my rights under the first amendment to the Constitution and also under the fifth amendment, on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. During the years you held these various posts with the Government were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my constitutional rights under both the first and fifth amendments and decline to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, will you stand up and turn around, please.

Miss Bentley, will you please stand up and take off your glasses.

Do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley? Do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley, who is standing, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen Elizabeth T. Bentley before in your life?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Perlo, have you ever given Miss Bentley any secret or confidential Government information?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, do you know Henry Collins?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know John Abt, A-b-t?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Sonia Gold, S-o-n-i-a G-o-l-d?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William Gold, or Bela, B-e-l-a, Gold?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Veet Bassie, V-e-e-t B-a-s-s-i-e?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever in the apartment of Henry Collins when he was residing in St. Matthews Court in Washington, D. C., in 1935?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Donald Hiss?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever at the home of Alger Hiss on P Street in Georgetown in 1935 or 1936?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Steve Nelson?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know George Silverman?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Allan Rosenberg?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Donald Niven Wheeler?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William H. Taylor, formerly employed in the Treasury Department?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Robert T. Miller?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, while you were employed in the Federal Government were you ever investigated as a security risk or upon your loyalty to the United States?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever asked to resign from the Government of the United States?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you resign?

Mr. PERLO. I resigned.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you resign as the result of that request or resign because you were a security risk?

Mr. PERLO. No; I resigned of my own volition.

Mr. STRIPLING. How much later after you had been asked to resign did you resign of your own volition?

Mr. PERLO. About 4 or 5 months.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you reenter Government employment today if you wanted to?

Mr. PERLO. I don't want to, and I don't know what would happen if I tried.

Mr. STRIPLING. You didn't resign with prejudice, did you?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the circumstances regarding his being invited to resign I would like to lay before the committee in executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, were you ever turned down for a passport to leave the United States?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever apply for a passport to leave the United States?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you apply?

Mr. PERLO. Approximately March or April of 1947.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you going?

Mr. PERLO. Going to England.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the purpose of your business in going to England?

Mr. PERLO. To take employment there.

Mr. STRIPLING. With an agency of the Government?

Mr. PERLO. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever offered a position with the International Governmental Committee on Refugees?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you accept that position?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you leave the United States in connection with your work for that committee?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir; because before I did so I was informed that steps were being taken to have the offer of the job withdrawn.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why was the offer of the job going to be withdrawn? What information did you have on that?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know. You will have to ask the people over there in England.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it because you couldn't get a passport to leave the United States?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know. The people in England never communicated with me about that. After the passport application I ultimately withdrew it after I learned there wouldn't be any job over there.

Mr. MUNDT. How long between the time you applied for the passport and the time you withdrew your application?

Mr. PERLO. I don't remember. It might have been a few weeks or a month.

Mr. MUNDT. Could it have been more than a month?

Mr. PERLO. It could have been.



Mr. MUNDT. Could it have been 2 months?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know.

Mr. MUNDT. It could have been?

Mr. PERLO. I doubt if it would have been that long, but it might have been.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, do you know an individual by the name of Charles Kramer?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you recommend him for a job with the Office of Price Administration?

Mr. PERLO. I wish to consult with my attorney.

(Consultation between Mr. Perlo and Mr. Gollobin.)

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, Mr. Perlo. I would like to suggest to the attorney that he should advise the witness as to the constitutional rights. Go ahead.

(Consultation between Mr. Perlo and Mr. Gollobin.)

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Stripling, will you repeat that question?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have other questions, Mr. Chairman, I would like to proceed on.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know an individual by the name of Harold Ware?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know an individual by the name of Harry Magdoff?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know an individual by the name of J. Peters or Alexander Stevens or Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel, I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of William Ludwig Ullman, U-l-l-m-a-n?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harold Glasser?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Allan Rosenberg ever turn any information over to you?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Donald Wheeler, of the Office of Strategic Services ever turn any information over to you?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Charles Kramer ever turn any information over to you?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Edward J. Fitzgerald ever turn any information over to you?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Harold Glasser, of the Treasury Department, ever turn any information over to you?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Sol Lischinsky, L-i-s-c-h-i-n-s-k-y, who was with UNRRA organization, ever turn any information over to you?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness step aside for a few moments.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Perlo, will you step aside, please.

Mr. STRIPLING. I call Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Bentley, raise your right hand.

Miss Bentley, do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BENTLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

## TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, you have previously been identified in the record.

Do you know Victor Perlo, the witness who just left the stand?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Victor Perlo?

Miss BENTLEY. I first met Victor Perlo in the apartment of John Abt on Central Park West in March 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. In your testimony which you gave before the committee last week—I believe it was August 3—you stated that Victor Perlo headed the so-called Perlo group of Government employees who were furnishing information to you which you in turn furnished to the Russian Government or representatives of the Russian Government.

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the person who just left the witness stand the Victor Perlo who headed that group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Victor Perlo turn information over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did Victor Perlo turn information over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. You mean personally, Mr. Stripling? Or by other people?

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did he personally turn information over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say seven or eight or nine times, roughly.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet Mr. Perlo when he turned this information over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. I met him twice at the apartment of Mr. Abt and the other times at the apartment of Miss Mary Price in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have the address of the apartment where you met Mr. Perlo, the apartment of Mary Price?

Miss BENTLEY. I can't give you the exact street number, but it was on West Eleventh Street between Seventh Avenue and Hudson Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did any other members of the Perlo group turn information over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. Personally, you mean?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. Do you want me to name them?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Miss BENTLEY. Charles Kramer, Edward Fitzgerald, Allan Rosenberg, Donald Wheeler.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of information did Mr. Perlo furnish to you?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Perlo, I understood from him, was a statistician who was employed in that part of the WPB which handled secret information on aircraft, and that was the type of information which he turned over to me. That consisted of production figures listed by

types of planes—fighters, bombers, transports, photographic planes, and so on.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to refer back to the witness' refusal to identify Robert A. Graham and to state whether or not he had obtained information from the Resources Protection Board and to advise this committee what the Resources Protection Board was.

Mr. Chairman, we are prepared to show that Victor Perlo, an employee of the War Production Board, was given special permission to copy secret data on aircraft production, location of plant-making engines, wings, struts, aircraft armament, B-29 synchronized turrets, and automatic computing aircraft gunsights, as well as other similar data. He was given permission to copy this data from the secret records of the Resources Protection Board.

The Resources Protection Board drew in secret information from all phases of the war program, on shipbuilding, artillery development, tanks, explosives production, bombsights, key chemical production, aircraft production, and chemical, as well as mechanical, components for the above. Much of this information was obtained from the Army, the Navy, and the Air Forces, with the understanding that (1) the information would remain classified as secret; (2) that it would not be disseminated to personnel in the War Production Board; and (3) that it would be used only in a specified manner, which is described below:

The Resources Production Board consisted of a general representing the Army, an admiral representing the Navy, a colonel representing the Air Forces, a colonel representing Civilian Defense, an official representing the Provost Marshal General of the Army, and one official of the War Production Board. A special staff who were, for pay-roll purposes, employees of the War Production Board, but who had unique liaison arrangements with the armed services and all sections of the War Production Board, Maritime Commission, et cetera, had access to secret information, compiled and focused this data to show at a glance the most strategic and vulnerable and key points in the entire war-production program. For example, their data would show how many F4F fighters were made by Grumman at the Long Island plant this month, how many were scheduled for next month, for the next year; the location at which engines, propellers, and valves for this plane were produced, with many schedules of such production; when and where the B-29's would come into production, and the schedules of future production. The location of each ordnance plant; of every strategic chemical plant, of each aluminum plant, et cetera, with the volume produced at each and schedules of production in future months; the number of freight cars across vulnerable railroad bridges, and the crippling effect their destruction would have upon the war program.

These estimates of the need for protecting the key points in our industry were transmitted back to the armed services under the classification "secret" under armed guard to the extent of about 20 copies, so that the Army, Navy, and Air Corps could make a sound distribution of forces and measures to protect the vital points of production and transportation against destruction.

Victor Perlo received permission to copy this data, Mr. Chairman, and I don't think it is necessary to detail any further the strategic importance of such information.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it your testimony Mr. Perlo turned such information over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I think that covers it with the exception of bridges over which freight cars went. I don't recall that being in the information.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he ever give you any information regarding B-29's?

Miss BENTLEY. Very little.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you received this information from Mr. Perlo and members of his group, what did you do with it?

Miss BENTLEY. I took the information with me, read through it, and in cases where it was handwritten or cases where it was badly typed, I recopied it and then turned it over to my Russian contact.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the name of the Russian contact that you turned it over to?

Miss BENTLEY. At first, the first one I had during the days when I took on the Perlo group, the name of that contact was Jack—Bill, I am sorry—and later on I was shifted to another contact whose name was Bill.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see Mr. Perlo in Washington, D. C.?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I never did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever call him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; just once. We had missed connections and I was in Washington. I called him at his home one evening and we arranged a connection.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you didn't see him?

Miss BENTLEY. I never saw him in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he disturbed because you had called him?

Miss BENTLEY. I think so. He was rather nervous about the whole business.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions at this time.

Mr. HÉBERT. Before the witness leaves, may I ask a question?

Miss Bentley, did you ever collect Communist Party dues from Victor Perlo?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did.

Mr. HÉBERT. And the Victor Perlo you collected Communist Party dues from is the same Victor Perlo who was just on the witness stand?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where did you collect the Communist Party dues from him?

Miss BENTLEY. I collected them from him where I met him, in Mary Price's apartment in New York City.

Mr. HÉBERT. When you called him on the telephone in Washington, how did you identify yourself?

Miss BENTLEY. I said that this was Helen calling. I said, "You must remember me," and he did.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Miss Bentley, you have said you turned this information over to your Russian contacts. The names of those contacts were Jack and Bill. How do you know they were Russian contacts?

Miss BENTLEY. You mean whether they were Russians or—

Mr. NIXON. What led you to make the statement that they were Russian contacts? What let you to believe they were?

Miss BENTLEY. Because I was introduced to them as such.

Mr. NIXON. Who introduced them to you as such?

Miss BENTLEY. Originally Jack was introduced to me by a girl contact I had at that time whose name was Catharine, and after Mr. Golos' death Catharine introduced me to Bill as my new boss.

Mr. NIXON. Did she introduce them to you just as your new boss, or did she say, "This is your new Russian contact"?

Miss BENTLEY. They never mentioned the name "Russian." They were very careful about that.

Mr. NIXON. You have mentioned it here now.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You say it is a Russian contact because your previous boss was a Russian contact?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. That is the basis for you making the statement?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. NIXON. You don't mean that these people in fact were Russians?

Miss BENTLEY. If you mean by "Russian" the way it is used as against Lithuanians, and so on, no, because I believe one of my contacts was a Lithuanian instead of being a straight Russian, but if you mean did they represent the Russian police; yes.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know whether they were American born?

Miss BENTLEY. They were definitely not Americans. They each had an accent and in the case of Jack he told me he was a Lithuanian who had been sent from over there here.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. HÉBERT. May I interrupt to elaborate more on what Mr. Nixon has said?

Miss Bentley, in other words, the whole pattern of the apparatus as you understood it from your first contact with the man Golos, the whole picture was given to you that your future contacts—in other words, you started with Golos and you knew he was a Russian emissary?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. He told you in the future whenever you have any contacts—

Miss BENTLEY. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. That these contacts would be introduced to you only by first names?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. And this was in the sequence of the original instructions given to you?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. So that there was never any doubt in your mind that when you met Bill, Jack, Paul, or Joe that was in accordance with your original instruction?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. And that you followed through and there was no reason for you to doubt at any time that these were not the proper individuals who would ultimately turn the information which you give to them over to the ultimate Russian—

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. In fact, Jack once remarked to me that they had difficulty in getting the information to the Embassy, so of course that would bear that out.

Mr. HÉBERT. There is no doubt in your mind it was set up in the complete apparatus that has been described?

Miss BENTLEY. There is no doubt about it in my mind. I wouldn't have dealt with them in that manner if there had been a doubt in my mind.

Mr. HÉBERT. I wanted the committee to get the clear picture that you didn't just meet Joe, Paul, or somebody and say, "Here is a package."

Miss BENTLEY. They were introduced to me and from that, from my previous instructions, I recognized that they were my Russian contacts.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

Mr. NIXON. Did you discuss the information with them that you gave to them at any time? Did you discuss the type of information?

Miss BENTLEY. You mean discuss with the Russian contacts?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, yes, certainly; because they had to give me guidance on what type of material my contacts in the Government should look for, and they would evidently go through it after I handed it to them and then they would come back with suggestions that this was good or this was rather worthless and with additional instructions, evidently, from their superiors as to the type of information they were searching for.

Mr. NIXON. You in turn gave those instructions to people like Mr. Perlo?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. NIXON. They were supposed to carry out those instructions and get you the kind of information these people had asked you for?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you tell Mr. Perlo, "I want plans and statistics on production"?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Perlo had already produced those at the first meeting. What I did was to tell him that particular statistics were extremely valuable and to intensify his search for more of the same.

Mr. HÉBERT. You did tell him that, though?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did he say?

Miss BENTLEY. He said he would do his very best.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Bentley, where was this first meeting held?

Miss BENTLEY. The first meeting at which I met Mr. Perlo, including others, was at the apartment of Mr. John Abt on Central Park West. It is near One Hundred and Third Street in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else was present at that meeting besides Mr. Perlo and Mr. Abt and yourself?

MISS BENTLEY. Edward Fitzgerald, Harry Magdoff, and Charles Kramer.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it at that meeting that the plans were laid for you to be a courier for this group?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You got your instructions at that meeting?

MISS BENTLEY. It was rather the other way around. In addition to being a courier I was the one who was to be in complete charge of handling that group's operation, and actually it wasn't so much being a courier because they were the ones who were couriers and brought it to New York to me. But at that meeting I went over as completely as possible the type of position each one held in the Government and the type of position that the rest of the group held, what type of information was available from each of them, the relative value of such information, and more or less it was a straightening out of what was available and giving them instructions on what to look for.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Perlo and these others seem very enthusiastic about helping in these espionage rings?

MISS BENTLEY. Mr. Perlo certainly did. There were possibly one or two others that were not terribly enthusiastic.

The CHAIRMAN. But Mr. Perlo did show his enthusiasm in an effort to get information about our war effort for the Russian Government?

MISS BENTLEY. I would say he was the most energetic one in that entire group.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

MR. MUNDT. Did Mr. Perlo know what use you were going to make of the information he gave you?

MISS BENTLEY. I rather gather so from the remark he made to me at that first meeting, because he turned to me and said, "Is Joe getting all this stuff safely?" And there was an embarrassed pause and nobody answered his question.

MR. MUNDT. By "Joe" you think he meant Joe Stalin.

MISS BENTLEY. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

MR. HÉBERT. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

MISS BENTLEY, during these hearings two specific groups have been named—one, the so-called Perlo group, and the other, the so-called Silvermaster group, which encompasses the names of about 20 individuals, at a haphazard guess.

MISS BENTLEY. I would say so, roughly.

MR. HÉBERT. Would you say that those are the only two such groups in operation, or that there were other groups of which you have no knowledge?

MISS BENTLEY. I would imagine from what I had heard very indirectly that those were only two of a good many other groups.

MR. HÉBERT. That there were many other groups operating in the Government similar to the Perlo and the Silvermaster group?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I would definitely say so.

MR. HÉBERT. The reason I ask you that is to have it very clear that this whole espionage could not possibly have been carried on by just these two groups, the so-called Perlo group and the so-called Silvermaster group.



MISS BENTLEY. I do know from my Russian contact Jack, who told me of other people that he had been contacting in the Government, not by name and position, but he mentioned there were other people, so I take it for granted there must have been.

MR. HÉBERT. It would be perfectly logical for this committee to assume that while the Perlo group and the Silvermaster group have been identified, there are innumerable other groups under similar circumstances which operated under similar heads to Perlo and Silvermaster that we haven't found out about yet?

MISS BENTLEY. I would think it extremely likely from what I have heard; yes.

MR. HÉBERT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. I will ask Miss Bentley to step aside and ask Mr. Perlo to take the stand.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Perlo, will you take the stand?

#### TESTIMONY OF VICTOR PERLO—Resumed

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, did you furnish any information to Elizabeth T. Bentley?

MR. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer this question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you have a statement, Mr. Perlo?

MR. PERLO. Yes, sir.

MR. McDOWELL. Is this the same statement you had Saturday?

MR. PERLO. The same one.

MR. McDOWELL. Is it changed in any way?

MR. PERLO. It has been amended to indicate it is being submitted to the full committee today.

MR. McDOWELL. Is that the only change?

MR. PERLO. That is right.

MR. STRIPLING. If the committee is going to accept the statement, I want the witness to read it into the record.

MR. NIXON. At this time?

MR. STRIPLING. At this time, if they are going to accept it.

THE CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

MR. NIXON. There is one point about which I would like to question the witness before reading the statement.

MR. PERLO, this is the same statement except for, as you say, changing the name of the subcommittee to the full committee; is that correct? The statement you submitted in New York?

MR. PERLO. That is right.

MR. NIXON. I refer you to your statement, to the sixth paragraph, to this sentence:

I vigorously deny the charges which have been leveled against me.

Were you in the room when Miss Bentley just testified now?

MR. PERLO. Yes.

MR. NIXON. Those were the charges which Miss Bentley made against you, previously in testimony before this committee. She repeated those charges now. Do you mean by this statement that you intend to read that you vigorously deny the charges that Miss Bentley made then and that she made today before this committee?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You deny the charge that Miss Bentley made that you gave her secret information? That is untrue, isn't it?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel—

Mr. NIXON (interposing). Just a minute. You said that you deny the charges Miss Bentley had made. Do you deny the charges or don't you deny the charges?

(There was a short pause by the witness.)

Mr. NIXON. Answer the question. You answered the question "yes" before. Do you wish to change the answer to the question?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution—

Mr. NIXON. Finish your statement.

Mr. PERLO. And refuse to answer the question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Perlo, I quote again from the statement that you have submitted to this committee to read under oath:

I vigorously deny the charges which have been leveled against me.

Do you at this time repudiate that part of your statement and want to take it out of your statement?

Mr. PERLO. By no means do I wish to repudiate that statement. I want to point out that my refusal to answer questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination involves no hesitation or shame on my part. The fifth amendment to the Constitution is designed not to protect the guilty but to protect the innocent, especially from charges leveled and discussed under conditions of near hysteria such as have surrounded the whole handling of these hearings in the press and elsewhere.

Mr. McDOWELL. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do I understand it to be the ruling of the Chair that this fifth paragraph remain in the statement and that it become an official part of the records of this committee and that if these charges are proven, Mr. Perlo is subject to prosecution for perjury?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell, I am not a parliamentarian and I will just have to give my humble opinion. My opinion is he would be subject to perjury.

Mr. SRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in that connection, if the committee is considering possible perjury, I suggest that a direct question be put to the witness and a direct reply made. In making the general statement—I am not sure it would come within the category of perjury.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon has the floor.

You may proceed.

Mr. NIXON. I again refer you to your statement:

I vigorously deny the charges which have been leveled against me.

One of the charges which has been leveled against you is that you gave secret Government information to Miss Bentley. Do I understand you to say now that you vigorously deny that charge?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. NIXON. Then, you do not wish to keep this particular statement in, because this statement is not true; is that correct?

Mr. PERLO. I wish to keep the sentence in the statement.

Mr. NIXON. You vigorously deny the charges made against you and yet you refuse to testify on the ground that you may incriminate yourself when asked about a specific charge. Is that it?

Mr. PERLO. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. NIXON. On what grounds?

Mr. PERLO. On the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Perlo, another of the charges which has been leveled against you is that you obtained secret information from the agency in which you worked and that you gave that information to unauthorized people—namely, to Miss Bentley.

You have heard those charges made here today just as they were made to the committee by Miss Bentley in public session a few days ago. I understand that now, although you wish to have that statement read into the record in which you deny these charges categorically, without making any exceptions, nevertheless you will refuse to answer "yes" or "no" as to the truth or falsity of the major charge against you. Is that correct?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I stand on my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and refuse to answer the question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman. I think that is a pretty good indication of how much credence the committee can give to all of the statements made by Mr. Perlo in this statement that he is submitting to the committee.

Mr. PERLO. I must express resentment against that statement, considering that as a witness I have merely stood on my constitutional rights, which I have emphasized before are designed not to protect the guilty but to protect the innocent, and it doesn't seem to me a judicial type of procedure to rebuke the use of the Constitution of the United States by a witness in a hearing.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Perlo, by making the statement that you deny the charges you, in effect, are saying that Miss Bentley perjured herself. You have the right to say that before this committee if you can back it up with facts, but when we question you in regard to what respect Miss Bentley has made false charges against you, you refuse to testify. We are not attempting to badger you as a witness. We simply want to get the truth. You have the right to plead self-incrimination on any particular matter, and you will note that the committee has never questioned that right, but certainly now, as a member of the committee, I question the right of any witness to come before this committee and make the categorical charge that the charges made by another witness are false and still refuse to answer questions concerning those specific major charges.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, before you rule on that, there is another part of this fifth paragraph in which the witness says:

The Government has already spent a half million dollars on them.

How do you know that to be a true statement, Mr. Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. It was reported in various newspaper reports and I am not sure whether or not it was mentioned in President Truman's statement.

Mr. HÉBERT. You don't know that of your own knowledge?

Mr. PERLO. No; I don't.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you make the statement in here of your own knowledge.

You don't know, do you?

Mr. PERLO. No; I don't know for a fact that the Government has spent that.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, let me read another sentence:

A grand jury sat for over a year investigating them and found no basis for indictments in those charges despite improper newspaper pressure for such indictments.

How do you know that is a true statement?

Mr. PERLO. I know that is a true statement, the first part of it, because the President stated that this was the case, that the grand jury sat for a long time and considered these charges and found no basis for indictment.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know of your own knowledge that the grand jury has found no basis for indictments?

Mr. PERLO. I assume the President's word on this is accurate.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am not talking about the President's word. I am asking: Do you know? The President can speak for himself, and I want you to speak for yourself. Do you know?

Mr. PERLO. I assume—

Mr. HÉBERT (interposing). You don't know. I am not asking for assumptions. I am asking if you know that the grand jury in New York has found no basis for indictments.

Mr. PERLO. You ask me if I know something, and anything which I think I know or which you know is based on what you know of a situation. What I know about the situation is that I know they worked for a long time, just from the newspaper stories about their activities, but they were working, and I know the President made the statement—

Mr. HÉBERT (interposing). I am not talking about the President, Mr. Perlo; I am asking what do you know about it?

Mr. PERLO. I know these facts about it, and these facts are sufficient for me to draw the conclusion—

Mr. HÉBERT (interposing). Do you know as a matter of fact that the New York grand jury has found no basis for an indictment against you?

Mr. PERLO. Sir?

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know for a fact the New York grand jury has found no basis for an indictment against you, Victor Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. I think I am justified in coming to that conclusion by the actual development of events; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know that the New York grand jury is still sitting on this case?

Mr. PERLO. That I don't know. I read that the grand jury had been recessed.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know that the grand jury has never returned a no true bill against one Victor Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. That this—

Mr. HÉBERT (interposing). You know these other things so specifically; why don't you know that?

Mr. PERLO. Well, my answers weren't related to the question of a no true bill.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am asking you the question: Do you know that the grand jury in New York has or has not returned a no true bill against you, Victor Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. No, sir; I don't know that.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, you don't know.

Mr. PERLO. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, you do know that the grand jury is only in recess and can still return an indictment against you, Victor Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir; if that is the legal situation, that is the case.

Mr. HÉBERT. So then you are not absolved by, as of this date, the fact that the New York grand jury has not indicted Victor Perlo?

Mr. PERLO. I don't know what the legal status is.

Mr. HÉBERT. You know all about the other legal statutes. I am just trying to find out what you know about this.

Mr. PERLO. I do not claim to be a legal expert about this.

Mr. HÉBERT. Have you ever appeared before the New York grand jury?

Mr. PERLO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to interrupt right there. The witness has presented a statement. The committee has no objection to his reading the statement. I think the witness should proceed and read the statement, and then, after he has finished reading the statement, I think it would be proper for the members of the committee to ask questions at that point.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, may I say there that I originally agreed to let the witness read the statement, but I want it thoroughly understood in the witness' own mind that if he reads this statement he is reading it under a perjury shadow, and I, for one, will assume that if he denies anything in here, as general as it might be, that he is subject to perjury charges, and Mr. Nixon has tried futilely but vigorously to get this witness to say specifically what he means and what he doesn't mean. I do not believe he should come in here under the cloak of a general politicalized statement, which will be developed if he does read it in an effort to make a political speech, in an effort to make statements without foundation, when he is given the opportunity to back up his statements he refuses to do so and he conducts the smear campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we can ask the witness questions after he has read his statement.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, before he reads his statement, I want to be sure that the witness understands his legal status before this committee.

You understand—and you have counsel available if you do not understand—that the laws of perjury apply to the statement you are about to read.

Mr. PERLO. Certainly.

Mr. MUNDT. You understand that?

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. You understand also that the charges have been made that you know Miss Bentley. The charges have been made that you know Charles Kramer. If you read this statement saying specifi-

cally that you deny all charges and it can subsequently be proved that you have known or met either Miss Bentley or Mr. Kramer, you are then subject to perjury. You understand that, don't you? I want to know that you understand that before you read it.

Mr. PERLO. I question whether—

Mr. MUNDT. There is no question. I want to be sure you understand your rights before this committee. You can talk to your counsel about it.

Mr. PERLO. Yes.

(Consultation between Mr. Perlo and Mr. Gollobin.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are you ready to answer the question, Mr. Perlo?

(Consultation between Mr. Perlo and Mr. Gollobin.)

Mr. PERLO. I refuse to answer this question on the ground of my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment in that answering it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. MUNDT. Nothing about that answer would incriminate you. I want to know whether you understand that you are testifying under the laws of perjury and that if what you read is subsequently proven to be false in any respect you are subject to the laws of perjury. Do you understand that before reading your statement?

Mr. PERLO. Yes; although I can't say that I agree with every interpretation of the law of perjury which the gentleman makes. In other words, let me give you an example—

(Consultation between Mr. Perlo and Mr. Gollobin.)

Mr. PERLO. All right.

Mr. MUNDT. Counsel doesn't want you to give the example. Is that right?

Mr. PERLO. I will give it. It doesn't make any difference. I am sure he won't be mad at me for giving it.

To draw the thing to a ridiculous extreme, you can say that part of the charge was that I worked for the Government in Washington and that by vigorously denying the charges I am denying that I worked for the Government in Washington, and I got the impression from some of the points that you made that this warning you were giving me was really warning me about things that were not essential parts of any charges leveled against me.

Mr. MUNDT. It is highly essential whether or not you have met Miss Bentley, whether or not you have met Mr. Kramer. I mentioned those two things specifically. The matter about your working for the Government is a matter of government and not a matter of a charge by anybody.

If you understand fully the situation in which you find yourself and wish to read your statement as it is under those conditions, you may do so.

(Consultation between Mr. Perlo and Mr. Gollobin.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are all members willing to have him read his statement?

Mr. HÉBERT. He hasn't made up his mind.

Mr. PERLO. I have made up my mind, and I am ready to read it any time.

Mr. HÉBERT. You have made up your mind that you realize you are subject to perjury if you make a statement there and specifically what Mr. Mundt and Mr. Nixon has asked you about—I am not interested in ad absurdum charges—I am interested in those specific things.

You said under oath you did not know Miss Bentley.

Mr. STRIPLING. He didn't testify to that.

Mr. HÉBERT. I mean he refused to answer the question. He would if he reads this: that is what I want to point out. If he reads that.

Mr. STRIPLING. It would have to be a direct question, Mr. Hébert, for perjury to be sustained.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Perlo, and read your statement.

(Consultation between Mr. Perlo and Mr. Gollobin.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. He is talking to his counsel.

(Consultation between Mr. Perlo and Mr. Gollobin resumed.)

Mr. PERLO. After consultation with counsel and in view of the interpretation which the members of the committee, the detailed interpretation which they make of the sentence in question, I will delete that one sentence from the statement before reading it.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so. That is the sentence which begins, "I vigorously deny the charges"?

Mr. PERLO. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You go ahead and read now.

Mr. PERLO. O. K.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Perlo, and start reading.

Mr. PERLO. My name is Victor Perlo. I was born in 1912 in Queens County, N. Y., where I now reside. I graduated from Columbia College in 1931, and received my master's degree in mathematics at Columbia University the following year. I have contributed to various technical publications on economic, statistical, and mathematical subjects. I did 2 years of research in wage and price economics at the Brookings Institution.

From 1933 through 1937 I served at the NRA and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, helping in my humble way to carry out the great New Deal program under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt. From 1939 through 1947 I served at the Commerce Department, the Office of Price Administration, the War Production Board, and the Treasury. I contributed my small part to the establishment of the price controls which prevented ruinous inflation during World War II, to the acceleration of war production necessary for victory, and to the development of peaceful world trade after the war.

I am now a consulting economist in New York, employed for the current campaign by the Progressive Party.

The lurid spy charges of the Bentley woman and of Chambers are inventions of irresponsible sensation seekers. The Government has already spent a half million dollars on them. A grand jury sat for over a year investigating them and found no basis for indictments in those charges despite improper newspaper pressure for such indictments. Therefore it is the height of legal and moral impropriety for this committee to rake up these charges which have been fully sifted by normal judicial processes.

I am a loyal American citizen, and I categorically assert that I have never violated the laws or interests of my country.

I am proud of my record of service to the people while in Government employment.

I am particularly proud of my present opportunity to contribute to the great campaign of Henry Wallace for peace, against inflation, and for decent living standards and full democratic rights for all

people. Nothing will deter me from continuing to make my small contribution to building an abundant and prosperous America.

It is becoming increasingly clear that despite headline spy sensations, the people resent the failure of the special session of Congress to act on the urgent problems facing the country. The people will echo Mr. Wallace's call for more red meat and less red herrings.

The people will increasingly demand election of a Congress and Government which will bring prices down and incomes up, which will provide housing, education, health, and peace.

I am confident that public sentiment will be revolted by witch hunts, and will demand instead the investigation of war instigators, of fomenters of race hatred, of those who are truly endangering our very civilization today.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell, do you have any questions?

Mr. McDOWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert, any questions?

Mr. HÉBERT. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, do you have any more questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness remain under subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

You are excused.

Mr. PERLO. All right. There is one other point I wanted to come back to briefly, if I might.

That is to get the record straight on aspects of my Government employment record which were brought into the testimony. What is the name of this agency concerning which there was read into the record a long description of its duties, and so forth and so on?

Mr. STRIPLING. The Resources Protection Board.

Mr. PERLO. The Resources Protection Board?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. I just want to state for the record, since you asked me at one stage about my connection with it, that as I said earlier I don't remember any details. This is probably the same thing I have associated in my mind as Plant Protection Board, or something like that, with which I had very trivial relations and concerning which all this talk about highly secret and complicated information, and so on, and so forth, which were detailed here and which I believe even Miss Bentley had something to say about, I knew nothing of.

There is one other little point I would like to get straight for the record.

Mr. NIXON. Just a moment. On that statement you just made do I understand that you indicate you had no access to secret and confidential information; is that correct?

Mr. PERLO. I didn't say I had no access to any at all, but that all of these things, most of which I had never heard of before that were discussed in the report of this agency, were—I didn't have any access to.

Mr. NIXON. You had access then to some secret information?

Mr. PERLO. That is right, sure.

Mr. NIXON. In that connection I want to refer you just briefly to this one statement in the statement you have filed:

I have never violated the laws of my country.

You, of course, are familiar with the law which makes it a crime to divulge any secret information to any unauthorized persons. Do



you mean by this statement that you have never divulged any secret information to any unauthorized person?

Mr. PERLO. On advice of counsel I have to refuse to answer that question.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused, Mr. Perlo.

Mr. PERLO. May I make just one other point?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PERLO. I wish to make it clear that I came to this hearing voluntarily, received a subpoena for same willingly, and I would like to see corrected grossly misleading reports which were contained in some of the more sensational press.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Perlo, we haven't anything to do with that. The record will stand for itself.

Mr. HÉBERT. I think for the record also Mr. Perlo said he came voluntarily to this committee meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. He added that he was subpoenaed.

Mr. HÉBERT. But he did not come to the committee until he was subpoenaed, nor did he ask to appear until he was subpoenaed.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the record is clear on that point.

We will recess until 2:30 this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:27 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair would like to announce that beginning with tomorrow these meetings will start promptly at 10 o'clock, and close at 12, and recess until 2, and then close at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

The first witness this afternoon is Mr. Alexander Koral.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, before we hear from Mr. Koral, I have one brief witness, and I just want to ask a few questions. It will not take too much time, and she has to go back to her office.

Miss Burke, would you please stand and be sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you will give before this committee is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BURKE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may sit down.

#### TESTIMONY OF GILDA DE FRANK BURKE

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Burke, you are here before this committee in response to a subpoena which was served upon you, are you not?

Miss BURKE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please state your full name and present address.

Miss BURKE. Gilda DeFrank Burke, Old Dominion Gardens, Alexandria, Va.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are you employed, Miss Burke?

Miss BURKE. War Assets Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed there?

Miss BURKE. March 25, 1946.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed in the Federal Government?

Miss BURKE. Since December 3, 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. Since you have been employed in the Federal Government, were you ever assigned to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster as his secretary?

Miss BURKE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you tell the committee during what periods you were assigned to Mr. Silvermaster as a secretary?

Miss BURKE. 1943, and from 1944 to 1946 as his administrative officer.

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1943 he was employed in the Farm Security Administration; is that correct?

Miss BURKE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1944 to 1946, he was in Surplus Property?

Miss BURKE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you were his secretary and administrative assistant during that period?

Miss BURKE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have the telephone directory or the finder which you used while you were employed as Mr. Silvermaster's secretary?

Miss BURKE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you hand it to me, please?

(Telephone directory handed to Mr. Stripling.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you look through that list and tell me whether or not the name of Frank Coe appears therein?

Miss BURKE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Mr. Silvermaster ever communicated with Frank Coe?

Miss BURKE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you also look in that list and tell me whether the name B. Gold or Bela Gold appears?

Miss BURKE. Yes, it does.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he also communicate with Bela Gold?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you also look up the name of Harold Glasser?

Miss BURKE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he communicate with Harold Glasser?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry Magdoff?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he also communicate with Harry Magdoff?

Miss BURKE. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the name of Lee Pressman in the telephone book finder?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he communicate with Lee Pressman?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you look up the name George Silverman?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he also communicate with George Silverman?

Miss BURKE. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you look up the name William Ullmann?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he communicate with William Ullmann?

Miss BURKE. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the name of Harry Dexter White in the telephone directory?

Miss BURKE. Yes; it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it listed as Harry White or Harry Dexter White?

Miss BURKE. Just Harry White.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he communicate with Harry White?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the name of David Wahl also in that directory?

Miss BURKE. Yes; it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he communicate with David Wahl?

Miss BURKE. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the name Keeney listed in the directory?

Miss BURKE. Yes; it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not he ever communicated with an individual by the name of Phillip O. Keeney?

Miss BURKE. I have just Keeney here; I do not recall what the first name was.

Mr. STRIPLING. What number does it give?

Miss BURKE. FEA-2297.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the telephone locator be received by the committee, as there will be subsequent questions about it at a later session, when several of these witnesses appear.

Now, I would like to ask the witness one more question.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

(The telephone locator referred to was received by the committee and will be found in the files of the committee.)

Mr. STRIPLING. During the time that you were employed as Mr. Silvermaster's secretary, did he ever ask you or send you to deliver a package to Lauchlin Currie?

Miss BURKE. It was not exactly a package; it was in a letter envelope, and I did deliver it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did deliver it. Where did you deliver this package, this envelope?

Miss BURKE. The second floor of the old State Department Building.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you remember approximately when you delivered it?

Miss BURKE. It was while he was in Agriculture—it must have been in 1943.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1943. Do you know what was in the envelope?

Miss BURKE. No; I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. At that time did you type Mr. Silvermaster's letters?

Miss BURKE. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you are not aware of what was in this particular envelope?

Miss BURKE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have at this time, Mr. Chairman. The witness will be called back when Mr. Ullmann testifies.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any member have any questions?

Mr. Stripling, do you have any more questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. Not at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are excused, Miss Burke. You will be called at a later date.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, we would like to get this information regarding the Silvermaster case, because certain witnesses who will appear tomorrow will be questioned concerning this.

Several days ago when Mr. Silvermaster was here, Mr. Hébert questioned him rather closely regarding a photo laboratory, or about photographic equipment, which was in the basement of his home. Mr. Hébert has a very pertinent piece of evidence there which we would like to receive at this time.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, with the permission of the committee I want to direct attention to a copy of the Washington Star of Saturday, May 3, 1947, page B-2, which is the real-estate section of that newspaper, and direct the committee's attention to an ad in the paper headed "Chevy Chase, D. C." The site is by the new St. John's College, and then there is a picture of a residence, a single detached residence, identified by the street number 5515 Thirtieth Street NW., and the description of the house which is listed by Frank S. Phillips, real estate, priced for a quick sale, and Frank Phillips, the real estate man, is listed as being at 927 Fifteenth Street NW., and his telephone District 1411, and I read the description of the house:

The interior of this fine brick home must be seen to be appreciated. Custom built 9 years ago, contains nine rooms and three baths, including den on first floor, and four sleeping rooms and two baths on the second floor, containing completely finished and heated third floor. Basement contains maid's room and bath—

and I direct the committee's attention to the next description of the house—

In the basement an excellent photographic room, workshop, gas hot-water heat, detached garage, slate roof, copper tubing, storm sash, beautiful lot 135 feet deep, with highly productive vegetable and fruit garden.

I direct the committee's attention particularly to the "excellent photographic room" and also to the testimony of Miss Bentley that the house did have a fine productive garden in the back of the house of the Silvermaster house that she knew, visited, and stayed at.

I ask that that be placed in the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in the record.

The next witness, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Alexander Koral.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you stand, Mr. Koral, and raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KORAL. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER KORAL

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Koral, you have counsel with you?

Mr. KORAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Boston lawyer?

Mr. KORAL. New York lawyer.

Mr. PRAEGER. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you identify yourself, please?

Mr. PRAEGER. Mr. Chairman, I cannot let that go unnoticed. Through some mistake of the air lines, I found myself in that cradle of American liberty, Boston, Mass., and then by painful stages worked myself down to Washington.

I apologize to the committee for causing this delay, and it certainly was unintentional.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you fully identify yourself, please, for the record?

Mr. PRAEGER. Boston address or New York address, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Both.

Mr. PRAEGER. Leo Praeger, 401 Broadway, New York City, late of Boston, early this morning.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Korál, will you please state your full name, and talk into the microphone.

Mr. KORÁL. Alexander Korál.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Korál?

Mr. KORÁL. London, England, April 18, 1897.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. KORÁL. 209 Empire Boulevard, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that 209 or 290?

Mr. KORÁL. I am sorry, 290 Empire Boulevard.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. KORÁL. Assistant engineer for the bureau of construction of the board of education of the city of New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. KORÁL. Save for a lay-off of about 21 months, I have been there continuously since January 1922.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you married, Mr. Korál?

Mr. KORÁL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any children?

Mr. KORÁL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How old are the children?

Mr. KORÁL. I will have to figure that; 24 is the oldest.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you identify him, please?

Mr. KORÁL. That is Richard—the full name is Richard Lee; and the younger boy, Gilbert Roy, is a year and 5 months younger.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Korál, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Korál, have you ever been acquainted with an individual known to you only as Frank?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1939, did you meet an individual that you knew only by the name of Frank?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know an individual by the name—the first name being Gaik, G-a-i-k, and the last name S-o-v-a-k-i-m-i-a-n?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, that individual was arrested on May 5, 1941, and June 6, 1941. He was held on a warrant as a Soviet foreign agent on \$25,000 bail. He resided at Dean Brook at 97 Brooklyn Avenue, Brooklyn. He was released and allowed to return to the U. S. S. R. in October 1941.

Mr. PRAEGER. Mr. Chairman, may I say something at this point? I think that in view of the fact that this gentleman that Mr. Stripling has identified in the record has no connection with Mr. Korál that the inference is unfair that the person so identified has any connection with Mr. Korál.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Counsel, I asked him if he knew this individual and he declined to answer on the ground that it would tend to incriminate him.

Mr. PRAEGER. Well, he stood on his constitutional rights, which he has a perfect right to do, and I think it is an unfair way of presenting the record on something.

Mr. MUNDT. The Chair will say that there is nothing to prevent the witness from saying that he does not know this individual and thus it would not be necessary to answer that it would tend to degrade and incriminate him.

Mr. PRAEGER. The only point that I make, Mr. Chairman, is that there can be an unfair inference, because by reference there might be some connection between this individual and Mr. Korál.

Mr. MUNDT. There can be no unfair inference if the witness decides that he does not know somebody who has an acquaintanceship which might be self-incriminating.

Mr. PRAEGER. Then, I take it, Mr. Chairman, that you are overruling my objection on this particular point.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct.

Mr. PRAEGER. I thank you.

Mr. STRIPLING. This individual that you knew only as Frank, how did you first meet him, Mr. Korál?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did he tell you when he first contacted you?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to degrade and incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he ask you to become a courier for him in connection with certain work that he was performing?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. PRAEGER. May I consult with my client for a moment, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MUNDT. You may consult with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Korál, do you know Earl Browder?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know or do you know Jacob N. Golos?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Korál, would you kindly stand, please, and turn around.

Miss Bentley, would you stand up, please?

(Mr. Korál and Miss Bentley, respectively, comply.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Korál, this lady in black standing to your right is Elizabeth Bentley. Have you ever seen Elizabeth T. Bentley? Have you ever seen her before?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. KORÁL. May I turn around?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you contact any individuals in Washington, D. C., in October 1945, as a result of the instructions received from an individual known to you as Frank?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you exchange packages at that time with an individual known to you as Greg?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know an individual by the name of Greig or Greg in Washington?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever make a trip to Washington, D. C.?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer on the ground—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. I think that is something a little far afield. When the chief investigator asks you if you ever made a trip to Washington, I do not see how that would incriminate you.

Mr. PRAEGER. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. I am asking the witness. You keep quiet a few seconds.

How does that incriminate you?

Mr. KORÁL. Mr. Thomas, I have been instructed by my counsel that courts have ruled that what is considered incriminating is something that the individual that is being questioned must answer.

The CHAIRMAN. But this is a very simple question: Did you ever make a trip to Washington? It could be: Did you ever make a trip to Boston, or New York, or some other place? I do not see how it would—

Mr. PRAEGER. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. PRAEGER. If I may—

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking to the witness. Now, you just keep quiet for a few seconds, and then we will let you talk.

Mr. PRAEGER. The reason I attempted to interject myself at this point—

The CHAIRMAN. I said: You will please be quiet.

Now, you go ahead, Mr. Witness. How does that incriminate you? In what way would the trip to Washington incriminate you?

Mr. KORÁL. I am not a lawyer, Mr. Thomas, and I have placed my legal case in the hands of an attorney; I respect his judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you refuse to answer that question on the ground that it will incriminate you because you have been advised to answer it that way; is that it?

Mr. PRAEGER. Mr. Chairman, if I may—

The CHAIRMAN. No; just a minute.

Now, I will ask you the question: Have you ever made a trip to Washington?

Mr. KORAL. The same answer, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That it will incriminate you if you answer it that way?

Mr. KORAL. It may incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. And that you answer it that way because you have been advised by counsel to answer it that way?

Mr. KORAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever made a trip to Niagara Falls, Mr. Korál?

Mr. PRAEGER. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. STRIPLING. I want him to answer the question.

Have you ever made a trip to Niagara Falls?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. Chairman, may I say something at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to make a statement?

Mr. KORAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a written statement?

Mr. KORAL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a written statement that you would like to present?

Mr. KORAL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think it would be better for the chief investigator to continue the questioning, and then you can make your statement?

Mr. KORAL. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever receive a package from an individual by the name of Grig, G-r-i-g or G-r-e-g, in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you receive any money for transporting a package from Washington, D. C., to Brooklyn, N. Y.?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. KORAL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I am ready for the witness to make a statement, so far as I am concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Witness, would you like to make a statement at this point?

Mr. KORAL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have here a picture which was taken by the Acme Photo and which appeared in the Washington



Times-Herald on Thursday, August 5. This picture was taken on August 4, 1948, when Nathan Gregory Silvermaster appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

The caption in this picture states: "Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, former official of the Board of Economic Warfare, is shown as he testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee yesterday."

I show you this picture, Mr. Koral, and ask you if you have ever seen this individual [showing Mr. Koral a photograph]?

MR. KORAL. I decline to answer on the ground that it might incriminate me.

MR. STRIPLING. That is all that I have of the witness. Those are all of the questions that I have of the witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt?

MR. MUNDT. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell?

MR. MCDOWELL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert?

MR. HÉBERT. Mr. Koral, have you ever given a statement in connection with your activities in the so-called espionage ring to the Government?

MR. PRAEGER. Mr. Chairman, may I again object to that question at this point? Anything that has gone on—

The CHAIRMAN. No, no, no.

MR. PRAEGER. Just a moment, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It is up to the witness to object, not counsel, and will counsel please be quiet while members of the committee are interrogating this witness.

Proceed, Mr. Hébert.

MR. HÉBERT. Mr. Koral, have you ever given a statement to the Government in connection with your activities in what is known as the espionage ring in cooperation with the Russian Government?

MR. KORAL. I testified before the grand jury.

MR. HÉBERT. Wait now. I do not want you—you cannot tell what you said before the grand jury. I am not asking you to say that. I am not identifying any individual. I said "the Government," and I do not want you to violate the rules of the grand jury, as I understand them.

I asked you: Have you ever given a statement to the Government in connection with your activities of an espionage ring as related to the Soviet or the Russian Government?

MR. PRAEGER. Mr. Hébert, I wish you would clarify your question. When you say "Government," I frankly could not answer that question, because I do not know what branch of the Government you are referring to.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Counsel, I just told you before that you will please be quiet. This witness can ask that the question be clarified, not you.

MR. PRAEGER. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, if I may consult with my client?

The CHAIRMAN. I just want you to be quiet.

MR. PRAEGER. I have a request to make of the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you have a request to make of the Chair, you just wait a little while. There is a question which has been asked of this witness.

Mr. HÉBERT. I may say, Mr. Chairman, that I appreciate counsel's attempt to protect his client, but at the same time, the Chair is in this instance, and the committee's attitude at all times, has been that counsel could confer with his witness and not answer for his witness.

Mr. PRAEGER. I appreciate that.

Mr. HÉBERT. Because there is no attempt here at any time to cut off the witnesses from having the advice of counsel. That is clearly understood, and the chairman has so ruled in each instance in order to keep it within the lines of our accepted manner of testimony.

Now, Mr. Korál, I again ask you: Did you ever make a statement to the Government in connection with your activities as a member of an espionage ring as related to the Soviet or Russian Government?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. HÉBERT. I now ask you, Mr. Korál, if at any time, at any time, you ever signed any statement confessing to your part in the espionage ring as related to the Soviet Government?

Mr. KORÁL. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. HÉBERT. You do not deny it, then, that you may have signed such a statement, to anybody, Government or otherwise—any statement?

Mr. KORÁL. Is that a question, Mr. Hébert?

Mr. HÉBERT. I asked you that as a question.

Mr. KORÁL. The same answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HÉBERT. You do not deny it, then, on the ground that it might incriminate you?

Mr. KORÁL. I do deny on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then you deny that you ever signed such a statement?

Mr. KORÁL. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then you do not deny it?

Mr. KORÁL. I neither deny—I neither deny or affirm; I simply am not answering the question.

Mr. HÉBERT. You neither deny nor affirm that you have signed a confession about your activities on the ground that it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. KORÁL. I am not a lawyer, and I cannot unravel the intricacy of that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am not a lawyer, either; and I am not trying to involve you. I am trying to ask you a simple question, because if I told you, Mr. Korál, that I know you signed a confession, what would you say to that?

Mr. KORÁL. I would not say anything about that.

Mr. HÉBERT. You would keep quiet on that. You would not deny it or affirm it. Then, I say to you, Mr. Korál, that I have every reason to know that you did sign a confession. Do you still want to stand on your constitutional rights and not have this opportunity of denying it and proving that you did not sign such a confession?

Mr. KORÁL. I will stand on my constitutional rights.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, I will leave it this way, that I know from good authority that you did sign a confession.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon, do you have any questions?

Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused.

Mr. STRIPLING. Not excused. We want him to remain under subpoena. We will call him when he is needed. We will notify him and give him 3 days' notice.

The CHAIRMAN. You are under subpoena, and we will call you when we want you again.

Mr. KORAL. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Russell, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUSSELL. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. RUSSELL

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, you are an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been a member of the investigative staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. RUSSELL. Since May 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever connected with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. RUSSELL. I was for a period of 10 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. As a special agent?

Mr. RUSSELL. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you, as an investigator for this committee, along with other investigators attached to the committee, conducted an investigation regarding certain persons connected with an espionage ring operating between New York City and Washington, D. C.?

Mr. RUSSELL. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. During the course of the investigation, did you and other investigators for the committee receive any information regarding Alexander Korál, and his participation in espionage activities?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; we did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the committee a summary, deleting certain confidential information, regarding Alexander Korál, and his connection with an individual by the name of Frank, and an individual by the name of Greg, who will be subsequently identified.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; I will. Alexander Korál was born in London, England, on April 18, 1897, and came to the United States during the year 1900. Korál resides at 290 Empire Boulevard, Brooklyn, N. Y. He is employed by the New York City Board of Education in Brooklyn, N. Y.

During the year 1939, Korál was approached by a man named "Frank," who told him that mutual friends had advised him that he,

Koral, was in need of funds. Koral at the time of this contact had a son who was ill, and had a large amount of hospital and medical bills. Koral subsequently became a courier for Frank and made 12 contacts for him. These contacts were made with persons known to Koral as Al, George, or Henry, at several different places. The contacts were made at a seafood restaurant located south of Eighty-sixth Street and Lexington Avenue, One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Street and Third Avenue, and at Broadway and Ninety-sixth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. These are all in New York City?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir. When these contacts were made, Koral would carry a magazine, such as Time or Life, and the persons contacted by Koral would also carry a copy of the same magazines. The persons contacted by Koral at the request of the person known by Koral as Frank would, during the contact, turn over to Koral certain unidentified material, in a box or a package, similar to a candy box.

Koral would then take the package home, and Frank would come by and pick it up.

In October 1945 Koral was approached by Frank, who told him that he wanted him to go Washington, D. C., and meet a man whom he called Greg. The contact was to be made in front of a movie house. Koral made the trip to Washington and contacted Greg and Greg's wife in front of a movie house, in accordance with Frank's instructions. Koral turned a package over to Greg during his contact and received one from him in return. Koral carried the package back to New York City and turned it over to Frank.

Koral, when this contact was made with Greg, used the name "Al." The man and woman whom Koral contacted in Washington in October 1945 were Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and his wife, Helen.

In December 1945, upon instructions, Koral again returned to Washington and met Greg in accordance with a prearranged plan. Upon the occasion of this meeting Koral advised Greg that there would be no more visits upon instructions received from Frank.

Upon the occasion of this meeting Koral received a package from Greg and returned to his home at 290 Empire Boulevard, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Frank subsequently pick up the package?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; 2 days—

Mr. STRIPLING. How many days later?

Mr. RUSSELL. Two days later.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was this the last contact that he had with Frank?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is the last known contact.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he receive any funds from Frank?

Mr. RUSSELL. Koral was paid by Frank upon six different occasions for the work which he had performed as a courier for Frank.

Mr. STRIPLING. How did he receive this money?

Mr. RUSSELL. It was usually paid in \$10 bills.

Mr. STRIPLING. How much money did he receive?

Mr. RUSSELL. The exact amount is unknown to me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Approximately how much did he receive or do you know?

Mr. RUSSELL. I do not know the exact amount or the approximate amount.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go ahead, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. The additional information is that Koral thought the material which he delivered and collected for Frank contained information regarding Government contracts.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, there is certain other information which we have regarding Mr. Koral, which we desire to keep in confidence at this time, because of certain future witnesses who are to appear.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are there any questions of Mr. Russell?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I have no questions.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Duncan Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, would you come up here, please?

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to announce that it will be impossible to finish with Mr. Lee this afternoon, so we are going to ask Mr. Lee to wait over until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, and the members will go into executive session down in their chambers on the second floor.

We will meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:25 p. m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a. m. of the following day, Tuesday, August 10, 1948.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), Karl E. Mundt, John McDowell, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. The record will show Mr. McDowell is present, Mr. Hébert is present, Mr. Thomas is present. The subcommittee is sitting.

The chair wishes to announce that just as soon as our committee subpoenas are served on Mikhaïl I. Samarin and his wife, the committee will announce that the subpoenas have been served. At the present time the subpoenas are out but the subpoenas have not yet been served at this minute.

Mr. Stripling, the first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Duncan Lee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lee, take the stand, please. Raise your right hand.

Mr. Lee, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before this committee is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

Mr. Stripling, your witness.

## TESTIMONY OF DUNCAN CHAPLIN LEE

Mr. LEE. Mr. Chairman, I have a brief statement which I would like to read to the committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. We will take that under consideration.

Will you please state your full name, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. Duncan Chaplin Lee.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. LEE. Nanking, China, December 19, 1913.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here before this committee in response to a subpoena served upon you by Robert Gaston?

Mr. LEE. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you come to the United States, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. The first time I came to the United States I was about 6 months old. That would put it in the spring of 1914, I imagine.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. I went to various elementary schools. I attended the Woodbury Forest School in Virginia, then went to Yale for 4 years where I took a B. A. degree in 1935. I was then selected a Rhodes scholar to Oxford from Virginia and studied there for 3 years, taking both the B. A. degree in jurisprudence and a bachelor of civil law degree. I spent 1 year doing graduate work at the Yale Law School. I think that pretty well winds it up.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. I was employed in the Federal Government for 1 month in the Office of Strategic Services as a civilian and I was in the Army for nearly 4 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first enter the Office of Strategic Services?

Mr. LEE. Around the 1st of July 1942.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you enter the Army?

Mr. LEE. Around the 1st of August of the same year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you receive a commission when you entered the Army?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the commission?

Mr. LEE. As a first lieutenant.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were discharged what was your commission?

Mr. LEE. Lieutenant colonel.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you spend all of your Army career in the OSS, attached to OSS?

Mr. LEE. That is correct, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Since you left the Army, where have you been employed?

Mr. LEE. I have been practicing as a lawyer independently in Washington since I left the Army.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your business address in Washington?

Mr. LEE. 1016 Investment Building. That is my present address. I have had several.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you married, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any children?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; four.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your wife's name?

Mr. LEE. Isabelle Scott Lee. Her maiden name was Gibb.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with a person named Mary Price?

Mr. LEE. I am, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Mary Price?



Mr. LEE. I think probably in 1940—1939 or 1940.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. LEE. I am acquainted with a person who I now understand is Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you identify Miss Bentley? Miss Bentley, will you please stand?

Mr. LEE. Yes; I identify her.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. LEE. She wasn't known as that to me, but I understand that is her name.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you know her as? By what name?

Mr. LEE. I knew her by the name of Helen Grant.

Mr. STRIPLING. Helen Grant?

Mr. LEE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Helen Grant?

Mr. LEE. I think it was in October 1943, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet her?

Mr. LEE. At the home of Miss Mary Price.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was Mary Price residing at that time?

Mr. LEE. She had an apartment on H or I Street near Twenty-first—near Twentieth or Twenty-first.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a photograph of 2038 I Street and ask you if this was where Mary Price resided?

Mr. LEE. I believe it was.

Mr. STRIPLING. On the third floor at 2038 I Street?

Mr. LEE. That is correct, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You met Mary Price at this point?

Mr. LEE. No; I met Mary Price in New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you meet Miss Elizabeth Bentley at this apartment?

Mr. LEE. That is correct, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did you meet Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. LEE. I think my wife and I knew Miss Bentley over a period of about a year and a quarter. Exactly how many times we saw her during that time I am not certain. I would say perhaps 15 times.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well did you know Mary Price?

Mr. LEE. She was a good friend of both my wife and me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was she employed at the time?

Mr. LEE. At the time I first met her, which, as I say, was in 1940, I believe, in New York, I think she was employed as secretary to Mr. Walter Lippmann.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Miss Price a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEE. I wouldn't know, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

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

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever pay any dues to Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever pay any dues to Helen Grant?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you relate to the committee the various addresses that you lived at in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. LEE. As well as I can, sir. I lived at only two addresses, that is, where I actually had a house or had an establishment. I rented a room when I first came to Washington near Eighteenth and Columbia Road for a few months until I found an apartment. That apartment was on Dent Place, the exact number I am not sure of. It was about half a block to the west of Thirtieth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you tell me at which one of these places you resided?

Mr. LEE. 3014 Dent Place. The two look exactly alike.

Mr. STRIPLING. There are two apartment houses which are identical, Mr. Chairman. One is at 3014 Dent Place, and the other is 3020 Dent Place. One is the Irving, and the other is the Holmes.

Now, I will ask you, Mr. Lee, which of these apartment houses did you live in?

Mr. LEE. The Irving, the one nearest Thirtieth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. 3014 Dent Place NW. Did you live in apartment 18?

Mr. LEE. I believe that is right, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. At 3020 Dent Place NW.?

Mr. LEE. 3014.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. Four flights up?

Mr. LEE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. You enter, turn to your right, go up four flights of stairs, turn to your left, and it is the last apartment; is that correct?

Mr. LEE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Consisting of a living room, medium-sized dining room, kitchen, bedroom, and bath; is that correct?

Mr. LEE. There were two bedrooms, I believe.

Mr. STRIPLING. Two bedrooms?

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Helen Grant or Elizabeth T. Bentley at that apartment?

Mr. LEE. She came to visit us there; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times?

Mr. LEE. At the apartment I wouldn't be prepared to say. I think seven or eight times.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where else did you live in Washington?

Mr. LEE. 1522 Thirty-first Street NW.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is this a photograph of the residence in which you resided?

Mr. LEE. That is, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Elizabeth T. Bentley or Helen Grant ever meet you at 1522 Thirty-first Street?

Mr. LEE. I believe she did; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times?

Mr. LEE. I would say only a couple of times.

Mr. STRIPLING. I hand you a photograph and ask you if you can identify this individual.

Mr. LEE. I am not certain, Mr. Stripling, but I think I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is this individual?

Mr. LEE. He was the friend of Miss Bentley, who I met on two occasions very casually in her company.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his name when you met him?

Mr. LEE. His name was John something or other. His last name escapes me. I understand, though, it was Golos.

Mr. STRIPLING. Jacob N. Golos?

Mr. LEE. That is what I understand.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet him?

Mr. LEE. I met him, I believe, first at a restaurant on Fifteenth Street, known as the 823 Restaurant.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a picture of the 823 Restaurant. Is that the place you met Golos?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; that is my recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee, I show you a picture of Georgetown Pharmacy at Wisconsin Avenue and O Street Northwest, and ask you if you ever met Elizabeth T. Bentley or Helen Grant at this pharmacy?

Mr. LEE. I can't say positively, sir. I believe I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. You believe you did?

Mr. LEE. Yes. I met her at one or two pharmacies in Georgetown.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a picture of the Triangle Luncheonette at Wisconsin Avenue at Thirty-fourth Street Northwest, and ask you if you ever met Elizabeth T. Bentley or Helen Grant at this place?

Mr. LEE. I believe so; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times?

Mr. LEE. Once, as far as I know.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a picture of the Dumbarton Theatre on Wisconsin Avenue at O Street and ask you if you ever attended this theater with Elizabeth T. Bentley or Helen Grant?

Mr. LEE. Not to my recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't recall attending that?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a picture of Martin's Restaurant at Wisconsin Avenue and N Street NW., and ask you if you ever met Elizabeth T. Bentley at this restaurant?

Mr. LEE. I believe so on one occasion.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you repeat for the committee the first time you met Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. LEE. I said, Mr. Stripling, to the best of my recollection I first met Miss Bentley at the apartment of Miss Price sometime in October 1943.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did she tell you what she was doing when you first met her?

Mr. LEE. At some time in our early acquaintance, probably then, I was given to understand by Miss Bentley that she was employed in an executive capacity in some business in New York. I believe she said the leather business. It was a selling business, as near as I can recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you met Jacob N. Golos, what were you told as to who he was and what he was in Washington?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Stripling, may I go into a word of background in reply to that?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. LEE. When I met Miss Bentley at Miss Price's, we found her, as others have, attractive, well informed, a well-educated woman. We found her attractive and she seemed to find us attractive and we had a pleasant chat. She said she knew very few people in Washington and would like to know us better and would like to look us up when she next came to town.

She did so some weeks later. I think perhaps the second time she called us up she said she had a friend with her and would like to have us come down and meet her for drinks at this 823 Restaurant. It is my recollection that at that time we first met this man. He doesn't make a very strong impression on me. He was quite obviously ill. I am reasonably certain Miss Bentley described him as a refugee writer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, I would like to interrupt a second. The record will show that Mr. Mundt is present.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee, will you explain to the committee your duties in the OSS?

Mr. LEE. My duties fell into two phases, Mr. Stripling. When I first went to the OSS, I went partly as legal adviser—assistant general counsel, I think, was the actual title—and partly as a member of the so-called secretariat. That involved partly administrative work and partly legal work.

By legal work I mean drawing contracts, negotiating leases, seeing that the way we spent our money was in line with the way the General Accounting Office wanted it and that sort of thing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who brought you into OSS?

Mr. LEE. General Donovan.

Mr. STRIPLING. Had you known General Donovan before you entered OSS?

Mr. LEE. Yes; I was employed in his law firm for 3 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did General Donovan and the OSS ever send you on a mission to China?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; on two occasions.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were the dates of those two missions?

Mr. LEE. The first was a 3-month period beginning about the 1st of July 1943 and going to the end of September. On that occasion I didn't get to China.

The second was in 1945 when I went out with General Donovan, about the middle of July, and got back in the first week of October.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever tell Miss Bentley anything that you learned in a confidential capacity while you were in OSS?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never discussed it with her?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did you meet Miss Bentley at the drug stores on Wisconsin Avenue?

Mr. LEE. I will be glad to tell you, sir, but again I would like to give this background.

As I say, when my wife and I both met Miss Bentley, we found her an extremely attractive person. I think that maybe was partly

due to the fact that she seemed to find us even more so. We were glad to see more of her and were glad when she called us up.

We saw her, as I say, from time to time sporadically over a course of maybe 15 months. For perhaps 10 months we continued to enjoy Miss Bentley's company and it was only over a period of time that we came to revise our opinion of her.

But after knowing her a good deal better than we did at first we came to a quite contrary opinion of Miss Bentley. We came to the conclusion that she was a very lonely and neurotic woman, that she was a frustrated woman, that her liking and apparent ardent liking for us was unnaturally intense. We began to feel she was an emotional weight around our necks and that really there was nothing in the acquaintance that justified the intense way she did follow us up.

There was one other factor which I will also mention.

MR. STRIPLING. Just a moment. Why did you meet her in the drug stores on Wisconsin Avenue?

MR. LEE. I am coming to that, Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. All right.

MR. LEE. One of the factors I would like to mention is when we first met Miss Bentley she posed as a person who was a moderate liberal, and that was one of the things we liked about her. As we got to know her better her views became increasingly left wing and intemperate and extreme. Frankly, I felt that it was a relationship which for that reason might prove embarrassing in my position. I didn't want people to say that a friend of mine was talking in quite as extreme a way as Miss Bentley was.

Now, sir, to answer your question specifically, in October 1944 or thereabouts my wife and I decided that this acquaintance had to be ended primarily because Miss Bentley had become a personal nuisance to us, but also because of other reasons.

One evening when she called on us I put it to her quite bluntly that we thought we should not see her any more. I decided to put it on the grounds that her views and her expressed views were apparently a good deal more extreme than we had originally thought.

Now, generally speaking, Mr. Stripling, I don't inquire too closely into the political views of my friends and I consider it their business, and as I say, in my position it seemed to be a situation that could be quite embarrassing, and that is the way I put it to Miss Bentley.

MR. STRIPLING. When was that?

MR. LEE. This was about October of 1943, I think.

MR. STRIPLING. Where was it?

MR. LEE. 1944—excuse me, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Where was it?

MR. LEE. It would have been at our house.

MR. STRIPLING. I still want to know why you met her at the drug stores.

MR. LEE. Mr. Stripling, I am coming to that, sir.

When we told Miss Bentley this her reaction was quite violent. She cried, she protested that we meant a great deal to her. She said she was intensely fond of us and she had to go on seeing us and she did carry on, if I may put it that way, for about a half hour. Finally, she suggested that, all right, if we felt it was unwise for her to continue

visiting us at our home, would we continue to meet her occasionally outside at some public place? In order to get her out of the house, Mr. Stripling, we agreed to do it.

Now, after that I think we met Miss Bentley, at the most, three times. I know that on one occasion my wife and I had dinner with her at Martin's Restaurant, and I believe on two occasions after that when Miss Bentley called, she called from a neighboring drug store, and on both those occasions either we couldn't get a sitter or my wife didn't want to go out and simply told me to go out and see her and get rid of her as quickly as possible, which I tried to do.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you met her in the drug stores, did you walk up to her and greet her?

Mr. LEE. I suppose so, sir. This was a long time ago and I can't recall the exact circumstances of how I met her.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did you meet her in the drug stores?

Mr. LEE. As far as I can recall, only twice.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are speaking of the Triangle Luncheonette?

Mr. LEE. I am pretty clear that we had coca colas once at the Triangle Luncheonette.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did you meet her at the Georgetown Pharmacy?

Mr. LEE. Only once, so far as I know.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did Miss Bentley come to your home?

Mr. LEE. I can't recall that precisely, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you lived on Dent Place, how many times did she come to your apartment?

Mr. LEE. I think I have already said about six or seven times. I can't be exact on that.

Mr. STRIPLING. When she first came to your apartment did you ask your wife to leave the room?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did she come to your home?

Mr. LEE. Two or three times, to the best of my recollection. As I say, I cannot recall back that far and tell you exactly.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never gave Miss Bentley any Communist Party dues?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever give her any contributions?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever give her any money?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever give her any information verbally or in written form?

Mr. LEE. No, Mr. Stripling; I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a statement?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. May we see the copy of the statement, please?

Mr. LEE. I have given some copies out.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the same as the copy we saw yesterday?

Mr. LEE. I believe so, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right, you may proceed.

MR. LEE. Mr. Chairman, Miss Elizabeth Bentley in her recent testimony before the House Un-American Affairs Committee has accused me of being a Communist and of supplying her with secret information concerning the OSS.

I want to say categorically that I am not and have never been a Communist and that I have never divulged classified information to any unauthorized person. I had been an assistant in the legal offices of General Donovan before the war; I had come to the OSS with him as his assistant; and I was therefore particularly aware of a requirement of personal loyalty to him in such matters along with my loyalty to the service of the United States.

During the war my wife and I met Miss Bentley socially at the home of a friend. We met a great many people at this time. Thereafter we saw Miss Bentley off and on for a little over a year. Our acquaintance was entirely a social one.

I made it a rule during my service with OSS never to discuss anything that had not previously appeared in the newspapers, and then only to the extent made public. I certainly kept strictly to this rule in any talks I ever had with Miss Bentley.

I was in the Army and in the OSS for nearly 4 years and during that time worked day and night, both in Washington and overseas, to further our war effort. I am sure that General Donovan and the other officers under whom I served will confirm the fact that my war record is one of which I can feel justly proud. While in the Army I rose from the rank of first lieutenant to lieutenant colonel. I have received several official commendations. I know that I have served my country with complete loyalty and to the best of my ability and it is a profound shock to find my name and war record attacked by the irresponsible charges of this woman.

It is hard for me to believe that Miss Bentley's statements are those of a rational person. In trying to recall my acquaintance with Miss Bentley I have been puzzled that I do not remember that she ever tried to get any information out of me. In view of that fact I am tempted to believe that Miss Bentley used her social relationship with me merely to help her misrepresent to her employers for her own personal build-up that she had access through me to someone of the importance of General Donovan.

Thank you, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Going back to this meeting you had with Golos, when did you say you first met Mr. Golos?

MR. LEE. My impression is that it was in the fall of 1943, within perhaps 6 or 8 weeks after I met Miss Bentley.

MR. STRIPLING. What was his name when you met him?

MR. LEE. I think it was John something or other. The last name I no longer recall.

MR. STRIPLING. When did you meet him the next time?

MR. LEE. Some months later in New York.

MR. STRIPLING. Where did you meet him in New York?

MR. LEE. I met him at a restaurant. I didn't know I was going to meet him. I called Miss Bentley up. This was at a time when we were on very friendly terms with Miss Bentley. I gave her a ring, as she had asked me to do when I came to New York, and she suggested

that we have dinner together. When I got to the restaurant this man was there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you introduced to him at that time again?

Mr. LEE. It was assumed that I knew him already. It was only a few months before. I think she may have said, "You will remember John," whatever his name was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you in uniform at the time?

Mr. LEE. Certainly, sir; I was always in uniform.

Mr. STRIPLING. What rank did you have at the time?

Mr. LEE. Either captain or major, probably major.

Mr. STRIPLING. Wasn't the OSS a so-called "hush-hush" organization?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Conducting highly confidential and secret work in the war effort?

Mr. LEE. It certainly was; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were closely associated with the director of OSS, General Donovan; is that correct?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you make it a habit of going around and meeting people and having dinner with people when you didn't know who they were?

Mr. LEE. I did know who they were—at least I thought I knew who they were.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know that Jacob N. Golos was a Soviet agent?

Mr. LEE. I did not; no, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you make an investigation to determine who he was?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Stripling, I don't usually make investigations to determine who every casual social acquaintance might be.

Mr. STRIPLING. But when you were a high official of the OSS, I think it would be advisable.

Mr. LEE. Well, sir, I will take your advice under advisement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you make any investigation to determine who Elizabeth T. Bentley was?

Mr. LEE. Not particularly. I had no reason to.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you just associated with Mary Price, Elizabeth T. Bentley, Jacob Golos, meeting strange people in drug stores, and it didn't make any difference.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Stripling, I have explained why I met Miss Bentley at drug stores. It was an effort to break an acquaintance as painlessly as possible.

Now, sir, as far as inquiring as to who Miss Bentley was—you met Miss Bentley, you know she appears to be a very cultured, well-educated, high-type person. Without any evidence to the contrary, I don't think there was any reason for me to make any investigation of her.

Furthermore, as I said—and I want to say this again—Miss Bentley to my knowledge never asked me for any information and I certainly never gave her any.

Mr. STRIPLING. I will ask the witness to step aside at this time, Mr. Chairman. He will be brought back to the stand.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Step aside for just a few moments.



Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee, please sit here close where you can hear the testimony.

Miss Bentley, will you take the stand, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Bentley, do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BENTLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

### TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, are you acquainted with the witness who just left the witness stand?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen him before?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Mr. Duncan Lee?

Miss BENTLEY. To the best of my knowledge it was in either January or February of 1943.

Mr. STRIPLING. Relate to the committee the circumstances surrounding your first meeting of Mr. Lee.

Miss BENTLEY. Do you want me to go into the background of it, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Miss BENTLEY. When Mr. Lee secured his position with the OSS in Washington back in June or July of 1942—

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt a moment?

Mr. Lee, you are hearing the witness?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; I certainly am.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Miss BENTLEY. At that time Miss Mary Price was working for Mr. Golos and myself. She was employed by Mr. Walter Lippmann and she was giving us information which she had taken from Mr. Lippmann's files. We had told Miss Price that if she ever found any likely prospect for giving information, she should let us know.

I think in May or June of 1942 she informed us that she knew Mr. Lee through her sister, Miss Mildred Price, and Mr. Lee was being transferred to Washington and that she felt he would be a good contact for us. We told her then to have him disconnected from the party in New York and when he came to Washington he should contact Miss Price and keep in contact with her.

Miss Price continued to contact him until she was ill with virus pneumonia in about December 1942, at which time she came to New York and was ill, I think, 2 or 3 months. Since she couldn't contact Mr. Lee, I went down to Washington on one of my trips, walked up to Mr. Lee's apartment on the fourth floor of, I think it is 3014 Dent Place, introduced myself as Helen—he had previously been told who I was by Miss Price—and that was the first time I saw him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you explain to him why you had contacted him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I explained that since Miss Price was incapacitated and ill, I would take her place temporarily.

Mr. STRIPLING. Temporarily doing what?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, we had expected that Mary would recuperate and come back to Washington and renew the contact with him.

MR. STRIPLING. When you first met Mr. Lee, was anyone present in the room?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; his wife was there.

MR. STRIPLING. Did he ask her to leave the room?

MISS BENTLEY. At first we had a rather social chat and then when we came to discussing business he asked her to go to the kitchen.

MR. STRIPLING. What business did you discuss?

MISS BENTLEY. I discussed the fact that he had been giving information from the OSS to Mary Price and I said that I would continue with that. I discussed with him what type of information would be valuable, and so on.

MR. STRIPLING. How long were you at his apartment?

MISS BENTLEY. The first time?

MR. STRIPLING. Yes.

MISS BENTLEY. I should say I was there possibly an hour and a half or 2 hours.

MR. STRIPLING. When did you see him next?

MISS BENTLEY. I continued to see him at the apartment on Dent Place I should say possibly that spring before he went to China, I should say four or five times. I can't be sure of that.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you recall bringing Mr. Golos to Washington or meeting Mr. Lee?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes. I remember distinctly because it was about a month or so before Mr. Golos died and he was quite an ill man at that time. Mr. Golos died on November 25, 1943. That would make it either the end of October or the early part of November of that year.

MR. STRIPLING. What occurred at this meeting between Mr. Lee and yourself and Mr. Golos?

MISS BENTLEY. I had told Mr. Golos about Mr. Lee, and he thought that the prospect was very interesting. He wanted to meet him personally. Therefore, I had asked Mr. Lee what would be a convenient place for us to meet because I knew he knew so many people in Washington we would have to find a rather obscure place. He suggested this German beer place at 823, Fifteenth Street, I think it is.

I remember it distinctly because it has a terrific flight of stairs going down, and Mr. Golos had a bad heart and I was worried whether he could make the stairs going up and down.

At this meeting we sat and I think we drank beer, and Mr. Golos introduced himself as a high functionary of the Communist Party, explained that they were very much interested in the material Mr. Lee was furnishing, and had a long chat with him on the type of information that was available and what he should look for.

MR. STRIPLING. Was Mr. Lee in uniform at the time?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes, I recall that he was; yes.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee referred to a second meeting with Mr. Golos in New York. Do you recall that meeting?

MISS BENTLEY. I don't recall any such meeting in New York. That was only about a month before Mr. Golos died, you see, when he met him. Mr. Golos died November 25 of that year.

MR. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Lee ever call you in New York and arrange a meeting and dinner at which Mr. Golos was present?

MISS BENTLEY. I don't see how he could because he didn't know my telephone number.

MR. STRIPLING. He never called you in New York?

MISS BENTLEY. No, unless of course he was given it subsequently by someone else, but I never gave it to him.

MR. STRIPLING. He never called you, as far as you know?

MISS BENTLEY. No.

MR. STRIPLING. As far as you know, he never met Mr. Golos and yourself in a restaurant in New York?

MISS BENTLEY. Not that I recall; no.

MR. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Lee ever furnish you any information which you in turn furnished to the Russian agents?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes, he did.

MR. STRIPLING. What type of information?

MISS BENTLEY. I would say it was various types of information that was valuable to us. One type was checking on whether the OSS had spotted any of our people who were then working for the OSS.

MR. STRIPLING. What did he tell you about that?

MISS BENTLEY. Originally in the fall of 1943 Miss Price had applied to the OSS for a position there. She was turned down. They gave her some routine excuse with no bad implications, but we asked Mr. Lee to check and find out, if he could, the real reason. He told us, I think 2 or 3 months later, that he had checked through the files there and found out that she had been turned down because of past Communist affiliations and connections.

MR. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Lee ever discuss with you a meeting at which a proposal was submitted that the United States exchange 12 OSS agents for 12 NKVD agents with the Soviet Union?

MISS BENTLEY. I think that was the number. It might have been 10 or 11, but it was around that number.

MR. STRIPLING. Will you tell the committee the information you have?

MISS BENTLEY. I believe it was in the spring of 1944 that I met him one evening outside his house, I believe, in one of the drug stores. He was very much upset because he had found out that General Donovan was interested in making an exchange of NKVD agents with OSS men. He said this had been brought up in a meeting of, I should say, the top command of the country—the top man from the Navy—Admiral Leahy was there, J. Edgar Hoover, of the Federal Bureau, was there, I think a representative of Roosevelt, and all the top people. He described that meeting in detail to me. He even went into such details as the fact that Admiral Leahy was definitely against such an exchange.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I don't think any interest would be served in relating to us what was said by the officials. I think the committee should hear that in executive session.

THE CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MR. STRIPLING. I think there is no purpose to having it in the record. What other information did Mr. Lee give you? Did he ever discuss China policy?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; he did. I believe it was just before he went to China in 1943 that he gave us the information that the OSS had through, I believe, the Navy in China made a deal with Die Lee, who was at that time head of the Chinese secret police, in which deal Mr. Die Lee was to furnish information to the OSS and the OSS was to provide arms and money to Die Lee.

As Mr. Lee told it to me, Mr. Die Lee was not keeping his part of the bargain and he was getting arms and money and not giving the

information. It was my understanding that that was one of the reasons that Mr. Lee was sent to China—to unscramble this thing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he ever tell you anything about OSS operations in the Balkans?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. What information did he relate to you regarding that?

Miss BENTLEY. He had a number of pieces of information in regard to Rumania, Bulgaria, and other Balkan countries. There were liberal groups who were anxious not to have the Russians come in when Germany was defeated, and these groups were carrying on secret negotiations in many cases via Switzerland with the OSS. He told me about those.

He told me about the OSS group that was stationed in Istanbul, Turkey, as a jumping-off point for operations in the Balkans.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he ever tell you anything about Oak Ridge, Tenn.?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. Toward the end of the time I knew him, which I would say would be November 1944, he told me that he had word that something very secret was going on at that location. He did not know what, but he said it must be something supersecret because it was shrouded in such mystery and so heavily guarded.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that date again?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say it was near the end of the time I knew him. The last time I saw him was the end of December 1944. This must have been October or November, I would say, along in there.

The CHAIRMAN. When he told you that about Oak Ridge, where was that meeting?

Miss BENTLEY. That was one of our meetings where we met in the drug store and walked around the neighborhood.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you want to question Miss Bentley now? I would like to call Mr. Lee back.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. You heard the testimony of Mr. Lee a few moments ago?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, I did.

Mr. MUNDT. You recall his statement of your calling at his home one night and he telling you that because of your Communist views they were going to break off the acquaintanceship. Was that part of his statement correct? Can you corroborate that part of his statement?

Miss BENTLEY. I am sorry, that didn't happen. That never happened.

Mr. MUNDT. That never happened?

Miss BENTLEY. No; it never happened.

Mr. MUNDT. You don't recall any stage of your acquaintanceship with Mr. Lee where he made known to you that he may have suspected you were a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. He knew all along I was a Communist. There was a stage when he suspected I was a Soviet agent, if that is what you mean.

Mr. MUNDT. Up until then, though, he didn't feel that being a Communist might in any way give you an association with the Soviet Government?

Miss BENTLEY. Up until about the spring of 1944 I couldn't state definitely. I just don't know.

Mr. MUNDT. From the spring of 1944 on he knew you were both a Communist and a Russian agent?

Miss BENTLEY. I imagine so, because that was apropos of that proposed transfer between NKVD and the OSS, and I remember he was quite frightened because he said, "If they come over here, they will come up to my house, knock on the door, shake my hand, and say 'Comrade, well done.'"

I remember that distinctly. That, of course, gave me the impression that he did believe I was, and he got very nervous during that period. It was impossible to see him sometimes.

Finally his wife arranged a meeting for the three of us toward the end of that summer, I believe, 1944, and he asked me point blank if this was going to Russia or whether it was going to the Communist Party, and I said it was going to Earl Browder.

Mr. MUNDT. The information?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Was the name of Capt. George Lubetnitch ever brought into the conversation?

Miss BENTLEY. Who?

Mr. McDOWELL. George Lubetnitch.

Miss BENTLEY. I am sorry, I didn't hear that.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. When did you first meet Mr. Lee?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say January or February of 1943.

Mr. HÉBERT. 1943, January?

Miss BENTLEY. January or February; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. 1943?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct, after Miss Price had come up to New York with virus pneumonia.

Mr. HÉBERT. When did you say he first became suspicious that you were a Soviet agent?

Miss BENTLEY. I would place that in the spring of 1944. I mean, obviously so. I don't know what he thought before that.

Mr. HÉBERT. But he gave no indication before that that he thought you were a Soviet agent, until about 1944?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is Mr. Lee a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. To the best of my knowledge; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. What does that knowledge entail?

Miss BENTLEY. I brought him Communist Party literature, I collected his Communist Party dues. I was told he was a member in New York and that he was made a member at large in charge of Mary Price. I have never seen his party card, but I had every reason to believe he was.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where did you collect his party dues from him?

Miss BENTLEY. Wherever I happened to meet him—in his apartment or on the street sometimes, or at his house.

Mr. HÉBERT. Weren't these party dues collected periodically over a certain period?

MISS BENTLEY. They should have been, but in lots of cases they let them pile up a bit and then collected them for that period.

MR. HÉBERT. Who checked on whether it was the right amount or not?

MISS BENTLEY. I am afraid to tell you that no one ever checked on these things. It was Mr. Golos' responsibility to turn this money in. I don't believe anyone ever checked on it. He simply took the money down to headquarters and got receipts for it, but I don't believe anybody ever checked.

MR. HÉBERT. Mary Price was the first one to tell you Mr. Lee was a Communist and a member of the party?

MISS BENTLEY. Mary Price was the first one; yes.

MR. HÉBERT. Mr. Stripling, has Mary Price been subpoenaed?

MR. STRIPLING. No; she has not.

MR. HÉBERT. I suggest that Mary Price be subpoenaed.

THE CHAIRMAN. I might say to Mr. Hébert that everyone whose name has been mentioned will be subpoenaed if they have not already been subpoenaed.

MR. HÉBERT. Very good.

NOW, MISS BENTLEY, did you ever meet Mr. Lee in New York?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I did meet Mr. Lee in New York. I think I met him in New York three or four times in all.

MR. HÉBERT. What was that occasion? What year was that? When?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, the last time I met him in New York was toward the end of December 1944, or possibly the first few days of January 1945.

MR. HÉBERT. When was the first time you met him in New York?

MISS BENTLEY. That I can't tell you offhand.

MR. HÉBERT. Approximately?

MISS BENTLEY. I think toward the end of 1943, but I am not entirely sure of that.

MR. HÉBERT. Did you meet him in New York before you met him in Washington?

MISS BENTLEY. I met him in Washington first at his apartment. The only reason for meeting him in New York was that we had the policy of meeting all Washington people in New York if they came up.

MR. HÉBERT. What led up to your meeting him in New York on several occasions?

MISS BENTLEY. I don't quite understand your question.

MR. HÉBERT. What led up to you meeting him in New York on several occasions?

MISS BENTLEY. In common with the other people, when Mr. Lee came to New York on business or on vacation or passing through New York, we made it the policy to take all our people out and entertain them, take them to dinner, and so on.

MR. HÉBERT. How did you know he was in New York?

MISS BENTLEY. Because he would let me know ahead of time that he was coming up to New York or he would send word through Mary Price, who moved up to New York in November of 1943.

MR. HÉBERT. But he never telephoned you in New York?

MISS BENTLEY. No; he did not. He did not know my number that I know of.

Mr. HÉBERT. Therefore, any time you met him in New York it was through another party?

Miss BENTLEY. It was either through another party or prearranged in Washington.

Mr. HÉBERT. And the place you would meet him would be designated?

Miss BENTLEY. It varied according to where he was and which was most convenient. I met him once at Longchamps on Fifth Avenue and Twelfth Street, and once at Longchamps on Fifty-seventh Street.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is Longchamps a very secretive place in New York?

Miss BENTLEY. The policy was not to meet at a secret place. The policy is to pick as respectable a place as possible.

Mr. HÉBERT. You said a few minutes ago he suggested meeting at a place where he wouldn't be seen with you.

Miss BENTLEY. That isn't quite what I was trying to say.

Mr. HÉBERT. What were you trying to say?

Miss BENTLEY. I was trying to say that in general espionage agents tried to be seen in respectable places provided those places are not a place where you would meet someone you knew.

Mr. HÉBERT. At Longchamps you wouldn't meet anybody you knew?

Miss BENTLEY. I didn't know anyone in the neighborhood and I presume Mr. Lee didn't either.

Mr. HÉBERT. It is one of the largest restaurants in New York, isn't it?

Miss BENTLEY. It certainly is, but I knew of no one who lived in that neighborhood or who frequented it.

Mr. HÉBERT. Let us get back to the first time you met Mr. Lee. You knocked on the door and said, "This is Helen"?

Miss BENTLEY. I knocked on the door, Mr. Lee opened it, and I said, "Good evening, Duncan, this is Helen. I think Mary Price has told you about me." He said, "Yes," and asked me to come in.

Mr. HÉBERT. That was in 1943?

Miss BENTLEY. That was either in January or February of 1943; yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You met under those circumstances and in your opinion Mr. Lee didn't think you were a Soviet agent when you were using a code name?

Miss BENTLEY. At that time I don't believe he did because it was common practice among Communists to know people by pseudonyms and first names.

Mr. HÉBERT. What would be your reason for meeting him if you weren't an agent?

Miss BENTLEY. In common with lots of other Communists down here, I think they actually believed the material was going to the Communist Party. I can't figure their mental processes any better than that.

Mr. HÉBERT. Let's differentiate now between the Communist Party and the Russian agent. Is there any difference in your mind?

Miss BENTLEY. There is no difference in my mind because I know what the Communist Party stands for, but a good many people who did join the Communist Party did make that distinction.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why would they be passing secret information to the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. Because they believed it would be useful for the Communist Party in Communist strategy.

Mr. HÉBERT. What would that strategy ultimately be?

Miss BENTLEY. That strategy ultimately would be the overthrow of this Government, but I don't think they believed that.

Mr. HÉBERT. I can't quite follow you, Miss Bentley.

Miss BENTLEY. I think it is quite difficult, Mr. Hébert, for anyone to follow the processes of the Communist mind unless you have at one time been one and been under the influence.

Mr. HÉBERT. By that statement probably none of us would ever understand the machinations of the Communist Party unless we had been a member.

Miss BENTLEY. I rather doubt it because it is very hard to explain.

Mr. HÉBERT. Didn't it seem very strange to you that Mr. Lee didn't think you were a Communist agent, a Russian agent, when you introduced yourself to him as Helen, a code name, called him by the code name of Duncan, and then discussed the information that would be given to you? Mr. Lee impresses me at this time, the first time I have seen him, as an intelligent man, his background is certainly intellectual.

What quirk of his intellect would indicate at that time that you were just Helen, a nice "gal" to know?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know how I could have impressed him as not being a Communist. I still don't think at the beginning he knew I was a Soviet agent.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then he was passing this information on to you just for the purposes of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. That was my understanding at first. Later on I believe he did have a question in his mind, as I have explained.

Mr. HÉBERT. That was in 1944, you say?

Miss BENTLEY. I believe it was the spring of 1944; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. For a year these contacts continued and still he never thought or he never indicated to you that he thought you were a Communist agent?

Miss BENTLEY. He did indicate he thought I was a Communist. He did not indicate he thought I was a Soviet agent.

Mr. HÉBERT. In 1944?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, Miss Bentley, you heard Mr. Lee describe a scene in his home, a very emotional scene. Did that ever take place?

Miss BENTLEY. That scene never took place.

Mr. HÉBERT. That never did take place; nothing like that ever happened?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. So, we get down to it, either you or Mr. Lee is lying today.

Miss BENTLEY. I guess that is the only conclusion you can draw.

Mr. HÉBERT. Both of you cannot be telling the truth.

Miss BENTLEY. It would seem so.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask the witness regarding these meetings in the drug store.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.



Mr. STRIPLING. Did you meet, as Mr. Lee said, you would go in and have a Coca-Cola together?

Miss BENTLEY. No; on the contrary, I would usually get there first and be drinking a Coca-Cola when Mr. Lee came in to buy cigarettes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would he recognize you?

Miss BENTLEY. No; he would look at me and walk out, and I would follow him for about three or four blocks until he slowed down and I caught up with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you never sat with him in the drug store and had a Coca-Cola?

Miss BENTLEY. I do not recall having done so. I may have in the earlier days when he was not quite so frightened, but I do not recall doing so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee became so frightened—

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; definitely, after that incident that I spoke of he became very frightened.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any member have any further questions?

Mr. MUNDT. Not at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Not at this time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee.

#### TESTIMONY OF DUNCAN CHAPLIN LEE—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee, you have heard the testimony of Miss Bentley.

Mr. LEE. I certainly have, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you deny or affirm it?

Mr. LEE. I deny it; and in every respect in which it is contrary to the testimony I have previously given.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Lee, it would seem to me that if you were in the OSS and being approached by a woman with Communist views who had displayed an unusual intensity, you said, in trying to pursue your wife and you, and cultivate your acquaintance and maintain your friendship, that she had done that over a period of months, and perhaps years, you had been alarmed and disturbed by her pronounced Communist tendencies, so much so that you created—you said that she created a very emotional scene in your home, according to your testimony, and you were an officer of the OSS, certainly if that part of your testimony is correct, you reported those facts at that time to some one of your superior officers. To whom did you report that?

Mr. LEE. Excuse me, sir. I tried to make it clear in my testimony, Mr. Mundt, that the major element which led my wife and me to want to break our relationship with Miss Bentley was a purely personal one. She was becoming a personal nuisance to us. Now, I thought her views were too advanced, as we got to know her better, but that was a very minor element.

Mr. MUNDT. What do you mean by advanced views?

Mr. LEE. Perhaps, that was not the best word. I mean too extreme, too left wing, too communistic. I had no knowledge that she was in fact a Communist, and she had done nothing to lead me to suppose

that she was a Russian or a Communist agent. As far as I know, and to the best of my recollection, she never sought any information from me.

Mr. MUNDT. But you do recall that she had made herself more or less a personal nuisance by her persistency in trying to cultivate and then retain the friendly association with your wife and you.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; but we thought that was—

Mr. MUNDT. And you do recall that you became disturbed about the fact because her views were so procommunistic.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. So, as a consequence of a lady whose views were procommunistic, pressing herself upon you so frequently and so forcibly, you sought to break the relationship.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Mundt, I tried to explain, we gave Miss Bentley the reason that her views were so left wing as a reason that we wanted to break off the relationship.

Mr. MUNDT. But you testified before us that you had observed her views to have become procommunistic.

Mr. LEE. But that was a very minor element and she had done nothing to lead us to suppose so.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not saying that she had done anything. But you testified a few moments ago that you and your wife had observed her views becoming left wing, as far as you were able to observe.

Mr. LEE. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. And finally they became so definitely procommunistic that you felt that you did not want a lady of that type pressing herself on your person.

Mr. LEE. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. So, you decided to break the relationship.

Mr. LEE. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. Certainly, then as an officer of the OSS whose job, in part, was counterespionage, you must have reported that strange sequence of events to some one of your superior officers. You did not keep that secret to yourself. Surely, you must have told someone and I am trying to find out to whom, as a subordinate officer, you reported this strange sequence of events which finally became apparent to you and your wife.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Mundt, I must respectfully disagree that there was anything that happened in our relationship with Miss Bentley that led me to believe that I should report it to anyone. We considered this to be entirely, if not primarily, a personal problem.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Lee, a man of your education and fine intellect must surely have felt that there was something curious about the fact that a pro-Communist woman should pursue you as an officer of the OSS to press upon you her presence so frequently, to seek to meet you at drug stores, to try to find occasions to contact you, whether she had asked you for information or not. Surely, you must have thought there was something peculiar about this communistically inclined woman pressing herself upon you.

Mr. LEE. She did not pursue me, sir, as an officer of the OSS, as far as I knew then.

Mr. MUNDT. You were an officer of the OSS?

Mr. LEE. I was. That is perfectly true, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. How could she pursue you in any other capacity?

Mr. LEE. She pursued my wife and me as personal friends; that is, at least, what we understood.

Mr. MUNDT. That is what she gave you to understand?

Mr. LEE. That is what she gave us to understand.

Mr. MUNDT. But surely a man who had the capacity in OSS to rise up to the rank of lieutenant colonel had the capacity to figure out that something was unusual; that this woman over a period of time had pursued you, either as an individual or as an officer in the OSS; either way, you were in the OSS, and gradually it dawned upon you that this woman was a Communist, so, "My wife and I should have no more to do with her." But then you did not tell it to your superior officer.

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. You did not report it to anyone.

Mr. LEE. Excuse me; that is not the reason we decided not to have anything more to do with her. The reason we decided was because she was a personal nuisance; the reason we gave her was that because we thought it would be kinder to her and hurt her less. It was an impersonal reason.

Mr. MUNDT. You mean if she was a little less persistent, even though she was a Communist, you would be perfectly willing to pursue the association?

Mr. LEE. Unless I knew in fact that she was a Communist. All I knew, her views were too left wing, and I say that I never drew the conclusion.

Mr. MUNDT. All I can say is that whatever else comes from this testimony, that I am bitterly disappointed to find out that that is the way the OSS operated under Mr. Donovan.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lee, I am going to review the record, or at least I am going to have you review the record.

After you graduated from Yale, what did you do?

Mr. LEE. After I took my bachelor of arts degree at Yale?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LEE. I went to Oxford for 3 years, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you graduated from Oxford in what year?

Mr. LEE. In 1938.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do after that?

Mr. LEE. I took 1 year of graduate work at the Yale Law School.

The CHAIRMAN. 1939. What did you do after that?

Mr. LEE. I then went to work in General Donovan's law firm in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were with that law firm for how long a period of time?

Mr. LEE. Until I came to Washington in June of 1942—the end of June 1942.

The CHAIRMAN. So, in that period of 3 years, when you were in New York, what organizations did you join?

Mr. LEE. The only organizations that I can be sure that I joined at that time—I was an associate, I think they call it, of the New York City Bar Association. I served as counsel to two relief organizations, and I believe that is all, sir. I was a member of the American Society of Rhodes Scholars.

The CHAIRMAN. What are those relief organizations?

Mr. LEE. One was the Russian War Relief and the other was known as the China Aid Council, and the American Committee for Chinese War Orphans.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you counsel for the Russian War Relief?

Mr. LEE. I do not recall exactly, sir. I should think about a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you not continue as counsel for the Russian War Relief?

Mr. LEE. Because I was coming to Washington to work for the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you get the position as counsel for the Russian War Relief?

Mr. LEE. My services were requested by Mr. Carter, the president of the organization, who asked General Donovan to release me part-time to do that work. It was not a job, I might say, that I sought.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you known Mr. Carter prior to that time that he approached you to take the position?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; I met him before.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you meet Mr. Carter?

Mr. LEE. I do not recall precisely. I knew his wife in this Chinese relief organization; she was the head of that, and I worked with her.

The CHAIRMAN. How long had you known Mr. Carter?

Mr. LEE. Since sometime in 1940, Mr. Chairman. I would guess it was that time—it might be 1939.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever attend any meetings with Mr. Carter?

Mr. LEE. I have attended various board meetings of the Russian War Relief with him.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, prior to the time that you went as counsel for the Russian War Relief. Did you attend any meetings with Mr. Carter?

Mr. LEE. I do not recall any, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is not clear to me just how Mr. Carter happened to select you as the person to be the counsel for the Russian War Relief.

Mr. LEE. I had met Mr. Carter through his wife, and I had for some months prior to the organization of the Russian War Relief worked for the Chinese relief organization and had put through a consolidation of two separate relief organizations that had previously existed and had done other legal jobs for them, and I imagine that Mrs. Carter suggested that I was someone who could help him if he wanted help.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you belong to any other organizations in New York, any civic organizations?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or patriotic organizations?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; not to my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. When you came to Washington, did you join any organization here in Washington?

Mr. LEE. During the war; no, sir. Since the war, I have joined, I think, the Institute of Pacific Relations, in 1946.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of that?

Mr. LEE. Institute of Pacific Relations. At that time, I was working on Chinese matters, and I wanted to take the literature which they put out currently on the Far East.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you joined any other organizations in Washington besides that?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; not to my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned that Miss Bentley was a personal nuisance.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In what way was she a personal nuisance?

Mr. LEE. It is hard to describe this too precisely, sir.

What I am trying to say is that Miss Bentley, as we got to know her over a period of months, seemed to us to rely too much emotionally upon us, as though we were an emotional crutch for her.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not clear to me. I would just like to have you explain that. Assuming that I am Miss Bentley, how would I—

(Laughter.)

Mr. LEE. Well, sir, I see the difficulty, Mr. Chairman. For one thing, Miss Bentley protested her affection for us too much; she called us up, we felt, more often than the acquaintance justified.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would anybody be a personal nuisance just because they called you up more times than were justified?

Mr. LEE. I might mention one other thing in that connection, sir. As I say, when we first met Miss Bentley we felt that she was an unusually interesting and well-informed person. As we got to know her better, we revised our opinion in that respect as well. We found her somewhat dull.

The CHAIRMAN. So, when you found her dull, and then you thought it essential to meet her in a drug store and tell her that she was too dull?

Mr. LEE. I was careful not to tell her that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was it necessary to go out of the house and go to a drug store to sever the friendship?

Mr. LEE. Mr. Chairman, I suppose people have different ways of getting rid of an emotional friend. It is a difficult problem, I think, in each case. I am not sure that we handled it in the best possible way. But we did what we considered at that time to be the kindest and the easiest way. We felt that we had here an extremely tense, emotional situation that might result in a scene anyway, and we wanted—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, aside from her calling you a number of times, in what other ways was she a nuisance?

Mr. LEE. She protested her fondness for us too much.

The CHAIRMAN. She protested fondness?

Mr. LEE. She kept saying how fond she was of us when she was with us, and she said it too often and too much. It seemed to us unnatural and unhealthy.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not quite understand that, but maybe you are right. [Laughter.]

Then, when you went to the drug store, just relate the conversation that you had with Miss Bentley at the drug store?

Mr. LEE. Well, I cannot recall the precise conversation, Mr. Chairman. I do know that the two meetings that I recall having with Miss Bentley in a drug store were the last two times that I ever saw her, and

I went to meet her for the purpose of persuading her that we should end this acquaintance, and as near as I can recall, Miss Bentley was concerned to see to it, as far as possible, that she should continue it, and kept asking whether we had not changed our mind, and that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not have been more natural if your wife had gone to the drug store and met Miss Bentley?

Mr. LEE. As I say, sir, my wife and I both met Miss Bentley on one occasion at Martin's Restaurant after the incidents that I have previously described. The other two times my wife just did not want to go or else we did not have a sitter. I do not recall precisely why.

The CHAIRMAN. When you went to the drug store the first time, what did you discuss with Miss Bentley? You said there were two meetings in the drug store.

Mr. LEE. As far as I recall, Mr. Chairman, we discussed the same thing on both occasions.

The CHAIRMAN. And the approximate date of the second meeting was when?

Mr. LEE. I would say that both meetings occurred possibly one in November and the other in December of 1944.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you said her views were too extreme.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Please explain in detail to the committee just what you mean by the statement that her "views were too extreme."

Mr. LEE. I mean just this, sir, that as we got to know Miss Bentley better, she seemed to prefer arguments with us on such issues as the rights and wrongs of the Soviet cause and the Russian-German pact. As to whether the second front was delayed in coming, as to whether the Soviet regime in Russia was a good thing for the Russians or a bad thing for the Russians, were some of the things she discussed, and since we did not see eye to eye on those points, the discussions became, on the whole, less enjoyable.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been in one of the Longchamps Restaurants?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one?

Mr. LEE. I have been in various Longchamps Restaurants.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been in the one down at Twelfth Street?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; I recall meeting Miss Bentley on one occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. You said that before, I take it?

Mr. LEE. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. I say, you admitted that before.

Mr. LEE. I do not believe I was asked that before.

The CHAIRMAN. When you met Miss Bentley down in the Longchamps Restaurant before, what was the purpose of that meeting?

Mr. LEE. I, at that time, Mr. Chairman, believe that our relations with Miss Bentley were good, and we still were fond of her. She had said to call her up whenever I was in New York, and I think I did on two occasions. One was the dinner which I described, and one was this meeting, and all I can recall about it was that we had a drink.

The CHAIRMAN. What time of the day was that?

Mr. LEE. About the cocktail hour, 5 o'clock or 6—somewhere around there.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay at the Longchamps Restaurant?

Mr. LEE. I cannot recall exactly, sir. I think enough time to have, perhaps, two Martinis.

The CHAIRMAN. Just you two alone?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; as near as I can recall, I am quite sure of that.

The CHAIRMAN. You had Miss Bentley's telephone number?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is her number—what was her number?

Mr. LEE. I do not remember now, sir. I no longer have it. I think the exchange was Watkins.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have her telephone number in both New York and Washington?

Mr. LEE. I did not know she had a Washington number, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know where she stayed in Washington when she came to Washington?

Mr. LEE. No; I think I was under the impression that she frequently took night trains back to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, how did you get in touch with Miss Bentley when you wanted to meet her in the drug store?

Mr. LEE. She called us, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. She called you?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. I would say that except for two occasions when I called Miss Bentley in New York, at a time when there was a genuine friendship there, neither my wife nor I ever took the initiative of seeing Miss Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, you admit that you met her twice in a drug store in Washington; you admit that you met her in a Longchamps Restaurant down at Twelfth Street, New York City.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What other times did you meet Miss Bentley, and where?

Mr. LEE. I think we have covered in this testimony all the other times that I have ever met Miss Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you just tell me.

Mr. LEE. Well, that would be, sir, the meetings that you describe, the ones we had dinner together at Martin's once, the three of us—

The CHAIRMAN. Martin's? Where is that?

Mr. LEE. Martin's Restaurant in Georgetown. That was in Georgetown, Mr. Chairman, and the other meetings, as far as I can recall, were in our house or in our apartment.

The CHAIRMAN. There were no other meetings in New York City?

Mr. LEE. Only the ones that I described.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the one at Longchamps?

Mr. LEE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the other one again?

Mr. LEE. That was in a restaurant on the west side.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of that restaurant?

Mr. LEE. I am not sure I recall now, sir. All I can say is that it was very far to the west, nearly at the Hudson.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the name of that restaurant?

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that the one at which Golos was present?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was this?

Mr. LEE. My recollection is that it would be some months after first meeting Miss Bentley. I imagine that would be the early spring of 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, he died in November 1943.

Mr. LEE. Well, then, it must have been earlier.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Now, when you met Mr. Golos, what was the purpose of that meeting with Mr. Golos and Miss Bentley?

Mr. LEE. There was no purpose as far as I was concerned. He was someone along with her, and I had not expected to see him.

The CHAIRMAN. So, if he died when he did, Mr. Stripling—when did he die?

Mr. STRIPLING. November 1943.

The CHAIRMAN. November 1943, it must have been earlier than that.

Mr. LEE. Mr. Chairman, may I say one thing? We are talking about events that occurred 5 years ago, and I do not pretend to be precise.

The CHAIRMAN. I realize that. Who arranged for that meeting between Mr. Golos, Miss Bentley, and yourself?

Mr. LEE. Which one, sir, the meeting in New York?

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting which you had in New York.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. I called Miss Bentley when I got to New York on this occasion, and I forget whether I suggested that we have dinner or whether she did. I think she did. And when I got to the restaurant, Mr. Golos was there present. He was there with her.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you ever heard of Mr. Golos before that time?

Mr. LEE. My recollection is that this was the second time I saw him; I had met him in Washington previously.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you meet Mr. Golos in Washington previously?

Mr. LEE. At this S23 Restaurant.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that at that time or did you know at the second meeting that Mr. Golos was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEE. I at no time—at no time did I know that until I was so informed several years later.

The CHAIRMAN. At these two meetings at which Mr. Golos and Miss Bentley were present, what was the purpose of the meeting, and what did you discuss, generally?

Mr. LEE. Well, sir, I cannot recall what the precise topics of discussion were; it was entirely a social meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. LEE. And we talked about whatever was being talked about at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, when you later discovered that Mr. Golos was a Communist, did you know Miss Bentley at that time, or were you having contacts with Miss Bentley at that time?

Mr. LEE. No, sir. I had learned Mr. Golos was a Communist and Miss Bentley was at the time I was asked to testify in New York a year ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are all the questions I have. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Lee—



Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Tell us again when was the first time that you met Miss Bentley, where, and on what occasion?

Mr. LEE. My recollection is that it was after I got back from the Far East in 1934, which would put—excuse me, in 1943, which would put it in October.

Mr. HÉBERT. Of 1943?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where did you meet her?

Mr. LEE. At the apartment of Mary Price.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where is Mary Price's apartment?

Mr. LEE. It is at, I believe—between Twentieth and Twenty-first, on Eye.

Mr. HÉBERT. In Washington?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. The location was given a short time ago.

Mr. HÉBERT. Didn't Miss Price live alone?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. What was the occasion of your meeting with Miss Bentley?

Mr. LEE. We were just asked to drop in for drinks, as I recall.

Mr. HÉBERT. Miss Price asked you and your wife to drop in for drinks?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. I believe there were several other people present.

Mr. HÉBERT. Name some of the people present.

Mr. LEE. I do not recall who they were, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You realize that is important?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; but it is also 5 years ago.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you do realize it is important for the sake of veracity right now.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir, if I knew I was going to be questioned about it 5 years later, I would probably have made a memorandum, but there was no reason to think so.

Mr. HÉBERT. You were a member of the OSS, were you not?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. And the OSS is quite steeped in caution and suspicion, is it not? I would say oversteeped in caution and suspicion.

Mr. LEE. OSS tried always to be cautious, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Didn't you try to be cautious?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. And out of all of these people—how many people were present in Mary Price's apartment?

Mr. LEE. I can not recall, sir; maybe two, maybe three.

Mr. HÉBERT. You mean to tell me that a man in OSS, even 5 years later, 10 years later, or 20 years later, on an occasion like this, which is so memorable, cannot tell me whether two, three, four, or five people were present in Mary Price's apartment when you met Miss Bentley?

Mr. LEE. I am afraid I will have to say that, yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Definitely Mary Price could say whether or not you met Miss Bentley there?

Mr. LEE. I assume she could.

Mr. HÉBERT. Your wife could say whether she met Miss Bentley on that occasion?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. And nobody else?

Mr. LEE. Well, there probably are other people, sir, but I do not know who they are now.

Mr. HÉBERT. Nobody else in that gathering of intellect impressed you as Miss Bentley did?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. She was an outstanding woman in that crowd?

Mr. LEE. She seemed to be; yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. And that is why she so impressed you?

Mr. LEE. She talked to us most of the time, as I recall.

Mr. HÉBERT. And if there had been anybody there of equal intellect or of attractiveness, you certainly would have remembered it.

Mr. LEE. Well, nobody else was there of equal intellect or otherwise, Congressman, who appeared to find us attractive enough to follow us up in the way Miss Bentley did.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, looking back in retrospect, you think Miss Bentley had a purpose in following you up?

Mr. LEE. That may be, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. What do you think?

Mr. LEE. I am frankly completely bewildered, Congressman, by Miss Bentley's testimony. I know one thing, that from her testimony of today she has an extremely vivid imagination. As to how far her description of activity is true, I really cannot say. I know they are not true as far as I am concerned.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then I will ask you the same question I asked Miss Bentley. You have both told diametrically opposed stories, and one of you is lying.

Mr. LEE. That is right, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You are not?

Mr. LEE. That is right, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, you say Miss Bentley called your apartment, and your wife said that you should go down to meet her in a drug store.

Mr. LEE. Well, I do not think I consulted my wife on that point. Miss Bentley had called the apartment after we had made it clear she was not to be seen by us any more, and after we had very reluctantly agreed that we would meet her in public occasionally.

Mr. HÉBERT. I think the testimony will show that when you originally testified this morning you said that Miss Bentley called, and probably your wife did not have a sitter or could not go down, and she told you to go down and see Miss Bentley and get rid of her just as quickly as you could.

Mr. LEE. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is not what you now said.

Mr. LEE. You asked if I was given permission.

Mr. HÉBERT. Let us not banter with words. You know what I mean.

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Tell me what happened.

Mr. LEE. Just as I say, Congressman, Miss Bentley called and asked if I could meet her. My wife said in effect, "I don't want to go," or "I can't go, and you go down and get rid of her."

Mr. HÉBERT. So, she told you to go down to the drug store and get rid of her.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You are an old OSS man, steeped in suspicion and caution, you had your uniform on. You did not want to see Miss Bentley because you were afraid of her communistic leanings.

Mr. LEE. No, sir; that is not why I did not want to see Miss Bentley.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why did you not want to see her?

Mr. LEE. Because she was a personal nuisance to me.

Mr. HÉBERT. Didn't you say that you could not agree with her left-wing leanings?

Mr. LEE. That is right, sir. That was a very minor factor.

Mr. HÉBERT. You, an OSS man, say it was a minor factor that you were associating with an outspoken Communist?

Mr. LEE. I do not know she was a Communist; I thought her views were too far to the left.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, you described in detail about some of the discussions you had about the second front, the German-Russian pact.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You just did not pass that off en passant. You discussed that at length.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You know what her feelings were?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You knew she was extremely to the left?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You knew she was extremely pro-Soviet?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. A great many people were at that time.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, you, as an OSS man, consider that as a minor thing?

Mr. LEE. I did not consider that it proved that she was a member of the Communist Party, and certainly did not consider that it proved she was a Russian spy.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you say, you did not want to see her any more on account of these leanings, and on account of the personal aspect.

Mr. LEE. As I say, this was a minor reason. In fact, the major reason was that she was a personal nuisance to us, and we did not want to see her.

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, the fact of her leftist leanings had really no importance at all.

Mr. LEE. If she had not been a personal nuisance to us, and I had no reason to suppose she was actually a member of the Communist Party, I imagine we would have continued to see her.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, it did not have anything to do with her relationship?

Mr. LEE. It was an element.

Mr. HÉBERT. A very minor element. Did you not testify this morning that you did not want to be seen in public with her?

Mr. LEE. As I say, sir, that was a very minor element. The only problem here, Congressman, is the degree of importance that these two motives had. I tried to make it as clear as possible.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you did testify you did not want to be seen in public with her.

Mr. LEE. I do not think I said that, sir. I said I thought it was a possible source of embarrassment to have as a known friend of ours someone who was now talking as left-wing as Miss Bentley was.

Mr. HÉBERT. Repeat that so I can get it clear. I am a little dull. I want you to repeat what you just said.

Mr. LEE. What I believe I said, sir, was that I considered it a possible source of embarrassment in my position to have as a friend someone who was as outspokenly left-wing as Miss Bentley had by then become.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is what I thought you said.

Mr. LEE. That is right, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. But yet, in the same breath, you tell us that that was a minor consideration.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; because I had no reason to suppose that she was a member of the Communist Party, and certainly no reason to suppose that she was seeking information for the Communist Party.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you did think it would be embarrassing to be seen with Miss Bentley because of her communistic leanings.

Mr. LEE. I thought it might be.

Mr. HÉBERT. And yet you met her in a public place.

Mr. LEE. That is right, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Was that the last time you met her?

Mr. LEE. The last time I met her was in a drug store in Georgetown; yes, sir; to the best of my recollection.

Mr. HÉBERT. After the phone call to your residence, and when your wife told you to get rid of her, your wife told you to go out and get rid of her—

Mr. LEE. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. You never saw her after that?

Mr. LEE. Not until yesterday.

Mr. HÉBERT. Not until yesterday. She never called your home again?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. She never in your estimation annoyed you any more?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Never attempted to contact you?

Mr. LEE. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. When was that now?

Mr. LEE. This was at the very end of 1944 or early January 1945. I could not be exact about that.

Mr. HÉBERT. But all of this matter which was being discussed now is something that you did not come into knowledge of when this hearing opened, is it?

Mr. LEE. How is that, sir?

Mr. HÉBERT. This matter that we are discussing now, this is not your first knowledge of it when these hearings opened?

Mr. LEE. No, sir. I was questioned about it a year ago.

Mr. HÉBERT. What was the occasion of that?

Mr. LEE. I was questioned on one occasion by two agents of the FBI, and somewhat later last summer I was questioned by the grand jury in New York.

Mr. HÉBERT. In this same connection?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, you say Miss Bentley was a very emotional person and created a scene in your home.

Mr. LEE. She did on that occasion; yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did it occur to a man of your intelligence that she might create a scene in a public place such as a drug store if you went out to see her?

Mr. LEE. I hoped I could avoid having her do that. I want to make clear one thing, sir, that, though we wanted to end this relationship with Miss Bentley, we had been fond of her, and we wanted to do it so that it would not hurt her—to do it in a way that would hurt her as little as possible. We were not motivated entirely by a fear that she would create a scene. We simply wanted to take her off our list of acquaintances.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, when you were questioned previously on this matter, were the same facts or the alleged facts presented to you as charges by Miss Bentley against you?

Mr. LEE. Miss Bentley was not present when I was questioned previously, sir, and I am not sure just how far I should testify.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am not asking you to do that. I recognize that.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. As far as the grand jury is concerned, as far as the FBI is concerned, you are free to say anything you told. Was Miss Bentley's name projected into your questioning before this date?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. How long ago?

Mr. LEE. About a year ago.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, for 1 year you have had the knowledge that you have been charged by Miss Bentley or others; certainly you have had the knowledge that you have been under suspicion to the degree that you have been questioned.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. In connection with your activities during the war.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, this Russian society of—what do you call it, that business that you were counsel of?

Mr. LEE. Russian War Relief.

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes. What kind of a society or an organization was it?

Mr. LEE. It was a private relief organization.

Mr. HÉBERT. Who sponsored it?

Mr. LEE. A great many people. I can submit for the committee, if it does not already have the information, the members of its board of directors and sponsors, and so on. I do not have that information with me. I can merely say this, that they were, to the best of my knowledge, all extremely respectable conservative people.

Mr. HÉBERT. What was the purpose of that organization?

Mr. LEE. To raise money for Russia.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, to raise money for Russia—

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. Russia was at that time carrying, I think, most people felt, the brunt of the war. This was in 1941 and 1942. A great deal of money was raised for Russia.

Mr. HÉBERT. And how was that money expended?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I do not think that is something that I am in a position to testify to.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, during your services in the high executive position—

Mr. LEE. I would merely say this, that there were public reports made to the President's Committee on Relief Organizations and other competent authorities, and those reports are available.

Mr. HÉBERT. This was in 1941 or 1942 that you were associated with them? Well, the early part of the war.

Mr. LEE. I think it was organized in 1941, Congressman, and I continued my association until I left New York in 1942.

Mr. HÉBERT. In your duties then you came in contact with many Russian people, undoubtedly.

Mr. LEE. Not very much; no, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You did not?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you come in contact with any Communists?

Mr. LEE. I would not know, sir. Most of the people I came in contact with were either Wall Street bankers or Wall Street lawyers. [Laughter.]

Mr. HÉBERT. That would be in your general duty. I mean in your duties as an executive of the Russian society.

Mr. LEE. Well, those are the people I dealt with, sir; those were the members of the board and the top executive officers.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, you did not come in contact with people who were—and mind you I do not cast any aspersion on the Russian who wants to be a Communist if he wants to be that; that is his business—but you did not come in contact with any of these Communists, these official representatives of the Russian Government who ipso facto have to be Communists?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You never came in contact—

Mr. LEE. I was invited during the time I was on that board once to a reception in the Russian Embassy in Washington, as was every member of the board. I did not attend that since I was in New York.

Mr. HÉBERT. But after you got into the OSS, were you not instructed in the ways and means of sort of recognizing Communists or spys or espionage agents, or was that not in your field?

Mr. LEE. I was doing administrative or legal work, sir. I was not an agent in that field, and had nothing to do with operations until considerably later.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you came in contact with a great many individuals in OSS who were well schooled in that art.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. And there was careful—

Mr. HÉBERT. From being exposed to contact with them, didn't you discuss Russian agents and Communists and espionage agents?

Mr. LEE. At that time, sir, we were more inclined to discuss German agents.

Mr. HÉBERT. The OSS was never suspicious of Russia even at that time?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. They were suspicious?

Mr. LEE. I would assume so.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, you know, sir, do you not? Didn't you discuss it?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; I am sure there were discussions. But I cannot recall any particular discussions.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you were on the qui vive all the time, were you not?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why is it that you missed Miss Bentley, an emotional woman?

Mr. LEE. Well, sir, being an emotional woman cannot strike me and does not now, as showing that she was a Russian espionage agent.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then you are surprised to find now that she was a Russian espionage agent?

Mr. LEE. I was surprised to find it when I first learned of it.

Mr. HÉBERT. And that was the first inkling when you were first summoned for questioning?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Was that the first time that you heard that Golos was a Russian espionage agent?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You say you are not now and have never been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEE. That is right, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You heard Miss Bentley testify she collected Communist Party dues from you.

Mr. LEE. I heard that; yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is that true or not true?

Mr. LEE. That is not true.

Mr. HÉBERT. You heard Miss Bentley describe her first meeting and going to your apartment and introducing herself as Helen, and the first time she met you?

Mr. LEE. I heard that, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is that true?

Mr. LEE. That is not true.

Mr. HÉBERT. You knew her previously to that?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Have you ever been a member of any organization which was later described as a front organization for the Communist Party?

Mr. LEE. Not to the best of my knowledge, sir. I am sure I was not.

Mr. HÉBERT. Can you ascribe any reason why Miss Bentley should tell such a fabrication, as you submit that she has told to this committee and to other Government authorities on different occasions, and involve you?

Mr. LEE. I certainly cannot, sir, except for the reason I suggested in my statement.

Mr. HÉBERT. Repeat it.

Mr. LEE. I will just read this paragraph, if I may:

It is hard for me to believe that Miss Bentley's statements are those of a rational person. In trying to recall my acquaintance with Miss Bentley I have been puzzled that I do not remember that she ever tried to get any information from me. In view of that fact I am tempted to believe that Miss Bentley used her social relationship with me merely to help her misrepresent to her employers for her own personal build-up that she had access through me to someone of the importance of General Donovan.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is that the only reason you can ascribe?

Mr. LEE. There may be personal spite, I do not know.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is there any reason for her to have personal spite against you?

Mr. LEE. She may have been angry because we broke off the relationship.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is there anybody else other than Miss Bentley who ever associated with you who was in espionage activities?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; so far as I know, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. And now, reviewing your whole testimony, reviewing the whole situation, you are prepared now under oath to say that all of these charges, all of the statements as directed against you, are not true?

Mr. LEE. I am prepared to say that, sir, and may I add one thing at that point regarding some of the information that Miss Bentley has said that I gave. I want to say also for the record that operations of the OSS in Turkey and in the Balkans were something that I had nothing to do with, and knew nothing about, except in the most general way. And as far as an exchange of NKVD-OSS agents goes, I knew generally about such a thing, but so did a great many other people in Washington, and the whole story has been told in considerable detail in General Donovan's book.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is that one particular thing, about the swapping of the agents?

Mr. LEE. As I understand it, sir, it was not a swapping of agents, in the first place. It was a swapping of missions.

Mr. HÉBERT. But Miss Bentley described it as a swapping of agents and was indefinite as to the number, and said that was discussed with you. Was that ever discussed with you?

Mr. LEE. That was never discussed with me, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Colonel Lee, will you tell me the various ranks you had in the OSS?

Mr. LEE. The various what, sir?

Mr. McDOWELL. Ranks, your army ranks.

Mr. LEE. First lieutenant, captain, major, and lieutenant colonel.

Mr. McDOWELL. All four of them?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. All officers of your various ranks in the OSS, I presume, were given schooling and a briefing in the methods and the operation of the OSS.

Mr. LEE. It would depend on what the job was, sir. There was special training for different types of jobs. As I say, my job was at all times administrative.

Mr. McDOWELL. Well, in your administrative jobs—understand, I am making no effort at all to pry into the secrets of the OSS—

Mr. LEE. Right, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. But I do not want you to answer any of those. In your various administrative jobs, you would have other officers, and perhaps, other men under your command?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you ever make any effort to assure yourself that these people were cautious and fearful of the various secret material that would pass over your desk and would be within your jurisdiction?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. The OSS, as every agency of its sort during the war, had very strict security procedures relating to the handling of classified material, when they should be disclosed, and so forth, and there was generally very clear and very thorough security instructions.



MR. McDOWELL. Colonel, would you, in your various ranks up to lieutenant colonel, ever make any effort to assure yourself of the people under you and whom they associated with?

MR. LEE. That was the responsibility, sir, of the Security Office of OSS. I did not make a personal effort to find out who every individual I associated—who might have served under me was associating with in private life: no, sir.

MR. McDOWELL. Would it be your responsibility?

MR. LEE. It was not my responsibility.

MR. McDOWELL. Now, 5 years after all of this, does it not occur to you that it was strange, very strange, that a now known Soviet spy, recognized espionage agent, had at least two meetings with you at odd places, restaurants, while you were a responsible officer of the hush-hush organization?

MR. LEE. No, sir; it does not seem to me strange under the circumstances that I have given.

MR. McDOWELL. This Golos, it appears, was a highly important Soviet agent.

MR. LEE. So I am given to understand, sir.

MR. McDOWELL. Do you believe he was?

MR. LEE. I know nothing, sir, except what I have read in the newspapers. I certainly would not have gotten that impression from meeting him. He was, on the whole, a very colorless character, and, as I say, very ill.

MR. McDOWELL. Would his conversation with you at these various restaurants verge into politics, left-wing affairs, Soviet affairs?

MR. LEE. I do not recall that they did; no.

MR. McDOWELL. Never discussed any second front or anything of that kind?

MR. LEE. He may have touched on it. That was being discussed all the time, but only in the way anyone would have discussed it.

MR. McDOWELL. I think it would not violate any important secrets if you would answer this. In the ranks of lieutenant colonel and major and captain and first lieutenant, you were not required to indicate to some person, some superior, some security officer, whom you are associated with—

MR. LEE. We were never—so far as I know, no one was ever required to give a list of every acquaintance he had. Of course, everyone who had the reason to suppose that he was seeing or had an acquaintance with a suspicious person was under the duty to report it. That goes without saying, sir.

MR. McDOWELL. Well, now, Mr. Chairman, here, for, I believe, the first time since the conspiracy of Aaron Burr, a high officer of the Army has been accused publicly of the violation of the Articles of War, which he must certainly realize the penalties of and the punishment. The questions which are flooding my mind at this moment, I feel, should not be given here. I have no further questions now.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

MR. MUNDT. As I remember correctly, Mr. Lee, you said that you had first met Miss Bentley in the home of Mary Price.

MR. LEE. Yes, sir.

MR. MUNDT. In October of 1943.

MR. LEE. To the best of my recollection that is the date. I am positive about the year.

Mr. MUNDT. You are positive about the year?

Mr. LEE. I am positive about the year and about the place.

Mr. MUNDT. It might be a discrepancy of a month or two?

Mr. LEE. Oh, certainly, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. How long after you first met Miss Bentley did you first meet Mr. Golos?

Mr. LEE. I think it was 6 to 8 weeks afterward. I cannot—it was early in our acquaintance; I know that. I cannot say positively.

Mr. MUNDT. Six or eight weeks?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. How long after your first meeting with Mr. Golos did you meet Mr. Golos for the second time?

Mr. LEE. It was some weeks later. I do not remember how long, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Approximately how long?

Mr. LEE. I am afraid I do not recall that, Congressman.

Mr. MUNDT. You must have some idea.

Mr. LEE. Well, I would say 4 or 5 weeks, maybe. It was whenever I was in New York next and called Miss Bentley.

Mr. MUNDT. When did Mr. Golos die, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. November 1943.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, you have testified that you met him first—that you met Miss Bentley first in October 1943, and that 6 or 8 weeks later, which would be sometime in November or December 1943, you met Golos for the first time, and a month or so later, which would take us at least 2 months beyond the time of his death, you met him the second time. How do you explain that discrepancy?

Mr. LEE. That was to the best of my recollection, sir. As I say, this was 5 years ago, and I cannot be positive of these dates.

Mr. MUNDT. You realize that if you first met Miss Bentley in October 1943, as I say you say you did, then your story is not correct as to the meeting of Mr. Golos.

Mr. LEE. If he died in November, I realize that there certainly is a discrepancy there. Maybe I met Miss Bentley before that. I thought it was in October, directly after I came back from the Far East.

Mr. MUNDT. That is the date which we might be able to substantiate, you believe, by talking to Mary Price.

Mr. LEE. Well, the reason I remember the date is I thought it was after my trip to the Far East.

Mr. MUNDT. I am sorry; I did not get the answer.

Mr. LEE. Excuse me, sir. I say the reason I have given the date is on account of the fact that I believe it was directly after my trip to the Far East. I do not recall having met Miss Bentley before that.

Mr. MUNDT. Were you on official business at that time so that, perhaps, some voucher that you put in for an expense trip to New York might indicate the exact time of your meeting with Miss Bentley?

Mr. LEE. It is possible, sir. I made a great many trips to New York.

Mr. MUNDT. Were you on an official business trip to New York at that time?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; I am quite sure I was.

Mr. MUNDT. To whom did you submit your travel vouchers for reimbursement for pay?

Mr. LEE. I am trying to recall now just what the procedures were. It has been some time since I did that. To the finance officer in OSS.

Mr. MUNDT. Could that be made a matter of public record as to the vouchers that you submitted for pay during 1943 to the finance officer of OSS?

Mr. LEE. I assume it could be, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. We would have your permission to check the records?

Mr. LEE. Oh, certainly, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. The Government's permission—

Mr. LEE. Certainly, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. May I interpose and say that we may not be able to get the Government's permission?

Mr. MUNDT. I understand that the Ferguson committee has run into an iron curtain, and we may, too, so I want to know if the witness is willing to give us his permission, so that if we cannot get the record because of the willful obstinacy on the part of the administration, it will be that, and not because of failing to get the permission of the witness.

You realize, of course, that that is a very important link in this testimony, because of the death of Mr. Golos in November of 1943, which should be a matter of record, there should be a matter of record as to whether or not—you should be able to substantiate whether or not you met her in October 1943.

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, we know that he died in November 1943. Does that help you refresh your memory, to change your testimony in any connection with what you have said about Mr. Golos?

Mr. LEE. All I can say, Mr. Congressman, after 5 years, to the best of my recollection, when asked, it was in October. Now, I am perfectly prepared to admit that my recollection could be faulty, and that I met Miss Bentley several months before.

Mr. MUNDT. I think you testified that among the organizations to which you belonged in New York was the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Mr. LEE. Not when I was in New York, sir. I did not join the Institute of Pacific Relations until 1946.

Mr. MUNDT. Are you presently a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. LEE. I am, sir; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that the organization of which Mr. Edward C. Carter is the president?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; I think he is called the executive secretary.

Mr. MUNDT. Executive secretary.

Mr. LEE. At least, he is the head of it.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct. Are you reasonably familiar with the members of the board of directors of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I am not. I became a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations principally to subscribe to the research studies and other literature which they put out. I take no active organizational part.

Mr. MUNDT. But you have known Edward C. Carter?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; personally.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know Mr. Frederick V. Field?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I have never met Mr. Field.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know whether he is a member of the board of directors of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. LEE. I seem to recall that I have heard that he is, but I am not sure.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know that Mr. Frederick V. Field is a Communist?

Mr. LEE. I do not know Mr. Field, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. That was not my question.

Mr. LEE. I do not know whether he is a Communist or not, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. There is no reason to believe he is a Communist?

Mr. LEE. I know practically nothing about Mr. Field, except that I have heard his name. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. I have just one final question, which to me is the part of your testimony which I wish you could tie together, at least, to better satisfaction, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. That is the fact that certainly your whole sequence of experience with Miss Bentley must, to a young man of your intelligence, have seemed unusual by the time that you desired, on consultation with your wife, to terminate it.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. It is not the normal kind of sequence of friendship which the average person has.

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I hope I never make another friendship like it.

Mr. MUNDT. Right.

Mr. LEE. It was unusual, sir, in a personal sense. I can merely repeat again that there was nothing in my acquaintance with Miss Bentley to lead me to suppose that she was a Russian or a Communist agent.

Mr. MUNDT. But you did testify that there were many indications that led you to believe, near the time that you terminated your friendship, that she was pro-Communist; she was talking the Communist line, about various incidents that you described, the specific items which led you to distrust her.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir, that is true. But a great many people have held such views without, so far as I know, being concerned with any such activity as Miss Bentley claims she is concerned with.

Mr. MUNDT. But none of them had persistently endeavored to impose themselves upon you, and to associate with you?

Mr. LEE. No, that is true.

Mr. MUNDT. But in view of all of that, you still insist that you never discussed this whole sequence in any way, shape, or form with any of your superior officers?

Mr. LEE. I certainly do.

Mr. MUNDT. Why not?

Mr. LEE. What is that, sir?

Mr. MUNDT. With any of your superior officers?

Mr. LEE. No, sir, I did not because I thought there was nothing, as far as I knew—there was nothing that would justify reporting Miss Bentley. As far as I was concerned, she was a neurotic friend which presented a personal problem, and there was no occasion to make any such report. I have known various friends of mine who have letter views than mine. It would never occur to me—

Mr. MUNDT. You had other friends at that time whom you felt might be Communists, who were seeking to impose themselves upon you?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. She was the only one?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. But still you made no mention of that?

Mr. LEE. I assumed she was seeking to impose herself upon us for personal reasons.

Mr. MUNDT. It did not occur to you that the fact that she was so pro-Communist had anything to do with it?

Mr. LEE. I do not believe that anyone who has talked to Miss Bentley would get the impression that she could be engaged in any such activity.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question? Mr. Lee, what is your attitude toward the Soviet Union as of this moment?

Mr. LEE. Well, frankly, sir, I don't like a great deal about the Soviet Union. I do not like its political system, and I do not like its conduct in foreign affairs.

Mr. HÉBERT. Have you ever criticized the Soviet Union?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; many times.

Mr. MUNDT. Then, in the event of a war, whom would you be loyal to, America or the Soviet Union?

Mr. LEE. America, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell, do you have any more questions?

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman, but in view of the testimony which has been given here today, and in the last several days, it strikes at the very heart of America, its security. It has finally gotten into the United States Army. Now, despite the lack of success this committee has had in getting vitally important information from the executive branch of the Government, and despite the lack of success the Senate committee has experienced, I think once again that we should appeal to the executive branch of the Government to supply us with that material which we need to further this investigation; and I think that the chief investigator should be instructed to once again appeal to those agencies of the Government that can give us information which will aid in solving this conspiracy that undoubtedly has, and did, fasten itself on our Government. I am going to continue making that demand just so long as these hearings go on, and if the demand is not met with so far as this committee is concerned, which has furnished some 22,000 times information to the executive branch of the Government, those responsible for the refusal must face the wrath of the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to say right at that point that this committee will seek information from various agencies of the Government in the next few weeks in the course of these hearings, and in the course of other hearings, and there will be no question but that we will not hesitate to seek the information. We will go after the information, all right, and we have a lot of information that we would like to get, and we will not hesitate to request it.

Mr. HÉBERT. In connection with what has been said by you and Mr. McDowell, let me make this point, which I think is most im-

portant at this time. That forgetting whatever else has been developed at these hearings, forgetting the implications of this far-flung espionage ring which exists, there is no doubt in anybody's mind, and forgetting whether we have been able to adduce the facts and the truth in connection with them, there is one thing that is self-evident, and that is the fact that a crime or a violation, a criminal violation, of the law has been committed before this committee. These hearings are filled with perjured testimony. There can be no doubt about it.

Witnesses have made diametrically opposed statements under oath which, of necessity, makes one a perjured witness, and in furtherance of your opening statement when these hearings started, that this matter was going to be turned over to the Department of Justice, and asked to be placed before a grand jury for full investigation, there is one fact that the Department of Justice cannot escape, that is, that perjury has been committed here, and it is entirely their responsibility, and they cannot evade it, that when their attention is called to this matter, there must be prosecution for perjury on the part of the Department of Justice as to these witnesses.

MR. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to associate myself with the statements just made by Mr. Hébert, and to point out one further fact, that in the interest of justice, that is all this committee is interested in, and in the interests of national security, that primarily at this point in the interest of justice, either some very innocent-sounding people are guilty of some very infamous crimes, or else some innocent people have been injured by some highly infamous testimony; and I think that the executive agency owes it to the public, just as this committee owes it to the public, to try to get at the facts and see which of the two horns of that dilemma is accurate. The only way it can be done is to have cooperation instead of stubborn, obstinate concealment by the executive agency, and I hope we will press for that kind of cooperation and insist that this thing be tried out to the final, last element of truth.

MR. HÉBERT. Mr. Mundt, I agree with you, but I do press the point, that regardless of the excuses given for not furnishing us with information, which we rightly and justly deserve, in connection with justice, and that is all I am interested in, I frankly tell you I do not know who is a liar and who is not a liar, but I am going to find out, and I want to find out. I hold no brief for either side except in the integrity of this committee, and in the integrity of any congressional committee, and forgetting any excuse or lack of desire on the part of Government officials to prosecute, they cannot escape the fact that perjury has been committed before this committee; and I, for one, insist and demand that the Department of Justice take steps to prosecute the guilty individual or individuals who have committed perjury before a congressional committee.

MR. MUNDT. I agree 100 percent.

THE CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Lee.

MR. LEE. Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. I want to get back to the meeting at the Price apartment in, I think you said it was, October 1943.

MR. LEE. That was my recollection, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. Who contacted you, who invited you to that meeting?

MR. LEE. Miss Price.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Price did?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, would you let the record show that this is a subcommittee sitting?

The CHAIRMAN. The record already shows that.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Golos present at that meeting?

Mr. LEE. No, sir. I am quite sure I met Mr. Golos later.

The CHAIRMAN. The only ones that you can recall are Miss Bentley and Miss Price.

Mr. LEE. And my wife was there.

The CHAIRMAN. And your wife.

Mr. LEE. And my impression is that there were several other people.

The CHAIRMAN. Your impression is that there were several other people.

Mr. LEE. Yes, two or three other people were probably there, too.

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot recall the names of one of those other persons?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I cannot.

Mr. MUNDT. Were there any other men there? You were at a meeting entirely surrounded by women?

Mr. LEE. Well, I do not have the recollection, Mr. Mundt, that there was. I think probably if there were I probably would have noticed it.

Mr. MUNDT. You probably would have recalled if you were the only man there.

Mr. LEE. Well, I might. I just do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that meeting at the apartment during the daytime or in the evening?

Mr. LEE. I believe it was in the evening, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the reason for the meeting?

Mr. LEE. We were asked to drop in for drinks, as I recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. You know, if you could recall the name of one other person, it would help you.

Mr. LEE. I have tried to, sir, and I cannot.

The CHAIRMAN. Can't your wife recall the name of any other people?

Mr. LEE. I do not believe so, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you seem to be so clear about all these other meetings, and so foggy about this one.

Mr. LEE. Well, this was the furthest back, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee, did you ever furnish any information, oral or written, to Mary Price?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. At no time?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you meet Mary Price first?

Mr. LEE. I met her in New York at our apartment, where her sister Mildred brought her, I think, in 1940.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know her very well?

Mr. LEE. We got to know her quite well; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never at any time gave her any information?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEE. I do not know, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, how often did you see Mary Price?

Mr. LEE. Well, we only really remained friends of Mary Price's when we came to Washington and knew very few people.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times would you say that you saw Mary Price?

Mr. LEE. I have no idea, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Ten times?

Mr. LEE. I should think at least that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Ten times. From the conversation that you had with Mary Price, would you gather that she might be a Communist?

Mr. LEE. I really would not care to say, sir. I know that she had very liberal views, but you would not say she was a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you make any effort to determine whether she was a Communist?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; I assumed she was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. What other friends did you have in Washington beside Mary Price?

Mr. LEE. I had a great many friends in Washington as we stayed there longer and met more people.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Donald N. Wheeler?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have known him a long time?

Mr. LEE. I have known him since 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you go to school together?

Mr. LEE. We first met on the boat going to England in 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he work in the OSS?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did he enter OSS?

Mr. LEE. I think—

Mr. STRIPLING. OSS employment.

Mr. LEE. I think he entered OSS employment. I think, in the very beginning of the COI, which was the predecessor organization.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he precede you?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. While he was in OSS, were you closely associated with him?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see him?

Mr. LEE. Oh, yes; I thought you meant in a business way.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you see him socially?

Mr. LEE. Yes; I saw him socially.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where is he now?

Mr. LEE. He is on the west coast, in Washington, I believe. I think he has bought a farm there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Don Wheeler a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEE. I do not believe so, sir, but I do not know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did your conversations with him—did you ever determine whether or not he had Communist views?

Mr. LEE. Donald Wheeler was a very argumentative individual, who would usually take the opposite side of whatever was the prevailing opinion in any group, so sometimes he took left-wing views, and sometimes very conservative ones usually for the pleasure of arguing.



Mr. STRIPLING. Did he ever tell you that he belonged to three organizations which the Attorney General said were subversive organizations?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; he never did.

Mr. STRIPLING. He admitted, Mr. Chairman, before the Civil Service Commission, February 12, 1942, that he was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Washington Committee to Aid China, and the Washington Bookshop, all of which were Communist front organizations, and so found by the Attorney General.

Were you ever active in the Washington Committee to Aid China?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you were not aware that Mr. Wheeler belonged to these Communist front organizations?

Mr. LEE. I do not believe I was, sir; no.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never furnished any information to Mary Price?

Mr. LEE. No, sir. Nor to any other unauthorized person.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever hear of World Tourist?

Mr. LEE. I do not think so; no.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did not know that that was an official Soviet agency?

Mr. LEE. As I said, I do not believe I have ever heard of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did not know that Mr. Golos was connected with it?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is there any statement that you want to make to the committee at this time in connection with the testimony that has been received?

Mr. LEE. There is only one request that I have to make of the committee at this time. I would appreciate it if the committee would put in the record of this hearing a telegram which was received, dated August 5, from Mr. O. C. Doering, who is one of General Donovan's officers and the executive officer of OSS, and my immediate superior. I had hoped that I might know sufficiently in advance when I was to testify so that Mr. Doering could be present. He has requested an opportunity to testify, and I believe that General Donovan would like to testify.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. You have a telegram?

Mr. LEE. I have a telegram; yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that Otto C. Doering of Chicago?

Mr. LEE. He lived in Chicago at one time—from Wisconsin.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that the Mr. Doering who used to be with Sears, Roebuck?

Mr. LEE. Well, that may be his father. This Mr. Doering has been——

Mr. MUNDT. I know an Otto C. Doering who was vice president at one time of Sears, Roebuck.

Mr. LEE. That is the name, sir, and this is Otto C. Doering, Jr.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lee, when the telegram was received I talked to you about it, did I not?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did I not suggest to you to have Mr. Doering come here?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. And sit with you or not as your counsel?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir. I explained, sir, that Mr. Doering was in Wisconsin and I would try to get him here if I could be told sufficiently in advance.

Mr. STRIPLING. But we suggested that you bring him here.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir; but not without a date certain having been set. You may recall, Mr. Stripling, that I also wrote the committee asking, if possible, to be given 48 hours notice so that I could get Mr. Doering here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, you had, I believe, 4 days after you were subpoenaed to appear.

Mr. LEE. No; I talked with you, Mr. Stripling, and you said that on 9:30 Monday morning you would tell me when to appear.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. LEE. On 9:30 Monday morning, I believe, I was told to appear at 2 o'clock, and then it was far too late to get Mr. Doering present.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you were subpoenaed to appear on Thursday of last week.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you appear now on Tuesday. I mean, you had sufficient time to get Mr. Doering here.

Mr. LEE. For all I know, Mr. Stripling, I might not have been heard for weeks.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you did not bring Mr. Doering here.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think that is a little beside the point.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, I agree; but I want the record to show that I suggested that he bring Mr. Doering here and sit with him and act as his counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like that in the record?

Mr. LEE. I would like it in the record, and I would like to say what Mr. Stripling has said—Mr. Doering is on vacation, and I did not want to ask him to come here until a date certain had been fixed, and no date certain has been fixed for him to be present.

Mr. MUNDT. Is this telegram in response to a communication that you made to Mr. Doering?

Mr. LEE. No, sir. I informed Mr. Doering on the telephone of what had happened.

Mr. MUNDT. You talked with him on the telephone?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. And it is after that telephone call that he sent you this wire?

Mr. LEE. That is right. He did not send it to me. He sent it to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it will be placed in the record at this point.

(The telegram referred to reads as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 5, 1948.

HON. J. PARNELL THOMAS,

*Chairman, House Un-American Affairs Committee,  
Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:*

While on vacation in north Wisconsin I have just seen newspaper accounts regarding Duncan Lee. As former executive officer of OSS I would be glad to

testify before your committee regarding Lee. I want to say now that I knew his work during the war and I completely believe in his loyalty to the OSS and to his country. I have absolute faith in his innocence of the charges made against him by Elizabeth Bentley.

O. C. DOERING,

*Care of Donoran, Leisure, Newton, Lombard & Irvine, Washington, D. C.*

Mr. HÉBERT. Where is Mary Price today?

Mr. LEE. I do not know, sir. I saw somewhere in the newspapers where she was in North Carolina.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is that the same Mary Price who was organizing the Wallace-for-President group down there?

Mr. LEE. I assume so, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. And Mr. Wallace has been backed, or rather has been taken in completely by the Communist Party?

Mr. LEE. Is that a question, sir?

Mr. HÉBERT. I will make that as a statement. I will not ask you that. I just wanted to establish that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is well established, and you do not have to reestablish it.

Mr. HÉBERT. I just want to establish that the same Mary Price—if it is the same individual—

Mr. STRIPLING. It is.

Mr. HÉBERT. It is the same individual?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. And Mr. Lee knew Miss Price and failed to recognize in her her Communist leanings and tendencies.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any more questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lee.

Mr. LEE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness will be who? Mr. Robert T. Miller III, and we will recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the subcommittee recessed until 2 p. m. this day, at which time the subcommittee merged into the full committee.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 2 p. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), Karl E. Mundt, John McDowell, Richard M. Nixon, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The record will show that those present are Mr. Mundt, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas, a quorum of the full committee.

Mr. Stripling, the first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. William Ludwig Ullmann.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ullmann, will you take the stand. Raise your right hand.

Mr. Ullmann, do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ULLMANN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

The Chair would like to announce that subpoenas were served on Mikhail Samarin and his wife at 11:55 this morning.

Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMANN

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state your full name, please.

Mr. ULLMANN. William Ludwig Ullmann.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was born in Springfield, Mo., 1908. I would like to submit a statement, if I may.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is your counsel?

Mr. ULLMANN. Mr. Rein.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you identify yourself?

Mr. REIN. My name is David Rein.

Mr. STRIPLING. And your address in Washington?

Mr. REIN. 1105 K Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say you have a statement?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, before any action is taken on the statement, I would like to ask the witness certain preliminary questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Ullmann, would you outline to the committee any Federal employment you have had.

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; I came to work for the Government first in 1935 in the spring. I worked with the NRA, the National Recovery Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. The year 1935?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain there?

Mr. ULLMANN. I worked there for only a few months, until mid-summer, when the Supreme Court decision came out regarding NRA. Then I went to work for the Resettlement Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you go with Resettlement?

Mr. ULLMANN. In either June or July of 1935. I stayed with the Resettlement Administration until February 1939.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you go then?

Mr. ULLMANN. From the Resettlement Administration I transferred to the Treasury Department, where I stayed until I resigned from the Federal Government in 1947, in March, with the exception of a period that I was on military leave and was in the Army.

Mr. STRIPLING. What branch of the Treasury were you employed in?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was employed in the Division of Monetary Research.

Mr. STRIPLING. From whom did you obtain your employment?

Mr. ULLMAN. I applied for a position to Mr. Harry White.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry Dexter White?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall who you gave as references when you applied for that position?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall; no, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you give Lauchlin Currie as a reference?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say you took leave of absence?

Mr. ULLMANN. Military leave.

Mr. STRIPLING. Military leave of absence. When did you take that?

Mr. ULLMANN. In October 1942 and it extended until September 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. What branch of the service were you in?

Mr. ULLMANN. As an enlisted man I was in the Antiaircraft. As an officer I was in the Air Corps.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you outline your military history?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was drafted in October 1942, and served as an enlisted man until January 1943, when I went to officer candidate school. I graduated from officer candidate school in April 1943 with

the commission of second lieutenant. I was assigned to Wright Field, Matériel Command, Dayton, Ohio.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your assignment at Wright Field? What were your duties there?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was only there for a few days and then I was transferred to Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you stationed in Washington?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was stationed at the headquarters of the Air Corps, the Matériel and Service Division.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain there?

Mr. ULLMANN. For the duration of the period I was in the Army.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your highest rank?

Mr. ULLMANN. Major.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you left the Army you were a major?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were assigned to the Air Corps. Were you stationed at the Pentagon?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was stationed at the Pentagon. That was my headquarters. I traveled occasionally.

Mr. STRIPLING. How old were you in 1942?

Mr. ULLMANN. In 1942 I was 34.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you receive any deferments when you were in this first employment?

Mr. ULLMANN. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who obtained those deferments for you?

Mr. ULLMANN. The administrative assistant to the Secretary. If I recall, Mr. Norman Thompson.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many deferments did you receive?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall exactly. I think two.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you married at the time?

Mr. ULLMANN. I was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you married now?

Mr. ULLMANN. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you resided in Washington where did you live?

Mr. ULLMANN. Well, since 1938 I lived at 5515 Thirtieth Street NW.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you known Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Oh, I have known him since 1935, as I recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he responsible for getting you employment in the Federal Government?

Mr. ULLMANN. No, he wasn't. I was in the Federal Government before he was here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he ever assist you in getting any position with the Federal Government?

Mr. ULLMANN. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your answer "No" or "Yes" to that question—not, "Not that I know of."

Mr. ULLMANN. I would say "No."

The CHAIRMAN. You would say, "No." All right.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Stripling, have you ascertained his present residence?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; I was going to get to that.

Would you state your present residence?

Mr. ULLMANN. Harvey Cedars, N. J.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you live with Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Ullmann, do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. Well, for reasons stated in the prepared statement, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you stand up, please. Do you recognize this woman standing here as Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. You refuse to state whether you ever saw her before?

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Stripling, he said he just refused to answer the question. On what ground?

Mr. STRIPLING. He just refused to answer.

Mr. ULLMANN. On the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Ullmann, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. For the same reason——

Mr. STRIPLING. State your reason.

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. You mean you were a major in the Army attached to the Air Corps and you refuse to state whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I have refused.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

The CHAIRMAN. State the ground, please, in each case.

Mr. ULLMANN. On the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Jacob N. Golos?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Golos ever give you a camera?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the last question?

Mr. STRIPLING. I asked if Mr. Golos ever gave him a camera.

The CHAIRMAN. How would that incriminate you, the fact that you were getting a camera? How would that incriminate you?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anybody give you a camera?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you assist Nathan Gregory Silvermaster in photographing Government documents in the basement of his home at 5515 Thirtieth Street?

Mr. ULLMANN. That point is covered in the statement I prepared.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you answer the question?



Mr. ULLMANN. I did not assist in taking any pictures of Government documents.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did not assist in taking pictures of any Government documents?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the basement of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster's home?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever furnish any documents to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ULLMANN. Did I ever furnish any documents?

Mr. STRIPLING. Any documents to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever furnish any information to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster obtained in your official capacity in the Army?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever furnish any information to Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask one question. In this statement you call Miss Bentley a liar, I believe. How do you know Miss Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. Just by the statements that have been made before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the person who made the statement before this committee that you saw a few seconds ago?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. McDOWELL. On what ground?

Mr. ULLMANN. On the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do say that Miss Bentley is a liar. How do you come to that conclusion?

Mr. ULLMANN. I have read the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. And you saw Miss Bentley's pictures in the newspaper too, didn't you?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. If you saw Miss Bentley's pictures in the newspapers, is that the person whose pictures were in the newspapers?

Mr. ULLMANN. As far as I can tell from newspaper pictures, that is the person whose picture was in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Ullmann, in answer to Mr. Stripling's last question you said, "No." The question was: Did you ever furnish any Government documents to Miss Bentley? You answered "No."

Obviously, that means that you know Miss Bentley. Is that true?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I don't follow the reasoning.

Mr. NIXON. You gave a categorical answer "No" to his question as to whether or not you had furnished any Government documents to Miss Bentley. You said, "No."

Well, in order to give the answer "No" or "Yes" to that question, you would obviously have to know Miss Bentley. Is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

(Mr. Ullmann conferred with Mr. Rein.)

Mr. NIXON. Did you give any Government documents to Miss Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. I replied.

Mr. NIXON. What is the answer?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Miss Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground—

Mr. NIXON. How would you know whether or not you have ever given any Government documents to Miss Bentley unless you knew her?

Mr. ULLMANN. Because I haven't given Government documents to any unauthorized person.

Mr. NIXON. Your answer to the question is that you haven't given Government documents to any person; is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You know you haven't given any Government documents to Miss Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. The witness answered Mr. Stripling's question: Did you ever assist Mr. Silvermaster in photographing Government documents? Your answer was "No." Is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you ever photograph any Government documents yourself, not assisting anyone?

Mr. ULLMANN. I did not.

Mr. HÉBERT. Miss Bentley, will you rise and stand where the witness can see you?

Will you rise, Mr. Ullmann? You see a lady standing there, don't you?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You know her by sight right now. You are looking at her. Did you ever give that lady there any Government documents?

Mr. ULLMANN. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Stripling, proceed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Ullmann, did you ever furnish Bela, or otherwise known as William, Gold a camera?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it a Leica, L-e-i-c-a, camera?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many cameras did you have while you were in the Army?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever loan or permit Nathan Gregory Silvermaster to use one of your cameras for the purpose of photographing Government documents?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you obtained a commission in the Army, who did you give as your references?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lauchlin Currie of the White House?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. Irving S. Friedman, United States Treasury Department?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. A. G. Silverman, United States Army Air Forces Matériel Command, Munitions Building?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the names that I have mentioned, according to the Army records, were given by Mr. Ullmann, as references.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Those individuals were given by him as references and they recommended him for receiving a commission in the Army.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get that from the official records?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. Ullmann, you executed Form 57 on April 4, 1946. On that form you gave as your references Lauchlin Currie, International Development Co., 19 Rector Street, New York City. Is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. You also gave Miss Henrietta Klotz, 285 Madison Avenue, New York City, assistant to ex-Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau. Is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. You also gave Mr. Harry W. Blair, Tower Building, Washington, D. C. Is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't recall that.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't recall whom you gave as references in 1946 on a Form 57?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever set up or place in operation any photographic equipment in the basement at the premises located at 5515 Thirtieth Street NW., in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be permitted to read his statement at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Without objection, it is so ordered. Go ahead, Mr. Witness, and read your statement.

Mr. ULLMANN. My name is William Ludwig Ullmann. I was born in Springfield, Mo., in 1908. I was educated at Philips Exeter Acad-

emy, at Harvard College, and at Drury College. I received a degree of bachelor of arts from Drury College in 1930. I received a degree of master of business administration from Harvard University in 1932.

From 1932 to 1934, I worked in my father's real estate office in Springfield, Mo., and also organized a wholesale tennis-supply business in the same town. In the fall of 1934 I went to work for R. H. Macy & Co. in New York. I came to Washington in April of 1935 to work for the NRA. I later worked for the Resettlement Administration, and in February 1939 I transferred to the Division of Monetary Research in the Treasury Department. I worked there until 1947, with the exception of the period from October 1942 to September 1945, when I was on military leave. I went to officer candidate school and was commissioned in April 1943. I held the rank of major when I left the service.

The scurrilous charges made against me by Miss Bentley before this committee are false. I state categorically that she is a liar. I am and always have been a loyal American citizen. I never have betrayed any confidence reposed in me by my Government. I am not and never have been a spy or an agent of a foreign government. I have never photographed any Government documents.

In view of the fact that the charges against me are under investigation before a grand jury, and since this committee is not, in my opinion, a tribunal before which a citizen may adequately defend himself, I shall, on advice of counsel, refuse to answer any questions relating to charges against me under the constitutional right against self-incrimination guaranteed by the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Ullmann, while you were in the Air Corps did you have access to any information regarding the B-29?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Ullmann, you say the charges Miss Bentley made are false.

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. One of the charges she made was that you gave her secret Government documents. You say that charge is false; is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Another charge she made was that you photographed Government documents. Is that charge false?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Another charge she made was that you helped set up a photographic laboratory in Mr. Silvermaster's home. Is that charge false?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Ullmann, you realize that by giving answers to the first two questions, which you have categorically stated those charges are false, and by refusing to answer the third question, you have left an implication which is pretty clear that you cannot give the answer "No" to the third question and not incriminate yourself. You recognize that; do you?

Mr. ULLMANN. No, I don't recognize that.

Mr. NIXON. You recognize, in other words, that you can waive the right of self-incrimination by going into the subject at hand.

Mr. ULLMANN. By going into what?

Mr. NIXON. By going into the charges that are made. You have made the categorical statement that all charges are false. I have been questioning you about some of those charges. Some of those charges—you willingly gave the answer "No" to some of the charges made. On other charges you say, "I refuse to answer on the ground that the answer I might give might be self-incriminatory." That obviously casts an implication upon your statement that all these charges are false. Do you still maintain that all these charges are false?

Mr. ULLMANN. I do; yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, Miss Bentley's charge is false that you helped set up a photographic laboratory in Mr. Silvermaster's basement; is that true?

Mr. ULLMANN. That statement I refuse to answer on the ground that it might be self-incriminating.

Mr. NIXON. Miss Bentley's charge is false that you gave her confidential information; is that true?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Miss Bentley's charge is false that you helped photograph Government documents?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Her charge is false that you orally gave her information on Government business; is that true?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You have never talked to Miss Bentley; is that true?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. NIXON. You never discussed any Government business with Miss Bentley; is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is a broad term—any Government business. Is that your question, sir?

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever discuss your work with Miss Bentley at all?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. NIXON. You are with Mr. Silvermaster at the present time in New Jersey?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You lived with him in Washington previous to that time; is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. In the basement of that home in Washington was a photographic laboratory; is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. NIXON. That is all at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell?

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you ever see Miss Bentley at the Silvermaster home?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. McDOWELL. Were you ever in the basement of the house, of the Silvermaster home, with Miss Bentley?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Ullmann, do you have any knowledge of the technique of photography at all?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Ullmann, can you play tennis?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that—[Laughter].

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. In your statement, Mr. Ullmann, you state that you are now and, I believe, always have been—"I am and always have been a loyal American citizen." Do you believe a man can be a loyal American citizen and a member of the Communist Party at one and the same time?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is a question I haven't considered, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Consider it now and give me an answer.

(The witness conferred with his attorney.)

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show, when the witness consults with counsel, that he is consulting with counsel.

Mr. ULLMANN. I just don't feel competent to give an answer to the question.

Mr. MUNDT. Even after consulting with your very competent counsel?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. In other words, as a retired major of the United States Army, a man who has been entrusted with a lot of high governmental responsibilities, as a mature citizen and a graduate of two colleges, you don't consider yourself competent to declare whether or not a man can be a loyal American citizen and a member of the Communist Party at one and the same time?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. How long did you live in the Silvermaster home while you were in Washington?

Mr. ULLMANN. Ten years, approximately.

Mr. MUNDT. Ten years. During the course of those 10 years, were you ever in the basement of the Silvermaster home?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. MUNDT. What was there so mysterious and incriminating about the basement of the Silvermaster home that you dare not admit that in the course of 10 years you ever once entered the basement?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Ullmann, in your prepared statement, which you read, you say:

In view of the fact that the charges against me are under investigation before a grand jury—

by that you don't mean to imply that you have been given a no true bill by the New York grand jury before whom you appeared?

Mr. ULLMANN. No true bill?

Mr. HÉBERT. I meant by that statement you do not mean to imply that you have been investigated and absolved of any wrongdoing?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't mean to imply that; no sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Because, as a matter of fact, the New York grand jury is only in recess, as I understand it, and at any time can return a true bill against you for violation of the Federal espionage laws. Is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. I gather it is; yes, sir. The statement says "are under investigation."

Mr. HÉBERT. It is an open case right now; it is not a closed case. That is what I am trying to get at.

Mr. ULLMANN. As far as I know, it is still an open case.

Mr. HÉBERT. It is still an open case?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. And the mere fact that you have appeared before them does not indicate that up to this time they have cleared you or given you a clean bill of health?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is my impression.

Mr. HÉBERT. As a matter of fact, it is true?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why is it that you will answer some questions and refuse to answer others, standing on your constitutional right of self-incrimination?

Mr. ULLMANN. Well, I refuse to answer that question on the ground of self-incrimination.

Mr. HÉBERT. You refuse to answer it on the ground of self-incrimination?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. I ask you, as a man who has given his educational background, as a former Army officer, a major in the Army—and I think you are perfectly competent to answer this question, because it is an opinion, and I ask your opinion—do you think that any individual can belong to a group or an organization dedicated to overthrow the American Government by force and violence and at the same time be a loyal American citizen?

Mr. ULLMANN. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. HÉBERT. You do not?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. Therefore, if the Communist Party is an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence, you could not be a member of that party and be a loyal American at the same time?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. You have said in your statement that you always have been a loyal American.

Mr. ULLMANN. I have.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. HÉBERT. Suppose you justify that answer in your own words. I have put the basis for the question. You have answered it. Now, you answer me. You say you are a loyal American citizen. Therefore, if you are a loyal American citizen, and I presume you are a sane and rational man—therefore, if you are a loyal American citizen, you could not have been a member of the Communist Party at the same time. Now, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. HÉBERT. Are you a loyal American citizen?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes; I am.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why don't you stand on your constitutional rights there and say that might be self-incriminating?

Mr. ULLMANN. Is that an official question?

Mr. HÉBERT. Why, certainly it is an official question. I am trying to probe your mental thoughts at this time, if possible.

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. You refuse to say why you defend your American citizenship on the ground that it might incriminate you?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You realize, Mr. Ullmann, that you are absolutely within your rights to stand upon that answer?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. As you have done. You realize also that you are subject to the laws of perjury if you lie at this time?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. For the purpose of establishing the veracity of the witness, Mr. Chairman, I again ask Miss Bentley to rise.

Miss Bentley.

(Miss Bentley rises.)

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Ullmann, I again ask you to rise.

(Mr. Ullmann rises.)

Mr. HÉBERT. This lady standing there—have you ever known her, talked to her, had any conversation with her, discussed any matters with her relating to your Government employment, discussed any matters of the Soviet Union and its relationship to America; have you had any relationship with her under the name of Elizabeth T. Bentley, under the name of Helen Grant, under the name of Helen Johnson, or under the simple name of Helen?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, remain standing, Miss Bentley, please.

I want to establish this:

Have you ever given to that lady, in regard to whom you just refused to answer the previous question on grounds of possible self-incrimination—have you ever handed into that lady's hands any packages, any documents of an official nature of the Government for transmittal to other people?

Mr. ULLMANN. I have not.



Mr. HÉBERT. You have not.

Have you ever paid to that lady standing there any dues of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. HÉBERT. The record speaks for itself, Mr. Chairman. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask a couple of questions.

Mr. Ullmann, you were interrogated by agents of the FBI, were you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you tell the FBI that you had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we really don't have to have the answer to that question because the record may speak for itself. But didn't you tell the FBI that you had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you tell the FBI agents that you did have photographic equipment?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

The CHAIRMAN. Supposing I said that the FBI had told me that you had photographic equipment. What would you say to that?

Just a moment, Mr. Counsel. Let the witness answer. Go ahead, Mr. Witness.

Mr. ULLMANN. There is nothing to say to that. If they told you, they told you.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say they told me the truth or not the truth?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the FBI ask you whether or not you had been in the basement of the Silvermaster house?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

The CHAIRMAN. In your statement you claim you are a very loyal American. In fact, you use the words "loyal American citizen." Don't you think that a loyal American citizen would be very willing to answer the question: Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Let's look at it aside from the legal standpoint; let's look at it from the common-sense standpoint. You were a major in the Army and fought for your country and here you are being asked whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party. Don't you think as a loyal American citizen that it is your duty to answer that question?

Mr. ULLMANN. Mr. Chairman, my statement has given the grounds on which I am standing on my constitutional rights on these questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I just do not see how the question—I might see how the question of constitutional right bears on this question of communism, but on the question of whether or not you possessed a camera, or whether or not you were in the basement of Mr. Silvermaster's home, I just do not see how you can bring in that constitutional question there, because I don't see how it would incriminate you.

In what way would it incriminate you?

Supposing we ask you: Have you ever been in the basement of this building? Would that incriminate you?

Mr. ULLMANN. It might, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we asked you: Have you ever been in the basement of your own home? Would that incriminate you?

Mr. ULLMANN. It might.

The CHAIRMAN. It might. That is just the reason why you won't answer the question in regard to the Silvermaster home because you know what was done in the basement of that house. There was photographic equipment down there, and you know it better than anyone else in this room, and that is why you don't answer the question.

Mr. McDOWELL. How long have you lived with Mr. Silvermaster in New Jersey?

Mr. ULLMANN. Since May of 1947.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is a little over a year.

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Are you two fellows maintaining any photographic equipment in the basement there, too?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to be self-incriminating.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a Reserve commission as a major in the Army?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. You still have it?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you won't answer as to whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Ullmann, as a loyal American citizen, you, of course, believe it is essential that we do everything we can to protect the security of the country from espionage activities, do you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You, of course, have read in the newspapers the charges Miss Bentley made, have you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. If those charges are true in regard to espionage activities, they would constitute a considerable danger to the country, would they not? If they are true. You said they are false, I understand. But I am asking you that, assuming what she said was true, it would constitute a danger to this country, would it not?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. So, a committee of Congress, the courts, all the agencies that have to do with the protection and security of this country, should do everything they could to establish whether or not those charges are true or false. You understand that, can you not?

Mr. ULLMAN. The courts; yes.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you believe we should attempt to establish—that it should be established whether those charges are true or false by some agency of the Government?

Mr. ULLMANN. By some agency.

Mr. NIXON. Now, having in mind the fact then that it is necessary for the security of the country that the truth of those charges, all of them, be established, or the falsity of those charges, I point to your

statement in which you have stated, in attempting to help this committee in finding the truth or falsity of those charges, you state categorically: "The charges made by Miss Bentley are false."

Now, so that we can have the record clear, will you please take up each individual charge that you are referring to when you say that the charges made by Miss Bentley are false. Which charges did she make that are false?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is in my statement.

Mr. NIXON. No; in your statement you say: "The charges made by Miss Bentley are false."

Mr. ULLMANN. The charges made against me are false.

Mr. NIXON. The statements made by Miss Bentley against you personally are false?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. You mean all the charges made by Miss Bentley against you are false? Is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Including the charge that you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I had not recognized that as a charge.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Then you do not say that the charge made by Miss Bentley that you were a member of the Communist Party is false?

Mr. ULLMANN. I don't say that in this statement.

Mr. NIXON. You don't mean to say that in this statement. All right. You have said that as far as this statement is concerned—I think it is essential then that you should point out to the committee what charges made by Miss Bentley you say are false.

Mr. ULLMANN. That is written into the statement.

Mr. NIXON. The statement speaks for itself. You just say in the statement that all the charges are false.

Mr. ULLMANN. I say that I never betrayed any confidence reposed in me by my Government, that I am not and never have been a spy or an agent of a foreign government, I have never photographed any Government documents.

Mr. NIXON. Then the only charges made by Miss Bentley that you by this statement are saying are false are those that you have photographed Government documents and that you have been a spy and that you have been disloyal. Those are the charges that you say are false?

Mr. ULLMANN. I say those are false; yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. By the same token, you are not saying in this statement that the other charges made by Miss Bentley are false; is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. I am not sure I have heard the other charges.

Mr. NIXON. You have already indicated that you did not mean by this statement that Miss Bentley's charge that you were a member of the Communist Party was false. The record will speak for itself on that one.

Now, one of the other charges made by Miss Bentley was that you helped to set up some photographic equipment in the Silvermaster home. Do you mean by your statement that that charge is false?

Mr. ULLMANN. Will you repeat that statement—that I helped to set up photographic equipment?

Mr. NIXON. I want you to understand the question exactly, Mr. Ullmann, because it is very important to you, as well as to the committee.

You stated in your statement that all these charges were false that Miss Bentley made about you. Now, we have gone into some of the charges and you have indicated what you thought about some of them. Now, one of the charges made, and one of the serious charges made, by Miss Bentley that was carried in the newspapers—and I am sure that if you read the newspapers, you read this one—was that you helped to set up photographic equipment in the basement of the Silvermaster home in Washington.

Do you mean by this statement that that charge is false?

Mr. ULLMANN. I have not recognized that as a charge.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, by your statement you are not indicating that that charge is false?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. I am interested. Mr. Ullmann, you did not consider the statement by Miss Bentley that you are a member of the Communist Party as a charge. You didn't consider that a charge.

Mr. ULLMANN. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Why don't you consider that a charge? Don't you feel it is a charge against a man's loyalty to be labeled as a Communist?

Mr. ULLMANN. I had not recognized that membership in the Communist Party has as yet been considered an unlawful act.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you realize that under the decision of the judiciary in the State of New York that it is considered libelous per se to charge a man as being a Communist unless it can be substantiated?

Mr. ULLMANN. I didn't know of that decision.

Mr. MUNDT. That is a decision. Knowing that decision, then, do you not consider it a charge to be labeled as a Communist?

Mr. ULLMANN. Well, if that is the decision—

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MUNDT. I am sure his counsel is familiar with the decision and I hope he advises him properly.

(Witness again confers with counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to say to those in the chambers that this is a congressional committee sitting on a very important matter, that those of you in the audience are the guests of the committee, and the committee would appreciate just as little applause as possible. In fact, if you can get along without any applause at all for one side or the other, we would appreciate it because we have got a long way to go and can't possibly finish these hearings this week, and we just have to rush things along as best we can. We must have order. Proceed.

Mr. MUNDT. Are you ready to answer the question?

Mr. ULLMANN. That decision of the court I gather still does not make it a criminal offense to be a member of the Communist Party, and in this statement I am referring to charges as criminal offenses.

Mr. MUNDT. It does make it libelous, per se, to call a man a Communist, if he is not a Communist. Miss Bentley called you a Communist. That is a charge according to legal interpretation.

Now, do you intend to include that charge in your statement as false?

Mr. ULLMANN. I state here that I am including in my statement charges of criminal activities.

Mr. MUNDT. You would not consider membership in the Communist Party in that category?

Mr. ULLMANN. Would not consider it what?

Mr. MUNDT. The charge of communism in that category.

Mr. ULLMANN. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. As a Reserve officer you must know and associate with several other officers in the Army, is that correct?

Mr. ULLMANN. Not recently.

Mr. MUNDT. Have you any friends who are Reserve officers?

Mr. ULLMANN. I have some; yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Among your circle of friends who are Reserve officers, is it considered unwise to state that they are not members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. Well——

Mr. MUNDT. Is that the general attitude of your friends who are generally Reserve officers?

Mr. ULLMANN. Unwise? Will you repeat that? I am sorry.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. In your particular group of associates who are members of the Reserve, do they consider it unwise to declare that they are not members of the Communist Party when asked?

Mr. ULLMANN. No.

Mr. MUNDT. You are rather an exception to that rule, then, is that right?

Mr. ULLMANN. I guess I am an exception to that rule.

Mr. MUNDT. How do you explain it?

Mr. ULLMANN. In these particular circumstances——

Mr. MUNDT. How do you explain that you are an exception to that rule?

Mr. ULLMANN. Well, as far as I know——

Mr. MUNDT. What is there in your background that makes you such an exception to that rule?

Mr. ULLMANN. Well, as far as I know, it happens to be circumstances at present.

Mr. MUNDT. What circumstances?

Mr. ULLMANN. These circumstances.

Mr. MUNDT. The circumstances would be much less incriminatory if you could testify under oath whether or not you were not now and had never been a member of the Communist Party. You realize that, do you not?

Mr. ULLMANN. That is your interpretation, I gather.

Mr. MUNDT. That is my question. What is your answer?

Mr. ULLMANN. No; I cannot see it——

Mr. MUNDT. Do you still seem to think that there is something about membership in the Communist Party which is credible and desirable and commendable?

Mr. ULLMANN. I do not recall stating anything to that effect.

Mr. MUNDT. Well, the implication is to that effect.

Mr. ULLMANN. That is the implication.

Mr. MUNDT. Very well. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other members who have any questions?

Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. No questions.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Ullmann, you indicated a moment ago that membership in the Communist Party was not a crime, which is correct, incidentally, and that therefore you did not consider that to be a charge. Then, obviously, the question and the answer to the question: "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" could not incriminate you, could it?

You, yourself, say it is not a crime to be a member of the party. This committee agrees. Now, I ask you again: Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ULLMANN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to degrade and incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. I ask that the witness be reminded that he is to remain under the authority of the subpoena, and we will ask him to appear again.

Mr. REIN. But he may return to New Jersey?

Mr. STRIPLING. If you desire, you may be notified through Mr. Rein.

Mr. REIN. Perhaps you had better notify him directly.

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert T. Miller.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Miller. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MILLER. I do, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT T. MILLER

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Miller, will you please state your full name, please?

Mr. MILLER. Robert Talbot Miller.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. MILLER. April 5, 1910, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mr. MILLER. I graduated from Kent School in Connecticut in 1927, and Princeton University in 1931, and with a master of arts degree from Princeton University Graduate School in 1932.

Mr. STRIPLING. And would you also identify your counsel?

Mr. MILLER. My counsel is Mr. Bertram Bakerman.

Mr. STRIPLING. I did not understand you. Will counsel stand up and identify himself before the committee?

Mr. BAKERMAN. Certainly. My name is Bertram Bakerman.

Mr. STRIPLING. And your address?

Mr. BAKERMAN. 261 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Miller, were you ever employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the committee a résumé of your Federal Government service?

Mr. MILLER. From September 1941 to June 1944 I was head of political research in the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; from

June 1944 to December 1946, I was employed in the State Department on two different jobs. Do you want me to give them to you?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I wish you would.

Mr. MILLER. One was, I was a member of the information service committee placed in the Office of Near Eastern Affairs. That was my first job; and the second job was as Assistant Chief of the Division of Research and Publication in charge of publications.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever study in the Soviet Union?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; no formal study.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been to the Soviet Union?

Mr. MILLER. I lived there for 2½ years.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were you doing when you were in the Soviet Union?

Mr. MILLER. Originally, I went over with the intention of entering a business office which, however, did not succeed, so I remained as a journalist.

Mr. STRIPLING. Representing what newspaper?

Mr. MILLER. Almost entirely a series of British newspapers: the Manchester Guardian, the London Daily Guardian, Reuters News Agency, and so on.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were employed in the State Department, did you have access to secret and top-secret information?

Mr. MILLER. Secret, yes; and some top secret.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; I can identify this woman as someone I knew some years ago under another name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you stand up, please, and, Miss Bentley, would you stand up?

(Mr. Miller and Miss Bentley stood up.)

Mr. STRIPLING. The lady standing is Elizabeth T. Bentley. Have you ever seen this person before?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; a number of times under the name of Helen Johns.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have seen her a number of times under the name of Helen Johns. Was that your answer?

Mr. MILLER. John, or Johns; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Miller, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never have been a member of the party?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. At no time?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever furnish any information to Elizabeth Bentley or Helen Johns?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you tell the committee your addresses for the last 5 years?

Mr. MILLER. Five years back from now would be what?

Mr. STRIPLING. Take it from 1940.

Mr. MILLER. From 1940. From 1940 to the summer of 1941, I lived at 10 Monroe Street, in New York City; from the summer of 1941 until the fall of 1944, I lived at 3060 Porter Street, Washington, D. C.;

and from the fall of 1944 until February of the current year, I lived at 3223 Northampton Street, Washington, D. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the Washington address again?

Mr. MILLER. 3223 Northampton Street NW.

Mr. MUNDT. What is your present address?

Mr. MILLER. 2731 Palisades Avenue, New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Elizabeth Bentley at the last two addresses at Washington?

Mr. MILLER. At the first, but not at the second.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was at 3060 Porter Street NW., Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is this a picture of the residence at 3060 Porter Street NW.?

(Photograph shown to witness.)

Mr. MILLER. Yes; I see it has the number on it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did meet Elizabeth Bentley at that address?

Mr. MILLER. Once or twice; I would say not more.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the purpose of the meeting?

Mr. MILLER. Social.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of Jacob Golos?

Mr. MILLER. I think I can identify the person who introduced me to Miss Bentley as Jacob Golos, but this man was known to me as John Friedman, and I never knew the name of Golos till very recently.

Mr. STRIPLING. I will show you a picture of him. Is this the individual you knew as John Friedman?

(Photograph shown to witness.)

Mr. MILLER. I would say it was John Friedman.

Mr. STRIPLING. You would say it was?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you know Mr. Golos?

Mr. MILLER. I met Mr. Golos first in the latter part of 1940.

Mr. STRIPLING. How did you meet him?

Mr. MILLER. He visited—I was a publisher of a news letter on Latin America in New York City at that time. I say I was a publisher of a news letter on Latin America in New York City at that time, and numbers of people visited our office to become acquainted with the publication, and exchange information, and so on. He was one of these people—this man whose picture you have shown me. He visited this office, represented himself as a man named John Friedman, who was in the exporting and importing business, so he said, and he had an interest in Latin America, and had an interest down there, and was interested in the publication, and we struck up an acquaintance on the basis of the conversation of that kind at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. How often did you see him after this meeting?

Mr. MILLER. It is hard to say; that is so long ago. It may have been every couple of months, something like that. I would not want to give the impression that there were regular meetings. I saw him on several occasions after that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever discuss the Communist Party affairs with Mr. Golos?

Mr. MILLER. No, indeed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever discuss the subject of communism with him?



Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first take the position with the CIAA?

Mr. MILLER. September 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain with that organization?

Mr. MILLER. Until June 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were employed with the CIAA, did you meet Mr. Golos?

Mr. MILLER. Once or twice in New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you give him any information?

Mr. MILLER. Passing through.

Mr. STRIPLING. In connection with your employment at CIAA?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you meet Elizabeth Bentley while you were employed in the CIAA?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; I met this woman, who is now identified as Elizabeth Bentley.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times?

Mr. MILLER. It would be very hard for me to say, sir. I saw her a number of times over a period of approximately 2 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did she ever ask you for any information?

Mr. MILLER. No; not directly.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did she indirectly?

Mr. MILLER. No. I mean by that we used to discuss things.

Mr. MUNDT. What kind of things would you discuss?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, Latin America, Latin-American affairs, our friends—

Mr. MUNDT. Any other things?

Mr. MILLER. The things that any two people discuss when they are together on a social basis. We discussed movies, books.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed by the Moscow Daily News?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; I was not. I am very happy to say I was not, because apparently there has been an impression around that I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever state that you were employed by the Chattanooga News?

Mr. MILLER. I not only stated so, I was employed by them.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long were you employed by the Chattanooga News?

Mr. MILLER. I wrote a weekly article for the Chattanooga News from Moscow for, to the best of my recollection, 6 or 8 months.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever asked to resign from the Government?

Mr. MILLER. When I left the Government, some of these allegations which are being made now apparently were current; but I must say that I did not understand the whole thing, and I discussed this situation with my superiors. I was not actually asked to resign. I decided to resign, and I had been wanting to resign anyway.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you were not asked to resign?

Mr. MILLER. Not directly in the way that the question suggests.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, give the committee the circumstances under which you resigned.

Mr. MILLER. I have just done so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go into more detail.

MR. MILLER. Well, I was asked—I had been asked sometime before I resigned about my stay in Moscow and my subsequent activities, and it began to appear that untrue things were being said about me, but things that it was very hard to combat under the circumstances.

MR. MUNDT. Mr. Miller, who asked you those questions?

MR. MILLER. The investigators of the State Department.

MR. MUNDT. Do you remember their names?

MR. MILLER. One was Mr. Bannerman.

MR. MUNDT. Mr. Bannerman. Was Mr. Murphy one of them?

MR. MILLER. I do not recall the name. I do not recall the name of the other man.

MR. MUNDT. But you do recall Mr. Bannerman?

MR. MILLER. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. Right on that question, before we go on to another one, you requested—you were asked questions concerning your stay in Moscow and subsequent activities.

MR. MILLER. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. What subsequent activities?

MR. MILLER. Oh, all about this news letter I had published; mainly about that.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, did they object to the news letter?

MR. MILLER. No; they did not. They just wanted to know about it. Frankly, sir, this was, oh, roughly 2 years ago or more, and I really cannot recall the exact line of questioning.

MR. MUNDT. Do you have a file in your possession of the news letter that you published?

MR. MILLER. Yes.

MR. MUNDT. Complete file?

MR. MILLER. Practically complete; yes. I am sure I could make it complete.

MR. MUNDT. Would you be willing to supply the committee with a complete file of the news letters?

MR. MILLER. I would be very happy to, Mr. Mudgett, and also I can say that this news letter, although it did not turn out to be a financial success in a subscription sense, became very well thought of in the field of Latin-American news. So well thought of that it was subscribed to—it was sent to all diplomatic posts in Latin America; it was subscribed to all over the Government by many libraries and many business houses, and so on. I would be glad to give you an analysis also of the kind of subscribers we had.

MR. MUNDT. It would be helpful, but I do not think it would be informative if we had a complete file of the news letters.

MR. MILLER. I would be very happy to do so. I may say that I am very proud of that episode in my life because I think it was a very good job.

THE CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Miller, did I understand you to say that you were a foreign correspondent of the Chattanooga News?

MR. MILLER. I wrote for the Chattanooga News, as I say, once a week from Moscow for 6 or 8 months in 19—I am sorry, in 1935.

MR. STRIPLING. Did the stories appear under your byline?

MR. MILLER. To the best of my recollection they have. I could check that, I think.

MR. STRIPLING. Well, is it your impression that they did?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed by the Reuters News Agency?

Mr. MILLER. For a brief period, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. For how long?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, 3 or 4 months; that, I do not recall exactly either, because what happened was I replaced the regular correspondent of Reuters, who went away for a trip back to America and England, and stayed away quite awhile. It may have been even up to 6 or 8 months.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you married?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your wife's maiden name?

Mr. MILLER. May I ask why that question is asked?

The CHAIRMAN. What was the question, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. I asked him what his wife's maiden name was.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the chief investigator is just trying to identify you and identify your wife.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, that question has been asked of me, and possibly of others from time to time, and I am sorry, but possibly this is not the case here; sometimes I have had the impression that it was to bring out the fact that she was Jewish. Her name is Jenny Levy.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to tell you right now that if you have gotten that idea or if anybody else has gotten the idea, it is just 100 percent wrong. You can count on that.

Mr. STRIPLING. I assure you, Mr. Miller, that was not the purpose of the inquiry.

Mr. MILLER. I accept your statement.

Mr. MUNDT. We do not have the name.

Mr. MILLER. Jenny Levy.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Miller, are you acquainted—

Mr. MUNDT. Before we leave that—your wife—she was an American citizen?

Mr. MILLER. Indeed she was, born in New York.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you.

Mr. MILLER. And is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was she a correspondent for the Moscow Daily News?

Mr. MILLER. She was on the staff of the Moscow Daily News at one time.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the United States?

Mr. MILLER. In the United States?

Mr. STRIPLING. Did she represent the Moscow Daily News in the United States?

Mr. MILLER. Certainly not, sir. I did not know they had any representatives here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, they have a lot of representatives that we do not know about. [Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. Well, she was not one of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. She was not. Do you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you known Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, since some time in 1945, I think.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. MILLER. At some party around Washington. I do not remember where.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did you meet him? More than once?

Mr. MILLER. After I got to know him, you mean?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. He was a neighbor of mine. We lived a couple of blocks away from each other in Chevy Chase, and we used to see him quite often.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever go to Mr. Silvermaster's basement?

Mr. MILLER. I do not remember, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know a Maurice Halperin?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he a friend of yours?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Joseph B. Gregg?

Mr. MILLER. Sure; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do know him?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, indeed.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know him?

Mr. MILLER. Pretty well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William Ludwig Ullmann?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you known Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. MILLER. I met him at the same time that I met Mr. Silvermaster.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Charles Recht?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know John Marsalka?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet John Marsalka?

Mr. MILLER. When he was with the American consulate in Moscow.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was that?

Mr. MILLER. Well, it was when I was staying there, in either 1935 or 1936; I could not say precisely when.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do the members have any questions at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I don't believe that you went into the circumstances, Mr. Miller, of your first meeting with Miss Bentley, other than your saying that you met her under some other name.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Will you tell us under what circumstances you first met her?

Mr. MILLER. I was introduced to her by this man John Friedman, or Golos, as he is called here.

Mr. MUNDT. In New York?

Mr. MILLER. In New York; yes. I believe we went out to dinner together.

Mr. MUNDT. What did he say about Miss Bentley when he introduced you?

Mr. MILLER. That she was a friend of his, and it was apparent that she was. [Laughter.]

Mr. MUNDT. When did you next meet Miss Bentley?

Mr. MILLER. Shortly after that. I do not remember just when, a month or two, maybe.

Mr. MUNDT. Always in connection with Mr. Golos or sometimes without Mr. Golos?

Mr. MILLER. Often without him.

Mr. MUNDT. You met her several times then at a time when you lived in New York?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. And when you moved to Washington, did you ever meet her in Washington?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Sometimes in your home?

Mr. MILLER. A few times; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Sometimes downtown in restaurants or drug stores?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MUNDT. Did she at any time in her conversation lead you to believe that she had radical or communistic leanings?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Did she ever seek information from you?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you ever meet her in the Silvermaster home?

Mr. MILLER. No, indeed. Actually Miss Bentley became more or less of a nuisance to me after I had known her a couple of years, and in the spring of 1944 I told her I would prefer to stop these bothersome meetings that she insisted on having, and we did, and I have laid no eyes on her until this very day.

Mr. MUNDT. I am sorry I cannot hear what you say.

Mr. MILLER. What I am saying is important, and I want you to hear it.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to hear it.

Mr. MILLER. Shall I begin at the beginning?

Mr. MUNDT. Please.

Mr. MILLER. I say gradually, as this business wore on, Miss Bentley would telephone me when she was down here from New York, and I would go to have dinner or lunch with her, and it got to be pretty much of a nuisance. Also she was under some nervous tension of some kind apparently, and she had begun to drink, and she showed up at a couple of these meetings in not a very happy condition.

Mr. MUNDT. What reason would she give you on the telephone for wanting to see you?

Mr. MILLER. Just social reasons, as it had always been. She just said, "Come on and have lunch."

Mr. MUNDT. And you would go ahead and have lunch with her, meet her downtown, even though it was a nuisance with respect to her.

Mr. MILLER. Well, yes. After it got to be bad enough of a nuisance it quit, and I want to make very clear I have not seen this woman since the spring of 1944; I would say March or April of that year.

Mr. MUNDT. When did you last see Mr. Golos, whom you knew under the name of Mr. Friedman?

Mr. MILLER. I cannot remember. It was probably sometime in 1942, I guess. It might have been 1943.

Mr. MUNDT. Will you detail to the committee, Mr. Miller, the circumstances under which you first entered the Federal employment? How did you happen to change from private life to your first connection with the Inter-American Coordinator?

Mr. MILLER. Sure. This news letter that I speak of was a partnership. My partner was a man who had lived in Latin America for a number of years.

Mr. MUNDT. Put his name in the record.

Mr. MILLER. All right. He had been interested for some time in starting a news letter on Latin America, and that more or less coincided with my ideas.

I had more newspaper experience than he had, and we got together and started this thing, and its operation depended pretty much on our both being there. So in the spring of 1941 he encountered some people who were working with Nelson Rockefeller to get the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs started, and he, having had a lot of Latin-American experience and being a rather talented fellow, they wanted him for their staff in the field, so that he was hired.

Mr. MUNDT. What was his name?

Mr. MILLER. Jack B. Fahy. He is now dead. So, he went to the field for the Rockefeller office, oh, I guess in April, May, June of 1941; and after that, pretty much of the entire burden of editing and writing the thing and doing the other editorial work around there fell on me, and it became apparent that it could not continue much longer.

At the same time, the people who had originally approached him about going into the Rockefeller office, then approached me, saying that they were looking for the kind of a person that I was to take over an operation of processing news and information internally in the Coordinator's office.

Mr. MUNDT. Who specifically approached you, Mr. Fahy or Nelson Rockefeller or who?

Mr. MILLER. Well, through Mr. Fahy I met Nelson Rockefeller, Carl B. Spate, and Hadley Cantril and a number of other people, and I discussed coming down there with all of them, and I finally did.

Mr. MUNDT. You worked with him for about 2 years?

Mr. MILLER. Well, from September 1941 to June 1944.

Mr. MUNDT. What impelled you to change from that section to the State Department?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I have always had an approach to jobs that when they are established and going, and the best has been gotten out of them, I would like to go on to something new and something tougher, and we had done quite a job, I think, in setting up this information processing operation within the Coordinator's office; and Mr. Rockefeller had led us to believe that it was useful to him, and the whole thing was running like a clock. At the same time, if you remember, I forget who the Secretary of State was then, but that was the beginning of the time of the reorganization in the State Department, and a lot of things that we had done they had not done, and some of their people got interested in me to come over there and help work on that.

Mr. MUNDT. Who, specifically?

Mr. MILLER. The person I talked to principally about that was Jack Erhardt, who was then the head of the Office of Foreign Service.

Mr. MUNDT. He is the man who is now our Minister in Vienna?

Mr. MILLER. I think he is Minister in Vienna. I am not certain.

Mr. MUNDT. He approached you with the suggestion first that you switch from that Office to the State Department?

Mr. MILLER. Actually, sir, I think it was a letter from him to Cantril or he spoke to Cantril about me, the fellow who had originally brought me into the Rockefeller office.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Fahy?

Mr. MILLER. No; Hadley Cantril. He is professor of social psychology at Princeton, and a classmate of Nelson Rockefeller's at Dartmouth.

Mr. MUNDT. And you stayed in the State Department until this unpleasantness developed about your past experience, and these questions, and at that time you say you had about decided to quit the State Department anyhow, so, after a discussion about this past record of yours, you resigned.

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. And what are you doing now, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. I am in the public-relations business in New York City.

Mr. MUNDT. Self-employed?

Mr. MILLER. No; I am working for a firm named Randolph Feltus.

Mr. MUNDT. Those are all the questions at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to announce that the committee will go into a short recess, and the witness will step back and take a seat, and we will call him just as soon as we come back from the recess.

(Short recess taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. Everyone please take their seats.

We will resume with the testimony of Mr. Miller.

Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Miller, you indicated that you lived a couple of doors away from Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. MILLER. A couple of blocks away.

Mr. NIXON. I see. He visited in your home and you visited in his from time to time?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. There is one point in which the committee has been particularly interested in these investigations, and that is whether or not Mr. Silvermaster did have some photographic equipment in his basement. Did you ever see any there?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. And Mr. Silvermaster—did you ever hear Mr. Silvermaster or any other people in his house discuss photographic equipment that he had in his basement?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know whether he had any photographic equipment in his basement or not?

Mr. MILLER. No; I do not.

Mr. NIXON. It was never discussed in your presence?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know that he did not have any?

Mr. MILLER. What is that?

Mr. MUNDT. Would you know whether he did not have photographic equipment?

Mr. MILLER. I just do not know.

Mr. MUNDT. You would not know either way.

Mr. NIXON. You indicated that Mr. Golos and you were acquainted over a period of time.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. But that acquaintanceship, as I understand, was purely social, not a business acquaintanceship, in other words.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you were a guest at his home and he was a guest at your home?

Mr. MILLER. I never visited his home; no, sir.

Mr. NIXON. I am sorry, I did not hear that.

Mr. MILLER. I say I never visited his home.

Mr. NIXON. Well, but he was at your home?

Mr. MILLER. I could not recall quite precisely. I would say probably not.

Mr. NIXON. But you saw him a number of times over a period of years.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you see him?

Mr. MILLER. We used to have dinner. We used to have dinner or lunch. I do not mean frequently. We used to have dinner or lunch when we met.

Mr. NIXON. And, as far as you know, the times that you met Mr. Golos were, say, in public restaurants?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And you never recall a meeting either at his home or in your home?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. You never had any business dealings with Mr. Golos at all?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. And you never had any financial transactions with him at all?

Mr. MILLER. No, indeed.

Mr. NIXON. And you and Mr. Golos, during that period of time—were there other guests present, in addition to Mr. Golos? You mentioned this person who was present on one occasion. Do you recall any occasion in which anybody might have been present?

Mr. MILLER. No; I do not.

Mr. NIXON. Can you say that any other people were present at the times that you met Mr. Golos?

Mr. MILLER. None that I recall; no. I would say there was not anybody present.

Mr. NIXON. There were not. In other words, just you and Mr. Golos?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. During the times that you met these meetings were purely social?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.



Mr. NIXON. Do you recall whether or not you did discuss at any time any—I assume that you probably did discuss political matters, from time to time.

Mr. MILLER. Oh, we discussed situations in Latin America—I mean conditions, changing conditions in different countries.

Mr. NIXON. Will you repeat that, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Your voice has failed since we left the room.

Mr. MILLER. I will try to bring it back. Why don't you get a microphone that stands up to people?

The CHAIRMAN. Just talk into it.

Mr. NIXON. Just talk into it.

Mr. MILLER. I say we discussed situations in Latin America; yes, sir; changing conditions.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Golos was very much interested in conditions in Latin America?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. What type of information did you give him, or did he give you, in regard to the situation in Latin America during these conversations?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I do not know that you could really say that—I say I do not think you would really refer to information being given, but we would discuss things.

Mr. NIXON. What type of information was transmitted between you two?

Mr. MILLER. It was in the form of discussions of situations in which he would learn what I knew, and I would learn what he knew.

Mr. NIXON. He was interested in what you knew, and you were interested in what he knew?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Was that the nature of the subject that you discussed during that period in Latin America?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I would say occasionally.

Mr. NIXON. What did you discuss about Latin America, the business situation, the political situation?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; in different countries.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Did you ever discuss the Communist Party infiltration into Latin-American countries by any chance?

Mr. MILLER. I do not recall that; no, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Golos was not interested in that particular subject?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; as he represented himself to me—

Mr. NIXON. You did not know whether or not Mr. Golos was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You did not know whether or not Miss Bentley was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You did not know whether or not Mr. Silvermaster was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Certainly not, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You did not know whether or not Mr. Ullmann was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I would have to say that with regard to these two they were—Silvermaster and Ullmann—they were both respected Government employees of fairly high standing for a number of years.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you were apparently quite surprised at the implication which is that these people were members of the Communist Party, I gather.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. During all the time that you knew them socially over a period of time, you never, from your discussions with them, had any idea that they might be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. No, indeed.

Mr. NIXON. In fact, you mean that in all those discussions then, you never discussed political matters; is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. An informed person can hardly talk to anyone nowadays without discussing politics in one way or the other. But certainly there was nothing in these discussions which led me to believe that any of these people were Communists.

Mr. NIXON. Now, proceeding to your acquaintanceship with Miss Bentley, that was over a period, do I understand, of how many years?

Mr. MILLER. Between two and three.

Mr. NIXON. And you saw her on several occasions during that period?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Approximately how long? I mean, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. MILLER. It is awfully hard to say, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Approximately every 2 weeks, would you say?

Mr. MILLER. No, not as often as that.

Mr. NIXON. Well, approximately every month, would you say?

Mr. MILLER. I would not say approximately every month, because the intervals at which I saw her were not regular, as that question implied.

Mr. NIXON. How were these meetings arranged? Miss Bentley would come to town and call you, would she, at your office?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. They were not arranged by letter, by any chance?

Mr. MILLER. No, indeed.

Mr. NIXON. I see. She would call you and say that she was in town and you would have lunch together; is that right?

Mr. MILLER. That is it.

Mr. NIXON. On all the occasions that you met her, was it at lunch or dinner?

Mr. MILLER. Sometimes it was for a drink, you know, during the cocktail period.

Mr. MUNDT. I think you testified that sometimes it was in your home, was it not?

Mr. MILLER. Once or twice, I said.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, it was sometimes at lunch, sometimes dinner, and sometimes a drink. Were there any other occasions that you can recall that you might have met her?

Mr. MILLER. I seem to remember having had breakfast with her now and then.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you say that you did have breakfast with her?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Are there any other occasions beside that, do you recall? For example, what I am trying to get at, and it is quite obvious, is did you ever meet her in your office?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. She never came to your office?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever meet her in any Government office?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you ever meet her on a street corner or on a bridge or in a park or something like that?

Mr. MILLER. Only with a view to going some place to eat or something like that.

Mr. MUNDT. You first meet her there, and then go to some place to eat?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Miller, the occasion of these meetings, were you always alone with Miss Bentley?

Mr. MILLER. Would you repeat that?

Mr. NIXON. I said, on the occasions of these meetings, other than the first meeting with Mr. Golos, these casual meetings from time to time that you have indicated, were you and Miss Bentley generally alone?

Mr. MILLER. Now and then my wife came along.

Mr. NIXON. Now and then your wife was there?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. On most of the occasions, was your wife there, or on most of these occasions were you alone with Miss Bentley; do you recall?

Mr. MILLER. I would say that on most of these occasions my wife was not there.

Mr. NIXON. I see; and these meetings with Miss Bentley, as I understand you to say, like the meetings with Mr. Golos, were purely social?

Mr. MILLER. Sure.

Mr. NIXON. And on these occasions Miss Bentley showed no interest in your job or the information that you might have had in your job, or anything of that sort; is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. She never tried to get such information.

Mr. NIXON. She did not discuss that with you at all?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. And you never discussed with her your job or what you were doing at work, or anything of that kind; is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. No; I may have talked about the regular Washington gossip among agencies, and that kind of stuff. Outside of that; no.

Mr. NIXON. Miss Bentley was not in the Government at that time, you understand, but you did not, you say, possibly discuss anything but Government gossip, and that sort of thing.

Mr. MILLER. The kind of thing that you read in the newspapers in Washington all the time.

Mr. NIXON. But Miss Bentley indicated no particular interest in what you were doing then or what information you might have?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. Can you recall in the case of Mr. Golos what particular items you did discuss at these meetings?

Mr. MILLER. As I have said, the conversation was general.

Mr. NIXON. General?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. That would include, for example, political matters. What political matters did you discuss?

Mr. MILLER. I can't remember any specific thing.

Mr. NIXON. But you did discuss political matters?

Mr. MILLER. We may have discussed elections in Latin America.

Mr. NIXON. Was Miss Bentley interested in what was happening in Latin America?

Mr. MILLER. More or less; yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did she ask you about it?

Mr. MILLER. Not intensively.

Mr. NIXON. And from these discussions of political matters you never had any indication that Miss Bentley might have had partial Communist leanings, even partial Communist leanings?

Mr. MILLER. She didn't represent herself as reactionary.

Mr. NIXON. There was no indication at all that she possibly could have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever given any money to Miss Bentley?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. You have already testified you didn't give her any Government documents. You have also indicated that you have not discussed any matters having to do with your employment with her. That is, any matters having to do with the job you did in your office as distinguished from others; is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. There is one other point. The question was raised as to whether or not you had left the Government in, I think it was, 1946. At that time you were with the State Department?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did I understand you to say you resigned from the Government?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall whether or not you resigned with prejudice?

Mr. MILLER. Without.

Mr. NIXON. Without prejudice?

Mr. MILLER. Without prejudice, and, furthermore, I have letters from my superiors complimenting me on the work I had done and expressing regret at my leaving.

Mr. NIXON. Assuming you wanted to go back to the Government, there would be nothing to deter you from getting Government employment at the present time?

Mr. MILLER. I would say after my appearance here today, there might be.

Mr. McDOWELL. Repeat that.

Mr. MILLER. I would say that there might be; yes.

Mr. NIXON. Let's start before your appearance today. As of the time you left, to the best of your knowledge, there was nothing to indicate to you that you could not go back to Government employment?

Mr. MILLER. I don't—

Mr. NIXON. I mean that there would be no question raised as to your eligibility for Government employment at the present time?

Mr. MILLER. I have already said, sir, that before I left the State Department, some question was raised about my past activities, and I thought that since I wanted to resign at the end of the war and go into business anyway, that would solve the problem that way, and it did.

Mr. NIXON. I understood you to say when you did leave you went highly recommended by your superiors.

Mr. MILLER. I did.

Mr. NIXON. Letters of recommendation were given to you?

Mr. MILLER. Letters of commendation.

Mr. NIXON. Can you recall who those people were by any chance?

Mr. MILLER. One was Francis Russell and the other was E. Wylie Spaulding.

Mr. NIXON. Both of them gave you these recommendations?

Mr. MILLER. Sure, they did.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you very much. That concludes my questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, do you have anything?

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you resign?

Mr. MILLER. December 13, 1946.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you actually leave the Department?

Mr. MILLER. That day.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have here a memorandum from the files of the Department of State addressed to Mr. Donald Russell, Assistant Secretary, from Mr. R. L. Bannerman, Office of Controls, dated July 24, 1946. It states:

Mr. Miller is presently employed in the Department as Assistant Chief of the Division of Research and Publications, in charge of the Publishing Branch; P-7; salary, \$7,437.50.

The information developed by the FBI in its current investigation of Mr. Miller supports the conclusion that his continued presence in the Department constitutes a strong risk to the security of departmental functions and to the classified information of this Department. It is recommended, therefore, that his services be terminated in accordance with Public Law No. 490.

The conclusion of the report on recommendations said:

It is recommended that the services of Mr. Miller be terminated under provisions of Public Law 490. He is regarded as a security risk.

There is some confidential material which I will not read.

Were you aware, Mr. Miller, that such a report was in the files of the State Department?

Mr. MILLER. I was not, sir. In fact, I asked at the time whether there was and received no answer.

Mr. NIXON. In fact, Mr. Miller, it was the same Mr. Russell to whom this report was made who, after that report was made, gave you a very high recommendation, wasn't it?

Mr. MILLER. There were two different Russells.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Donald Russell received this report.

Mr. MILLER. He was Assistant Secretary of State in charge of administration. Francis Russell was a different person.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

MR. HÉBERT. Mr. Miller, your relationship with the man Silvermaster—did you know Mr. Silvermaster's background?

MR. MILLER. Would you specify that a little more, sir? I knew he had been in the Government a long time.

MR. HÉBERT. You knew he had been in the Government. Did you know where he was born?

MR. MILLER. Yes.

MR. HÉBERT. Where was he born?

MR. MILLER. He was born somewhere in Russia, I understand.

MR. HÉBERT. Did you know why he left Russia?

MR. MILLER. No—well, I understood he left Russia because his mother came here to go in business because she didn't like it in the part of Russia she was living, or something like that. I frankly don't know. I may have heard a casual remark.

MR. HÉBERT. You did know he was born in Russia?

MR. MILLER. Yes, sir.

MR. HÉBERT. Did he know you had lived in Russia for two and a half years?

MR. MILLER. Yes; he did.

MR. HÉBERT. Didn't you discuss Russian conditions?

MR. MILLER. Very little.

MR. HÉBERT. Now, Mr. Miller, Mr. Silvermaster testified on this stand that he left Russia because of the conditions over there—czaristic oppression. He felt very keenly about it and that is the reason he came to America.

You lived in Russia for 2½ years. Isn't it very strange that the subject of Russian Government shouldn't come up for extended discussion in such an intellectual gathering?

MR. MILLER. I don't know just what intellectual gathering you are referring to. In the second place, of course, he discussed conditions in regard to czarist Russia and he told me he was against that.

MR. HÉBERT. What did he tell you about that?

MR. MILLER. They were bad.

MR. HÉBERT. Did he just say they were bad—period—the conversation is over? Let's get down to this. You have got a good background; you are obviously an experienced and able newspaperman. You know what I am talking about just as well as I do and you know exactly what information I am trying to elicit from you. Do you want to talk to your counsel? He seems to have something to tell you.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

MR. MILLER. Would you continue, sir?

MR. HÉBERT. The information that not only myself but every other member of this committee is trying to get—we are trying to get at the facts in this thing. We are trying to talk about it above the table as much as we possibly can.

For my own part there is no political implication in this hearing at all. I don't care whether they are Republicans, Democrats, New Dealers, or good southern Democrats with State's rights ideas. I am interested only in the facts. I don't care whom it hurts or where the chips fall. The only way we are going to get at the bottom of this whole thing—and I don't care whether these hearings go on for 10 years because they are timeless as far as I am concerned in the interest of the American people.

Now, are we going to have to sit here and drag everything out of an intelligent man like you when you know what we want to get? We will have to stay here for weeks on end, and I will stay here for weeks on end.

Now, what was your conversation with Silvermaster discussing the Russian system of government?

Mr. MILLER. I have said, sir, there was not one conversation. I am trying to give you the purport of casual remarks here and there over a long period of time. I knew he didn't like the czarist government. I knew he didn't like conditions under it.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did you tell him?

Mr. MILLER. I told him from what I had known about the czarist government it wasn't very good.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did you tell him about what you knew about the Communist government? You were living there.

Mr. MILLER. We didn't discuss it much.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you mean to tell me that in the social conversations, the general conversation, that you just flung aside your experience and your impressions of the Communist government after 2½ years of living there with a man who had fled the country because he didn't like the czarist regime?

Mr. MILLER. We didn't cast them aside, sir. They just didn't come up much.

Mr. HÉBERT. How long did you know Silvermaster?

Mr. MILLER. Well, as I say, I first met him in 1945, I believe. We were neighbors. We talked about our gardens, we talked about our houses, we talked about my children. I got a bunch of raspberry plants from him. We exchanged cooking recipes.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you ever talk about photography?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Never talked about that?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. You still never discussed something which an intellectual of your level would certainly consider important and certainly as a member of the State Department involved in all these matters, you could certainly have a personal opinion without revealing any of your official activities. You talked about Washington political gossip, as you said.

Mr. MILLER. I said that was one of the subjects with Miss Bentley. I wouldn't say we did with Mr. Silvermaster, too.

Mr. HÉBERT. You made it general, that everybody in Washington was talking about it, so you included Silvermaster in that, too. Everybody, you said. You didn't get into a real discussion with him about the relative merits of the two systems of government or the conditions since he had left and you were there?

Mr. MILLER. He was against the czarist system.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did he say he liked the communistic system?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Your wife worked on the Moscow Daily News; is that right?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. How long did she work on the Moscow Daily News?

Mr. MILLER. I don't remember, sir. I think it was about a year. She was not working there when we met. She was discharged for frivolity.

Mr. HÉBERT. She was discharged for frivolity?

Mr. MILLER. She was considered to be too much of a gay American who wanted fun.

Mr. HÉBERT. How did she get to Russia? Why did she go there?

Mr. MILLER. She went there during the depression because she was interested in dancing. She considered the Russians had the best ballet in the world.

Mr. HÉBERT. Would that be associated with the Academy of—Mr. Stripling, what is the name of that science academy?

Mr. STRIPLING. Academy of Science.

Mr. HÉBERT. The Academy of Science. What is that in Russia?

Mr. MILLER. I frankly know very little about it. It is, I suppose, an organization where guidance is given in all kinds of scientific procedure.

Mr. HÉBERT. Was she a member of that academy?

Mr. MILLER. Lord, no. The ballet had nothing to do with that.

Mr. McDOWELL. I didn't get the answer.

Mr. MILLER. I said, no; she certainly had nothing to do with that. Some people would say that the ballet is a science, but I don't think she would.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did she have any connection at all with the Academy of Science.

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know what the Academy of Science in Russia is?

Mr. MILLER. Only as a name which I assume means an organization which is something like the one we have in this country where leading men in science are employed to give guidance and that sort of thing all over the country. I don't know a damned thing about it.

Mr. HÉBERT. In your two and a half years in Russia, you mean your inquisitiveness as a newspaper reporter wouldn't lead you to find out what everything means in Russia, what is going on in Russia?

Mr. MILLER. Good gracious, sir; it is a big country. I applied myself quite diligently, I think, to learning as much as I could. I just didn't happen to hit the Academy of Science.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did you learn about Russia, then?

Let's see how much you did learn while you were there.

Mr. MILLER. That is an almost impossible question.

Mr. HÉBERT. No; it is not impossible.

Mr. MILLER. I left there in 1936. Since then I have done a great many things and specialized in a great many other areas, and to ask me at this date what I learned about Russia when I was there is a pretty big order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to interject at this point. It is not clear to the Chair just what this type of questioning is leading up to and whether it is in line with the investigation and the hearings we have going on, the question of espionage.

Mr. HÉBERT. I think it is very pertinent, Mr. Chairman. I am trying to draw from a very reluctant witness his ideas on government. I am trying to draw from a reluctant witness his associations with people who were known Communists. I am trying to draw from the



witness his association with people whose names have been mentioned in this connection as members of an espionage ring.

Mr. MILLER. Just a minute, sir.

(Consultation between Mr. Miller and Mr. Bakerman.)

Mr. MILLER. In connection with each name you have asked me, whether I knew them, and I answered. I have not, knowingly, associated with known Communists at any time.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am trying to elicit also from the witness exactly what the conversations were, to develop just how far their opinions clashed or did not clash or agree.

Who was your partner in the publication of this letter?

Mr. MILLER. Jack B. Fahy.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is that the same Jack B. Fahy who was a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. MILLER. It was, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know what the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is it?

Mr. MILLER. It was an organization of men in this country who were stirred by what was happening in Spain and went over there to fight for the Republican government.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know that the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is listed as a front organization for the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I know that the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are so listed.

Mr. HÉBERT. Is that the same outfit Mr. Fahy belonged to?

Mr. MILLER. The brigade and the veterans would be two different organizations. I am not trying to evade this question at all. I don't know that the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at the time it was operating in Spain was listed as a subversive organization.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you know that the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was listed as a subversive organization, or rather a front for the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, long after the war in Spain ended, the veterans thereof—so far as I know. I haven't paid much attention to it. I have had no connection with it of any kind.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did Mr. Fahy's political background have any interest to you?

Mr. MILLER. I was in favor of what he did in Spain; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you discuss it with him?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Very much?

Mr. MILLER. Fairly often. You don't discuss a subject and then come back and discuss it again once a month. We discussed it on several occasions and then it was just left.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is your reply to the recommendation for your dismissal from the State Department, which the chief investigator read to you?

Mr. MILLER. I made clear, sir, that I asked whether there was any such memorandum at the time I left, and received no reply. I am very greatly surprised to hear this memorandum read today. I didn't know of its existence.

Mr. HÉBERT. Whom did you ask?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I will have to try and remember.

Mr. HÉBERT. Wouldn't that be an important event in your life, to be charged with something like that?

Mr. MILLER. Sure.

Mr. HÉBERT. And you would remember the individual you talked to about it?

Mr. MILLER. I asked Mr. Bannerman the last time I saw him what disposition had been made of the case, and he told me it had been forwarded to Donald Russell, the Assistant Secretary.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you ask him what that report contained?

Mr. MILLER. It would have been improper to have asked him that, sir, and it would have been improper for him to reply because, as the State Department is set up, action of that kind comes from the highest administrative authority directly to the employee. I didn't know about that memo.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is your reaction to it right now, that you know such a recommendation was made?

Mr. MILLER. I regret it very greatly and do not consider it justified.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you say that you were married in New York City?

Mr. MILLER. Did I say?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. No, I was not.

Mr. MUNDT. You said your wife was born in New York?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. Where were you married?

Mr. MILLER. In Moscow, Russia.

Mr. MUNDT. Is your wife, or has your wife ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Certainly not, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Have you ever belonged to any of the front organizations which the Attorney General has listed from time to time as being subversive?

Mr. MILLER. Absolutely none.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you believe that a man can be a member of the Communist Party and be a loyal American citizen at one and the same time?

Mr. MILLER. I frankly hadn't contemplated that question, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you contemplate it now?

(Consultation was had between Mr. Miller and Mr. Bakerman.)

Mr. MUNDT. Your counsel will help you contemplate it.

Mr. MILLER. It would seem to me to be the sort of question you couldn't very well answer off the cuff like that.

Mr. MUNDT. You lived in Russia for two and a half years. I have been there just a little over a month. I can answer it very quickly from my experience over there. I would think in the time you have been there you would now know after all these years the answer one way or the other; or at least, perhaps to say that you don't know whether you can answer.

Mr. MILLER. No; I don't know that the question would necessarily refer to Russia.

Mr. MUNDT. All right, forget Russia. Do you think a man can belong to the Communist Party of the United States and still be a loyal American citizen?

Mr. MILLER. I can conceive of that; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Have you known any people who were at one and the same time loyal American citizens and members of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. MUNDT. You have never known a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you ever talk to any people in Russia whom you thought might be Communists?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, sure, I thought you were talking about here.

Mr. MUNDT. I did mean here. On the basis of your background of information in Russia and your knowledge of life in the United States, you believe it is possible then to be a loyal American citizen and a Communist here at the same time?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; I said I can conceive of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the answer?

Mr. MILLER. I said I can conceive of that happening.

Mr. MUNDT. What is the nature of the public-relations position and work which you now do? Do you represent a foreign country? Do you represent a firm of exporters and importers, or what is the nature of it?

Mr. MILLER. It is a general public-relations firm and I am an executive. I have general responsibility for such accounts as are assigned to me.

Mr. MUNDT. You handle contracts with such companies as American Tobacco Co. or General Motors?

Mr. MILLER. Those don't happen to be our clients; no.

Mr. MUNDT. Could you name a few of your clients?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think you should name them.

Mr. MUNDT. If it isn't confidential; if it is, that is different.

The CHAIRMAN. If he names his contracts, he just opens up the firm.

Mr. MUNDT. Let me rephrase the question. Have you ever represented any foreign governments with your firm?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Which ones?

Mr. MILLER. Well, along the line of Mr. Thomas' observation, need I answer that question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; a foreign government, that is all right. It is a matter of public record in the Justice Department.

Mr. MUNDT. May I have it?

Mr. MILLER. The account I worked for is the Dutch Government.

Mr. MUNDT. The Dutch Government?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. That is the only one for which your firm is registered?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Feltus personally has done work for the Polish Government. However, by explicit arrangement with him, which is also stated in writing in the registration with the Department of Justice, I have nothing to do with that account whatever.

Mr. MUNDT. In your registration statement are any other governments mentioned?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that the same public-relations firm that handled the public relations for the Bretton Woods program?

Mr. MILLER. I don't think—well, the answer would be “No.” Mr. Feltus was in the Government at that time and didn't have a lot to do with that. He was a Government employe and had no firm of his own. Whether there were outside firms retained to help on that work, I frankly don't know. That is sometimes done. But if it did happen, it wouldn't have been his firm because his firm wasn't established at that time.

Mr. MUNDT. The Polish Government, for which your partner or associate worked, as a registered agent for a foreign government from a public relations standpoint—is that the present Polish Government or the one that preceded the present government?

Mr. MILLER. The present Polish Government in Washington.

Mr. MUNDT. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other member have any questions at this point?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to know the names of the newspapers you worked for while in Moscow.

Mr. MILLER. I can't give them all to you absolutely chronologically without referring to my records, but the most important were the Manchester Guardian, London Daily Herald, Reuters News Agency, Chattanooga News. I also wrote a few articles for the Baltimore Sun.

Mr. McDOWELL. I believe you testified you did not work for the Moscow Daily News.

Mr. MILLER. No, indeed, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Were you ever in the building, the editorial offices, of the Moscow Daily News?

Mr. MILLER. On a few rare occasions.

Mr. McDOWELL. You never received any money from them?

Mr. MILLER. Any money?

Mr. McDOWELL. Any money.

Mr. MILLER. No; I never did anything for them.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. No more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Miller.

Mr. Stripling, do you want this witness to stay under subpoena?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The first witness tomorrow morning will be Mr. Henry Collins. The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:40 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
AND THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building. Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present (subcommittee): Representatives J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), John McDowell, and F. Edward Hébert.

Committee members present (full committee): Representatives Thomas (chairman), Mundt, McDowell, Nixon, and Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, investigator; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. Everyone will please take their seats.

The record will show that the subcommittee is sitting. Those present are: Mr. McDowell, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas, a quorum of the subcommittee which is present.

The Chair has this announcement to make. The witnesses Thursday will be George Silverman, Charles Kramer, and two witnesses we are now attempting to serve.

The witnesses Friday will be Harry Dexter White, Lauchlin Currie, Donald Hiss, Dr. and Mrs. Bela Gold, and Frank Coe.

There will probably be a meeting on Saturday.

The Chair also wishes to announce that a subcommittee will leave tomorrow for New York to hear the testimony of the Samarines in executive session in New York. That subcommittee will consist of Mr. Mundt, Mr. McDowell, and Mr. Hébert.

The first witness today will be Henry H. Collins.

Mr. Collins, will you be sworn? Will you please raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COLLINS. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Collins, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. COLLINS. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you have your counsel identify himself, please?

Mr. LAMBERTON. Harry C. Lambertson of the District of Columbia bar.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your address, Mr. Lambertson?

Mr. LAMBERTON. 1645 Connecticut Avenue.

### TESTIMONY OF HENRY H. COLLINS

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Collins, will you please state your full name and present address?

Mr. COLLINS. Henry H. Collins, Jr., 58 Park Avenue, New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. COLLINS. Executive director of American Russian Institute.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been executive director of the American Russian Institute?

Mr. COLLINS. About 6 months.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your employment prior to your going to the Russian institute?

Mr. COLLINS. I have been employed in the Federal Government for about 15 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the committee chronologically in order your Federal service?

Mr. COLLINS. May I read a statement at this time, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. I think it would be better, Mr. Collins, if you would further identify yourself and give the committee the background information as to your Federal employment. They will permit you to read your statement at that time.

Mr. COLLINS. My Federal employment started late in 1933 with the National Recovery Administration. In 1935, I went with the Soil Conservation Service; in 1938, I think, I went with the Department of Labor in the Wage and Hour Division. From there, I was loaned to the House Committee on the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, and later to the Senate Committee on Small Business, and subsequently to the Kilgore committee, a subcommittee of the Military Affairs Committee on war mobilization. From there, I received a commission and went into the School of Military Government at Charlottesville and was shortly sent overseas and spent 2 years in the European theater, in England, France, and Germany.

Mr. STRIPLING. What commission did you receive?

Mr. COLLINS. Captain.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that the highest rank you obtained?

Mr. COLLINS. Major.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you were discharged as a major?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a major in the Reserves at this time?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go on with any other questions, the Chair would like to state to this witness that we expect you to cooperate. This is a committee of Congress, a committee investigating espionage in the United States, one of the most serious things that we could be investigating.

We want the cooperation of everyone, not only those in the Government and the people on the street, but we want the cooperation particularly of the witnesses, and you will be cooperating if you will be very frank in your answers; and if you are not frank in your answers, you will not be cooperating with a committee of Congress.

Do you understand that?

MR. COLLINS. Yes, sir. It is for that reason I should like to read a statement at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to have patience with you, but at the same time we want frank and honest answers from you.

Now, you go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

MR. COLLINS. May I read my statement at this time, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Have you identified the witness?

MR. STRIPLING. I would like to ask him several questions before he reads the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Collins, on August 3 the Committee on Un-American Activities received the testimony of a gentleman by the name of Whittaker Chambers. During the course of his testimony he stated that you were a member of the Communist Party, that you were a member of the Communist apparatus which operated within the Government during the period of 1935. I show you a picture of Whittaker Chambers, and I ask you if you know this individual [showing Mr. Collins a photograph].

MR. CHAIRMAN. This is a picture taken by the Associated Press, which appeared in the New York Times of August 4, captioned: "Whittaker Chambers telling the House committee he was a Communist from 1924 to 1937."

Do you know this individual?

MR. COLLINS. I cannot recognize that man.

MR. STRIPLING. You cannot recognize this man? Did you ever know anybody by the name of Whittaker Chambers?

MR. COLLINS. I never knew a man by the name of Whittaker Chambers.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual known to you as Carl in 1935?

MR. COLLINS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt?

MR. STRIPLING. Did Carl resemble this picture?

MR. COLLINS. I cannot recognize anybody in that picture.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, for the record, I would like to state that the picture of Mr. Chambers shows that he is much heavier than he was in 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. First of all, the record will show that Mr. Mundt is present and Mr. Nixon is present, and a quorum of the full committee is present.

(At this point the subcommittee merged into the full committee and the proceedings continued as follows:)

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Collins, did you ever live at St. Matthews Court in Washington, D. C.?

MR. COLLINS. I did.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet John Abt at this apartment?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Alger Hiss at that apartment?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Lee Pressman at that apartment?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual known to you as Carl?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. What is the reason you have to give—you will have to give the reason; you cannot say "the same reason."

MR. COLLINS. The reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual known to you only as Carl at that apartment?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual by the name of Donald Hiss at that apartment?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that it might incriminate me.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual known to you as J. Peters or Alexander Stevens or Isidore Boorstein at that apartment?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate me.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual by the name of Victor Perlo at that apartment?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that it might incriminate me.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual by the name of Charles Kramer at that apartment?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

MR. STRIPLING. You refuse to state whether or not you ever have been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. COLLINS. I do.

MR. HÉBERT. On what ground?

MR. COLLINS. On the ground of possible self-incrimination.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet in the apartment of Alger Hiss on P Street in Georgetown in 1935?

MR. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

MR. STRIPLING. May we have your statement now, Mr. Collins?

The CHAIRMAN. Let there be order.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, before the witness reads his statement, I would like to clarify one point. This committee took testimony from Whittaker Chambers in New York in executive session last Saturday, at which time Whittaker Chambers stated that at the time he was acting as courier for the Communist apparatus operating between New York and Washington, that he was not known in party circles as Whittaker Chambers; that he went under the name of Carl.

In the light of that testimony, Mr. Collins, I ask you, did you ever know an individual known to you as Carl in 1935 or 1936?



Mr. COLLINS. I decline to answer that question on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. STRIPLING. I ask that the witness be permitted to read his statement at this time.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Stripling, I would like to ask the witness to state again, to the question: Did you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. COLLINS. I do not.

Mr. HÉBERT. I direct the committee's attention to the fact that the witness unhesitatingly says he does not know a man by the name of Whittaker Chambers as a name under suspicion in the Communist apparatus; but the witness then refuses to testify as to the name of Carl, which is admittedly the code name of Mr. Chambers, and it was not made public knowledge until Mr. Stripling just made it. So the witness did know why he would not answer to the name of Carl, and he would have no other way of knowing it except that it was a code name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you read your statement now, Mr. Collins?

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman, my name is Henry H. Collins, Jr. I was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1905. The first I knew that my name, or a name similar to mine, had attracted the attention of your committee was when I read the newspapers last week. I do not remember ever having met any man named Whittaker Chambers. I have never engaged in espionage for, nor been an agent of, a foreign power. I do not believe in the overthrow of the Government by force or violence, or by any other means. As far as I know, I have never violated any law of the United States. On the contrary, I have endeavored to the best of my ability conscientiously and actively to serve my country both in peace and war.

Hence my public career of some 15 years. This began under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose progressive social ideals I espoused and worked for. Prior to that time I was in private business. My ancestors came from England to this country in 1640. Members of my family have served our country in every war since the Revolution, when one of my great-uncles was an aide to Washington. I myself volunteered in the last war and spent 2 years in the European theater. I received a commendation for my work in the Battle of the Bulge, three ribbons, and five battle stars.

My support of the policies of Mr. Roosevelt is well known, as are my politics, and my party affiliation is registered properly and I hope privately in the courthouse of the county where I vote. My chief outside hobby for the past 10 years has been abolition of the poll tax. Any system that sends a man to Congress with the votes of only 2 percent of his people does more to undermine Americanism in this country than anything I know of. To try to correct this evil I have offered testimony before House and Senate committees over the past 10 years, and I shall be glad to do so again. I trust this blot on our country will be outlawed by the next Congress.

I request the fact that my name and the names of others have been defamed by the unfair methods of this committee in publicizing irresponsible accusations. Every person mentioned in these hearings is pilloried in the headlines from coast to coast even if his connection with an accuser or an accused is as casual or social as was the visit of the member of this committee who was a dinner guest at my home.

I do not believe that a person can effectively protect his good name before this committee in view of its tactics.

On advice of counsel I shall refuse to answer questions regarding the accusations which have been made against me and shall rest on the constitutional rights of every American guaranteed by the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to review the record a little bit, Mr. Collins. You were born in Philadelphia?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You lived in Philadelphia up to what time?

Mr. COLLINS. 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. 1933. What is your educational background?

Mr. COLLINS. I went to Princeton and Harvard.

The CHAIRMAN. You need not be mad about it. Princeton and Harvard are pretty good places. [Laughter.]

After you graduated from Harvard, what was your business?

Mr. COLLINS. I went into business in Philadelphia in the Collins Manufacturing Co. I was there for 5 years.

The CHAIRMAN. And you left them when?

Mr. COLLINS. 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. 1933. Then what did you do after that?

Mr. COLLINS. Then I went with the NRA in late 1933, and was with them until 1935, when the NRA was invalidated by the Supreme Court decision, you will remember, and then I went to the Soil Conservation Service in the Department of Agriculture and was there until 1938, I think.

Then I was with the Department of Labor for from 1938 on until I was loaned to the House committee, which I mentioned earlier, the House Committee on Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the chairman of that committee?

Mr. COLLINS. Congressman John H. Tolan, Congressman from California.

The CHAIRMAN. And you said you stayed with them until, how long?

Mr. COLLINS. I stayed with them until 1941. Then I went with the Senate Small Business Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the chairman of that committee?

Mr. COLLINS. Senator James E. Murray, of Montana.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, after that, what did you do?

Mr. COLLINS. I went to the Kilgore committee.

The CHAIRMAN. After that, what did you do?

Mr. COLLINS. I went to the Army, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. After you left the Army, what did you do?

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of work did you do in the State Department?

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do in the State Department?

Mr. COLLINS. I was on loan there for about 5 months.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of work did you do in the State Department?

Mr. COLLINS. Dealt with displaced persons.

The CHAIRMAN. Displaced persons?

Mr. COLLINS. The same kind of work I had done in the Army.

The CHAIRMAN. After you left the State Department, what did you do?

Mr. COLLINS. I was sent on a mission by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to the River Platte countries, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil, in an effort to solicit their cooperation in accepting displaced persons.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay there?

Mr. COLLINS. Well, I was in that committee work for about 6 months.

The CHAIRMAN. After that, what did you do?

Mr. COLLINS. Free-lance writing.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "free-lance" writing? What kind of writing?

Mr. COLLINS. Writing a book and articles.

The CHAIRMAN. Book on what subject?

Mr. COLLINS. A handbook on world elections.

The CHAIRMAN. What organizations have you belonged to over this period of time?

Mr. COLLINS. On the advice of counsel, sir, I decline to answer that on the grounds that any answers that I give might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you belong—let me ask you the names of some of the organizations.

Do you belong to the American Legion?

Mr. COLLINS. On the advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Just tell the committee why you do not care to answer whether or not you belong to the American Legion?

Mr. COLLINS. Because, sir, I cannot answer any questions regarding membership in organizations on the grounds that they might incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please explain to me how it will incriminate you by admitting that you are a member of the American Legion?

Mr. COLLINS. Sir, I cannot go further than my past answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot go further, or you won't go further?

Mr. COLLINS. I cannot answer that question, sir, on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. That would incriminate you? It is a hopeless situation.

Go ahead, Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Collins, were you ever investigated by the FBI for loyalty?

Mr. COLLINS. I do not know, sir. I was called down and interviewed by them about 6 years ago, I think.

Mr. HÉBERT. You know what that interview was. What was it?

Mr. COLLINS. Well, it is in the record.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am not asking for the record. I am asking you.

Mr. COLLINS. Sir, I do not think I understand the question.

Mr. HÉBERT. What was the interview about that you had with the FBI 6 years ago?

Mr. COLLINS. Well, it was on the question of some section of the law that required them to interview Government employees at that time.

Mr. HÉBERT. What section of the law?

Mr. COLLINS. I do not know, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. What questions did they ask you?

Mr. COLLINS. Well, I cannot remember. It was a long time ago, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did they ask you about your connection with certain organizations in Government—I mean outside of Government, but certain organizations in the country?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes; that is the kind of questions that they asked.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did they ask you about any communistic activity?

Mr. COLLINS. I do not remember, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. A man who is so interested in free elections would not know if he were asked whether he had any communistic tendencies or communistic connections?

Mr. COLLINS. Six years ago is a long time. I cannot remember what the questions were.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, about 6 years ago you were worried about free elections. In other words, Mr. Collins, your attitude is you answer when you want to, and when it embarrasses—

Mr. COLLINS. I sincerely do not know what the questions were, sir. You can get the record from the FBI if you like.

Mr. HÉBERT. That was before the war?

Mr. COLLINS. It was before I went into the war; it was in 1942, something like that.

Mr. HÉBERT. You made the statement that you did not want to answer questions because they may tend to incriminate you. You did not want to answer questions of the chairman relative to your organizations. Is that your same attitude relative to individuals?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why then did you readily say you never knew a man named Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. COLLINS. Because that was a name that was used in the accusations in the newspapers. I never knew a man named Whittaker Chambers, so I thought I was entitled to say so.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, it is in the record that you knew a man named Carl. Why do you not answer that question?

The CHAIRMAN. Are you consulting with counsel now for advice?

Mr. COLLINS. Not now, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you just were?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I want the record to show that he consulted with counsel.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why won't you say whether you know Carl or not? That is in the record.

Mr. COLLINS. For the same reason, sir, that I refuse to answer any questions about knowing any individuals at this time in connection with these accusations.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you just said you did not know Whittaker Chambers. You are blowing hot and cold. Which way do you want to blow, hot or cold? We have heard a lot of talking out of both sides of the mouth on this, so we may as well give you a chance to do it. It is a great acrobatic feat.

How do you justify, then, saying you do not know Whittaker Chambers? You did answer that question.

Mr. COLLINS. I just go back to my previous statements, sir, in connection with that.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then you cannot justify it. You said you did not want to identify individuals who were in the record because it may tend to incriminate you. The name of Whittaker Chambers is in the record, and you unhesitatingly said that you did not know an individual by the name of Whittaker Chambers. And in the next breath you were asked if you knew a man by the name of Carl and you refused to answer on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate you. Now, we point out that Carl and Whittaker Chambers are one and the same man. Now, which attitude do you want to take?

Mr. COLLINS. I rest on my statement.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is that?

Mr. COLLINS. I shall rest on my statement.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is the statement?

Mr. COLLINS. I just read it to you, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. My mind is very slow. I cannot remember these things too long.

Mr. COLLINS. Shall I read it again?

Mr. HÉBERT. Certainly. We want the record to show that.

Mr. COLLINS. My name is Henry H. Collins, Jr.

Mr. HÉBERT. I do not mean that. You know what I mean, Mr. Collins. Now, what I mean is—you know what I mean. Will you answer the question now?

Mr. COLLINS. I do not remember ever having met any man named Whittaker Chambers. I have never engaged in espionage or—

Mr. HÉBERT. Never mind; that is enough.

Now, why do you refuse to say whether you know Alger Hiss or not? He has made no accusations against you.

Mr. COLLINS. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. HÉBERT. All right, Mr. Chairman; the record is made and it speaks for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I was called out, and I did not hear the witness' testimony, so I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. These fellows are all alike.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Collins, as I understand your answer in regard to Mr. Hébert's question concerning Whittaker Chambers, it was that you were willing to answer the question regarding Whittaker Chambers because it was Whittaker Chambers who had made the charges; is that correct? In other words, that is why you answered the question as to whether or not you knew Whittaker Chambers, because that was the name of the man who was supposed to have made the charges concerning you. Do I understand you correctly on that point?

Mr. COLLINS. I think so, sir. Will you go on with your question?

Mr. NIXON. Well, it is true that Whittaker Chambers was the man who appeared before this committee, and under sworn testimony made certain charges of which you were aware. The question was asked you as to whether or not you knew Whittaker Chambers, and both in answer to that question and in your statement you stated that you did not.

Now, it appears this morning that the man who made the charges was known not only as Whittaker Chambers, but was known as Carl,

and the committee wants to give you an opportunity now to indicate whether or not you know a man by the name of Carl, since it is, as I say, the record shows that Whittaker Chambers, also known as Carl, is the man who made the charges. Now, you stated that you did not know Whittaker Chambers. Do you also wish to state that you did not know a man by the name of Carl between the years of 1935 and 1936?

Mr. COLLINS. As I said, on that I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. NIXON. The man Carl, known as Carl, between 1935 and 1936, made the accusations against you before this committee; and I understand your testimony is now that you refuse to answer the question as to whether or not you knew this man Carl, also known as Whittaker Chambers, who made these charges; is that correct?

Mr. COLLINS. If I understand you correctly, sir; yes.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to keep this witness under subpoena?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused, Mr. Collins.

The next witness, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Elizabeth T. Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Bentley. While we are waiting for Miss Bentley the committee will stand in recess.

(Short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Miss Bentley, will you take the witness stand, please?

Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BENTLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

#### TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, when did you first go to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Miss BENTLEY. Sometime in the latter part of August 1945. I believe it was around the 21st or the 22d.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you report to the FBI?

Miss BENTLEY. I went to the field office of the FBI in New Haven, Conn.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did you go to New Haven?

Miss BENTLEY. I was quite terrified then of Russian agents, and I thought that it would be much too conspicuous to go into either the Washington office or the New York office.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you went to the agents of the FBI, did you subsequently receive a sum of money from an official of the Russian Government?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Approximately when did you receive this money, and where?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say it was approximately around October 17, 1945, and it was on a street corner, I believe at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Tenth Street, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. And who handed you this money?

Miss BENTLEY. This money was handed to me by a person whom I knew at that time as Al.

Mr. STRIPLING. Had you previously met Al?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I had first met Al in the latter part of October 1944, in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet him in Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. At a drug store at the corner of Wisconsin Avenue and N Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were the circumstances of this meeting with Al in Georgetown?

Miss BENTLEY. The meeting had been arranged between Al and myself by my contact at that time, whose name was Jack, and he had made arrangements that I would carry a copy of Time magazine, wear a hat with a red rose on it, as I recall, and Al would come up to me and say, "Aren't you the Mary I knew in such-and-such a place?" and I would say, "Yes."

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you subsequently meet him in Washington at any other time?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I had met him three or four other times in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the purpose of these meetings in Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. The purpose of these meetings was that I had asked Jack to contact me with a higher up leader, as I guess you would call it, in the espionage ring.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did you want to meet someone higher up in the espionage ring?

Miss BENTLEY. Because I wanted to straighten out the whole matter of this espionage ring, and see if I could get myself and others somehow out of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you later meet Al in New York prior to receiving this money?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I think I first met Al in New York, which was around about sometime the middle of November 1944; and I met him on Broadway in front of a movie theater around about One Hundred and Third Street, I think it was.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the purpose of that meeting?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, that meeting was definitely arranged by Al through the contact which I was seeing every week or two, whom I mentioned before, whose name was Jack, and Jack informed me that Al had some very good news for me, and he said, "He wants to see you and tell you personally." He said, "You will be very thrilled by it, and I do not want to spoil his surprise."

Mr. STRIPLING. You met him at that time?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did. I met him in front of the theater and we started walking toward Riverside Drive.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did he tell you?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, he made a long speech, which I cannot remember all of, to the effect that the supreme presidium of the U. S. S. R.

on November 7 had awarded me the Order of the Red Star. This was in reward for my extremely valuable services to the Soviet Union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he show you the Red Star or the award?

Miss BENTLEY. No; at that time he said it had not been sent from Russia, but he did have in his pocket a colored picture of the Red Star, which he had torn out of some American magazine—I do not know which one—and he showed that to me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he show you any other notice or registry regarding the award?

Miss BENTLEY. Not at that time, but I would say, roughly, 2 months later, he turned up with the Red Star in a little box and showed it to me, let me look at it, and at the same time showed me a little book—I guess it was about this size [indicating]—which had my name inside in Russian, and opposite it in Russian the Order of the Red Star and the date.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you received this money from Al, you still did not know who he was?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I did not; not at that time; no.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did he tell you when he gave you the money?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, it rather dates back quite a time before that, because from January and February 1944 on my Russian contacts—either Bill or Jack, or later Al—had been trying to pay me off—I guess is the expression—and had been persistently chasing me to take a salary as a member of the organization. I had refused and then they temporarily sidetracked onto trying to give me a fur coat and an air-conditioning machine, and then, with the advent of Al, had tried, as I suppose, to bribe me with the Red Star.

But a few months after the Red Star, Al again had started asking me to the effect that I must be a traitor, that there was something wrong with me, because I would not accept my salary, and he told me that this salary, although I refused it, was piling up in Moscow on my behalf.

At the time I received the money he had been fairly persistent in the last few meetings, and at this meeting I met him on the corner of Twenty-third Street and Eighth Avenue, near that Bickford's cafeteria there, and he immediately took me on a long trek toward the docks in a very deserted region of New York.

The day previously I had spoken to the FBI agent I was in contact with, had informed him I was meeting this Russian agent, and had asked for instructions. He said, "Keep in contact with him; don't let him know that you are suspicious, and do anything which is necessary to keep in touch with us so that we can continue with the job we are doing." Neither he nor I knew that Al would turn up with \$2,000.

We walked along the water front; I was quite upset, because I assumed, and I am quite sure I am correct, that I did have some of the FBI agents behind to protect me, but nevertheless it was deserted, and I was terribly upset by being alone with him there. He kept pressing me and told me that unless I accepted the money that he had in his pocket that he would consider me a traitor, and I knew what that meant.

Finally, I got him away from the dock region, as far as Tenth Street and Fourth Street, and he gave me the money. I gave him a receipt for it.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of a receipt did you give him?



Miss BENTLEY. He had brought it to me in one of these envelopes, No. 10 envelopes, and I tore off one corner of it, wrote the date, "received \$2,000," and signed it "Mary."

Mr. STRIPLING. What denomination of bills was this money?

Miss BENTLEY. Twenty-dollar bills.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not the FBI agents observed this transaction?

Miss BENTLEY. I have every reason to believe they did. They have not told me so, but they have not told me lots of other things, of course.

Mr. STRIPLING. What happened after you received the \$2,000?

Miss BENTLEY. After I received the \$2,000, I put it in the safe at my office, and then turned it over to the FBI.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you turn it over to two agents?

Miss BENTLEY. I turned it over to two agents who transferred it into a separate envelope, and countersigned their names on it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you later meet Al again?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. The last time I met Al was November 20.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did that meeting take place?

Miss BENTLEY. At the same place, Twenty-third Street and Eighth Avenue, in front of that Bickford's Cafeteria.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were FBI agents present at that time?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I observed some of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Al aware that he was under surveillance?

Miss BENTLEY. I do not believe so, because it has been the policy of Russian agents never to meet anyone when they believe that that person is under surveillance.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see him again after that?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I did not. I had an appointment with him at about January 20 of the following year, and he never appeared.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you later identify this Al?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. And who was he?

Miss BENTLEY. His name was Anatol Gromov, and he was a successively second secretary and first secretary, I understand, of the Russian Embassy.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you spell that, please?

Miss BENTLEY. I believe it is spelled A-n-a-t-o-l and the last name, I believe, is G-r-o-m-o-v.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. You said, Miss Bentley, this first secretary offered you, among other things, an air-conditioning machine.

Miss BENTLEY. No; that was his predecessor, Mr. McDowell, the one I knew as Bill, who offered me the air-conditioning machine.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is a rather odd gift. Why would he offer that?

Miss BENTLEY. Because it was a very hot summer, and I had been complaining of the heat, and he said, "Now, I have a friend who has an air-conditioning machine. Why don't you let him get it for you?"

Mr. McDOWELL. Also, you said, Miss Bentley, that he said if you did not accept this money you would be considered a traitor.

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. McDOWELL. And you said, "I know what that meant." What did that mean?

Miss BENTLEY. When you are considered a traitor, it means that you are in rather grave danger. That was a threat against me.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you, Miss Bentley. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you ever accept any money from the Russians at any other time besides this \$2,000?

Miss BENTLEY. No; the only money I ever had from them was for actual expenses, railroad fare.

Mr. MUNDT. As I understand it, at that time your means of livelihood was employment in Russian shipping; was that it?

Miss BENTLEY. No; it was an American corporation set up as a source of income, and I think you would call it, for the Communist Party. But it was run as a legitimate business.

Mr. MUNDT. What was the name of that?

Miss BENTLEY. The U. S. Service & Shipping Corp.

Mr. MUNDT. What was your salary from that corporation?

Miss BENTLEY. It varied. I think at about in 1945 it was around \$300, or \$350, or \$400 a month. In the lean years I had a very low salary, and when, as it picked up, why, my salary became better.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Miss Bentley, you received this money from the Russian agent?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. At that time, you were acting under instructions and in full cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is right. In fact, that was the only consideration under which I would have taken the money.

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, you received your instructions on how to conduct yourself in your continuous contacts with the Russian agents from the FBI.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. And in meeting the agent, why, you were carrying out the instructions of the FBI.

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, to give the FBI an opportunity to establish contact and tangible evidence.

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct. I worked for them over a year and a half after that in an attempt to do something about this matter.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, where is the \$2,000, so far as you know?

Miss BENTLEY. As far as I know it is in the hands of the Government.

Mr. HÉBERT. It has never been returned to you?

Miss BENTLEY. It has never been returned to me; no.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I have one other question.

In view of the fact that some of the witnesses have endeavored to cast doubt upon the credibility of Miss Bentley's testimony, I think it is

tremendously important to recognize that we now have something tangible in which everybody concerned can set his teeth. Two thousand dollars is a tangible sum of money. It either has been handed by Miss Bentley to the FBI or it has not. That is a matter of record.

I am not going to ask you to name the agents to whom you handed this money, Miss Bentley, because I realize that the FBI agents operate without benefit of the spotlight of publicity.

I will ask you this, however: Would you be able, if necessary, to name the two agents to whom you handed—the two agents of the FBI—to whom you handed the \$2,000?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I would be able to do that.

MR. MUNDT. You would be able to do that?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I would.

MR. MUNDT. So that we can confirm that definitely and specifically?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I think if you will get in contact with the FBI, I think they can confirm that entire story; yes.

MR. MUNDT. Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN. Right on that point, the Chair would like to say that he has absolute confirmation that Miss Bentley took the \$2,000 and the \$2,000 were handed over to the FBI.

MR. NIXON.

MR. NIXON. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you have any further questions?

MR. STRIPLING. Not at this time.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything else you want to say?

MISS BENTLEY. Just one thing I did want to bring up, Mr. Chairman, and that is the question of these personal allegations that have been brought up against me by various witnesses before this committee.

I would like to make it completely clear that these allegations are false without any shadow of a doubt. I would also like to call the attention of the committee to the fact that any person who has left the Communist movement and has tried to expose it has been subject to a campaign of slander, which has, as its object, the discrediting of that witness' testimony.

I feel that I worked for a year and a half with the FBI on this story. From what they told me, there was no piece of evidence I gave them which they checked and found wrong. I feel that my story should stand on its own merits, and I feel that the facts will stand and speak for themselves.

MR. MUNDT. Do you know of any other former Communists who, having left the party, have been subjected to a campaign of slander similar to the one that the Communists are now launching against you?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; I do. I know that Mr. Budenz underwent the same thing, even to the point of where he was accused of stealing money from the Communist Party treasury, which was false; and even Mr. Browder, who left the Communist Party and did not attack it, was subjected to a campaign of the same type of slander that I have told you about.

THE CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

MR. NIXON. Miss Bentley, I understood you to say that in the year and a half that you have been working with the FBI, and in which the

FBI has attempted to find discrepancies in your story, they have never yet found a major discrepancy in anything that you have told them.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. NIXON. To date.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I have been told by several agents in the Bureau that they have never found a major discrepancy in any of the facts which I have told them, and which they have, of course, had a great opportunity to check.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Thank you, Miss Bentley. You are excused.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other witnesses?

Mr. STRIPLING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to announce again that the first witness tomorrow morning will be George Silverman; the second witness will be Charles Kramer; and the committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a. m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a. m. Thursday, August 12, 1948.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, AND THE FULL  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present (subcommittee): Representatives J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), John McDowell, and F. Edward Hébert.

Committee members present (full committee): Representatives Thomas (chairman), Mundt, McDowell, Nixon, and Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald Appell, investigators, and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The record will show that a subcommittee is sitting, consisting of Mr. McDowell, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas.

The Chair has two short announcements to make. One is that the Samarins will be heard by the full committee in executive session in Washington, D. C.

The second announcement is that the United States attorney for the District of Columbia visited our offices this morning, visited the offices voluntarily, and requested and obtained the complete testimony of these hearings.

The United States attorney, Mr. George Morris Fay, said, among other things, he was particularly interested in the perjury angle. I want to take this opportunity to compliment Mr. Fay, not only on his alertness and energy in coming to us without our having to get in touch with him, but also for the splendid record that he and his office have achieved over a period of the past years in bringing these Communists to trial, and bringing about almost and perhaps a unanimous record of convictions of all of the Communists that have been brought to trial. I think that his record stands out in Government, and certainly we can all be very proud of it.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, may I add to what you have said in connection with the request of the United States attorney for the District of Columbia in voluntarily coming into the office of the Committee on Un-American Activities to officially take cognizance of the fact that perjury has been committed during these hearings.

I think it most significant, and certainly a refreshing, new development from the Department of Justice, in taking cognizance that the law has been violated before this congressional committee and, too, I want to extend to Mr. Fay from this side of the Chair the highest commendation for his activity. If we got more and similar cooperation from other divisions of the Government that we are receiving in this instance from Mr. Fay, I am sure that the work of this committee would be expedited a great deal, and a great deal more would be accomplished, instead of stumbling blocks and obstacles, if we would have cooperation so that we could get to the bottom of this whole mess and we would get to the bottom of this whole mess, and it is indeed a mess, because I reiterate, as I pointed out the other day, that the important thing in this whole matter up to this point, the indisputable fact is, that perjury has been committed on this stand before a congressional committee.

Now, I do not know, and I do not presume to say, which witness is lying and which witness is telling the truth. But, I believe, the American public wants to know who is telling the truth. I am not taking the attitude of prosecuting, condemning, or finding a verdict at this time. I want to get at the facts which, I believe, every other member of the committee wants to get at, the facts in the case.

If any individual has been smeared who is innocent, I am sure this committee will do everything it can to remove that smear. The only way we can do it is in an open forum here, with everybody telling the truth, and I hope that these perjury charges are prosecuted to a decision.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, the first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Charles Kramer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kramer, raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KRAMER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

### TESTIMONY OF CHARLES KRAMER

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, will you please state your full name.

Mr. KRAMER. Charles Kramer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you speak into the microphone if you can, please.

Mr. KRAMER, you have previously appeared before this committee in executive session on July 2, 1948, have you not?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. You appeared at that time in response to a subpoena which had been served upon you?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And that subpoena was continued in force and effect, and you are appearing here this morning in response to that subpoena; is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, what is your present address?

Mr. KRAMER. Arlington, Va.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your business address?

Mr. KRAMER. 39 Park Avenue, New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. KRAMER. I do research work for the Progressive Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been associated with the Progressive Party?

Mr. KRAMER. Since March of this year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. KRAMER. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the committee a chronological résumé of your Federal employment?

Mr. KRAMER. I started with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in late 1933, worked with the Consumers Council of that department, and then helped set up the first farm-labor program under the Jones-Costigan Act, in the Department of Agriculture.

I then went to work for the National Youth Administration in 1935, and helped set up their student-aid and work-assistance programs. I then worked as an investigator for the Senate Subcommittee on Civil Liberties for a year.

Mr. STRIPLING. During what period?

Mr. KRAMER. 1936 to 1937. Then, after a lapse of about 8 months. I worked for the National Labor Relations Board in carrying out the Wagner Act. After that I worked for the Office of Price Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year did you go to the—what was the date that you went to the OPA?

Mr. KRAMER. In 1942. I worked there from 1942 to 1943. In 1943 I went to work for the Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that the Kilgore committee?

Mr. KRAMER. The Kilgore committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your position there?

Mr. KRAMER. Economist.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. KRAMER. Then, with a lapse of about 6 months, I worked for the Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was chairman of that committee?

Mr. KRAMER. Senator Pepper.

Mr. STRIPLING. During what period was that?

Mr. KRAMER. 1945 and 1946.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have, or did you have any other Federal employment?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your educational background, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I was educated in the New York City public schools, received a bachelor degree and master's degree in science at New York University.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born?

Mr. KRAMER. New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year?

Mr. KRAMER. 1907.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment, and in the exercise of my privilege under the first amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, have you been subpoenaed before the grand jury, the Federal grand jury, which has been sitting in New York for the past 13 months?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times were you subpoenaed before the grand jury?

Mr. KRAMER. Just once.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, would you rise?

(Miss Bentley arose.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you stand up, please, and see if you can see Elizabeth Bentley standing, Mr. Kramer? I ask you if you recognize this person as a person with whom you are acquainted.

(The witness arose.)

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not even looking at her. How can you recognize her when you were not even looking at her? Just look at her.

Mr. KRAMER. I looked at her, Mr. Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. Look at her again and see if you cannot recognize her. Do you know that person right there [indicating]?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. McDOWELL. On what grounds?

Mr. KRAMER. In the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

(A flash bulb of one of the newspaper photographers exploded.)

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to announce that that is all we needed. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, I overlooked to ask you to identify your counsel. I believe Mr. Gollobin has been before the committee once before.

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you identify yourself at this time?

Mr. GOLLOBIN. Ira Gollobin.

Mr. STRIPLING. And your business address?

Mr. GOLLOBIN. New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, are you acquainted with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question—

Mr. McDOWELL. On what—go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you state your reason fully, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. In the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of John Abt?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of Whittaker Chambers?



Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted or did you know an individual in 1935 known to you only as Carl, C-a-r-l?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Donald Hiss?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lee Pressman?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, were you present at a meeting in an apartment in New York City occupied by John Abt in the spring of 1944?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was present at this meeting at Mr. Abt's apartment in the spring of 1944, and what were the subjects of discussion?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever attend a meeting in the apartment of Mary Price on Eleventh Street off Seventh Avenue in New York City?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, did you give Miss Bentley information at various meetings in New York City from Victor Perlo, Edward Fitzgerald, Donald Wheeler, Allan Rosenberg, Harold Glasser?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever a member of a group known as the Perlo group?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of William J. Gold?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Joseph B. Gregg?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt for a moment? Let the record show that Mr. Nixon is present.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Julius J. Joseph?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of William L. Ullmann?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been to the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster at 5515 Thirtieth Street in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kramer, has Miss Bentley made any charges against you in these hearings?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not know of the character of the charges made, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know the character of the charges? But have any charges been made against you?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not know what they are, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may not know what they are, but have any charges been made?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, you have the record, sir; I do not have the record.

The CHAIRMAN. I know we have the record, but if charges had been made you would know it, don't you think?

Mr. KRAMER. Just from what I read in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Well, have you read in the newspapers that any charges were made against you?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read so. And what were those charges?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall what the charges were.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall what the charges were? But she did make some charges?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you know Miss Bentley, don't you?

Mr. KRAMER. I know that charges were made, according to the newspapers, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. By Miss Bentley?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to defend yourself against those charges?

Mr. KRAMER. I have made a statement—I have answered the questions to the best of my ability.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am asking you some new questions now. Do you want to defend yourself against those charges?

Mr. KRAMER. In the proper forum, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In a public forum?

Mr. KRAMER. I say in a proper forum.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, in a proper forum. What sort of a forum?

Mr. KRAMER. Where charges of that sort can be examined properly by an investigating agency, by a grand jury, or by a court, if necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. What charges were made against Mr. Kramer?

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you want me to read them all?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; read one of two of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. By Miss Bentley or Mr. Chambers?

The CHAIRMAN. It makes no difference which. Were charges made against you by Mr. Chambers, too, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. So I understand from the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, read one or two of those charges.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, in testifying on July 31, in reply to a question by Mr. Stripling in which he said:

Any other members of the Perlo group?

Miss BENTLEY. Charles Kramer.

Mr. STRIPLING. His real name was Charles Krevitsky; do you know that?

Miss BENTLEY. I have been told that; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How about that charge? Do you deny that charge?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer—

The CHAIRMAN. No; your counsel has got—do you deny that charge?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that charge on the grounds—on the same grounds that I have given before.

The CHAIRMAN. What are those grounds?

Mr. KRAMER. I claim the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. What is another charge?

Mr. HÉBERT. You did not mean that when he states the privilege of self-incrimination, he means against it.

Mr. KRAMER. Against it.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that charge again, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. You want that one again?

The CHAIRMAN. Or another one, either one.

Mr. STRIPLING. On August 3, Whittaker Chambers testified before the committee that Mr. Kramer was a member of a group, Communist apparatus, within the Government. He named members of that group as Lee Pressman, Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Victor Perlo, Charles Kramer.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; what have you got to say about that charge, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Nothing, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, were you ever a member of such a group?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. What grounds?

Mr. KRAMER. I claim the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you won't say whether you were a member of the Communist group or not?

Mr. KRAMER. I have given you my answer, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the Communist group?

Mr. KRAMER. I have given you my answer to that question, too.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the answer?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer the question, claiming the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. What organizations have you belonged to in the last 5 years?

Mr. KRAMER. The American Economic Association.

The CHAIRMAN. What other organization?

Mr. KRAMER. And the Royal Economic Society.

The CHAIRMAN. What others?

Mr. KRAMER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever belong to the American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever belong to any organization that the Attorney General classified as a Communist-front organization?

Mr. KRAMER. I cannot say.

The CHAIRMAN. Why can't you say?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not know how many organizations he has so classified.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you did belong to some other organizations. What are those organizations?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall any other organizations other than those I have just given you.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you belong to the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't care to answer whether you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered that question, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, you mentioned Miss Bentley a few minutes ago, so you must know Miss Bentley or you would not have mentioned her. That is Miss Bentley right over there, is it not, in the green dress?

Mr. KRAMER. I have declined to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Miss Bentley made the charges against you. Wouldn't you know the person who made the charges against you? Now, the question is, Would you not know the person who made the charges against you?

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered the question, Mr. Chairman, before.

The CHAIRMAN. No; you have not answered it. Would you not know the person who has made the charges against you?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You must decline to answer that question?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. KRAMER. I claim the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the fifth amendment? Now, you must know what the fifth amendment is. What is the fifth amendment?

Mr. KRAMER. The fifth amendment, among other things, guarantees trial by jury, and also states that no person may testify or is compelled to testify against his own interests.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Are you an attorney, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Have you read the Constitution?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You know that is not the fifth amendment then, don't you?

Mr. KRAMER. I beg pardon?

Mr. NIXON. You know that the fifth amendment does not read that way, then, don't you?

Mr. KRAMER. Well, it reads approximately that way.

Mr. NIXON. Aren't you aware of the fact that the fifth amendment says that a person shall not be compelled, in effect, to give testimony against himself in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. KRAMER. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. It does not say then that you are not compelled to give testimony against your own interest; is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. In a criminal proceeding.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this is no criminal proceeding. So, let us get back to Miss Bentley again.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to discuss this with your counsel?

Mr. KRAMER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned that charges had been made against you by Miss Bentley, therefore you must—

Mr. KRAMER. Just a moment, Mr. Thomas. You mentioned those; you asked me whether those charges had been made.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but you admitted that charges had been made.

Mr. KRAMER. According to the newspapers they had been made.

The CHAIRMAN. According to the newspapers they had been made; and naturally you would want to defend yourself. Now, who is this Miss Bentley who made these charges? That gives you a big opening. Well, take a look over there again. Just look, look again, the lady in the green dress. Is that Miss Bentley?

(Witness looks at Miss Bentley.)

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute. Your counsel is giving you a little advice there. Go ahead, Mr. Counsel, tell him.

Mr. KRAMER. Well, I say that you have identified her as Miss Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. That is Miss Bentley?

Mr. KRAMER. You have identified her as Miss Bentley to me, Mr. Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. I have identified her?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; you pointed her out as Miss Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. When?

Mr. KRAMER. Just a few minutes ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Did I say that person was Miss Bentley?

Mr. KRAMER. You did.

The CHAIRMAN. I did? Well, do you think it is Miss Bentley?

Mr. KRAMER. I must take your word for it.

The CHAIRMAN. You will take my word for it?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think? Do you think it is Miss Bentley? Aside from the fifth amendment, the first amendment, and the rest of the Constitution, is it Miss Bentley?

Mr. KRAMER. I would not know of my own knowledge whether it is Miss Bentley. I state that you have been identifying Miss Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of your own knowledge whether it is Miss Bentley; is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Kramer, did you ever, during your service in the Government, furnish classified documents to any unauthorized people?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. NIXON. On what ground?

Mr. KRAMER. I claim the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show that Mr. Munt is present.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. KRAMER, you have been with the Government for approximately how many years? You were in the Government for approximately how many years?

Mr. KRAMER. About 11 years.

Mr. NIXON. About 11 years. You, of course, recognize that it is essential for the Government to protect itself against the activities of espionage agents, do you not?

Mr. KRAMER. I do.

Mr. NIXON. You do. Do you think that every possible step should be taken to learn the facts about espionage activities so that we can curb those activities in this country?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And in that interest, of course, it is also essential that no classified documents be given to unauthorized persons. That is true, is it not?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever given any classified documents to any unauthorized persons then?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question. I claim the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NIXON. Now, a moment ago you said that you could only recall that you belonged during the last 5 years to two organizations. Would you name those organizations again? I did not quite get them.

Mr. KRAMER. The American Economic Society—American Economic Association—and the Royal Economic Society.

Mr. NIXON. And, as I recall your testimony, you said that was all.

Mr. KRAMER. To the best of my recollection; yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Now, that answer, of course, then, will be interpreted to mean that you did not belong to the Communist Party during the last 5 years; is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. NIXON. Well, the record in that case, Mr. Kramer, does not speak very well for you. Your answer was a categorical "That is all," when you were asked as to what organizations you belonged to. Now, the implication of that answer pretty clearly is that you were indicating to this committee that you did not belong to the Communist Party. Now, you have an opportunity to say whether you did or you did not. Do you still claim that those were the only two organizations that you belonged to, or did you belong to the Communist Party during the last 5 years? Do you want to change your answer, in other words, to that question?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not want to change my answer to the question. I am claiming—

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you are still saying—go ahead.

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer the question. I claim the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment, and I also claim the privileges of the first amendment on that question.

Mr. NIXON. Do you still stand by your answer, then, that you only belonged during the last 5 years to the two organizations that you named?

Mr. KRAMER. My answer was that I belonged to those organizations, to the best of my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. And that that was all. That is the way the record reads. Do you want the record to read that way? Do you realize what the record says, that you are saying to this committee that those were the only two organizations that you belonged to? Now, is that what you want the record to say? This is a material question, Mr. KRAMER, and on this question you can commit perjury. I want you to know that. Do you want this record to say that those are the only two organizations that you belonged to? That is the way it reads in the record. Or do you want to change that answer at this time?

Mr. KRAMER. On that question, I claim the privilege again self-incrimination.

Mr. NIXON. Well, the record speaks for itself then. You have refused to change your answer; you have stated to this committee that that is all, and in my opinion, in doing so you have committed perjury; you have been given an opportunity to change your answer, and you have not done so.

Now, on the other point which I am interested in, let me say this: You have indicated that you think it is essential to the security of this country to do everything that we can to curb espionage activities. Do you believe that it was in the interests of this country to give to people, to furnish classified information to agents of the Soviet Government during the war at the time that they were our allies?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no opinion on that question.

Mr. NIXON. Well, do you believe—I will put this question this way—do you believe that it was wrong to furnish classified information to unauthorized people or representatives of the Soviet Government during the war at the time that they were our allies?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no opinion on the question, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You won't say then that it was wrong? You won't say then that it was wrong even though the law of the country is pretty clear that classified information is not to be furnished to any unauthorized person? You have no opinion on that question?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Do you deny Miss Bentley's charges that you engaged in espionage activities during the war?

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered that question.

Mr. NIXON. What is the answer?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer the question on the grounds that I claim the privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. NIXON. And yet you have a real interest in attempting to protect the security of the country against espionage activities?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. And yet you refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might incriminate you? You realize what the record reads in that case, do you not?

(The witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. NIXON. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, but I would like to say this: That on July 1 or 2, I believe, I left my home in Pittsburgh and came down here to Washington to take testimony from this man, as I have done many others, many times. As I recall the testimony, Mr. Stripling, it was taken at night; I am not sure. We had many night sessions.

After hearing Mr. Kramer then do what he has just done for an hour or so, that evening I read the opinion of one of the noted columnists of the Nation about this committee's sneering, about it being publicity mad, and all sorts of things of that kind, and I cannot help but point out to the committee, Mr. Chairman, that a couple of years ago in Canada, the Canadian officials finally rounded up and indicted and sent to jail a great many people who were engaged in espionage up there in connection with atomic energy.

An effort was made by the Canadians, of course, to interest the Americans in this same investigation. It is utterly fantastic and silly and ridiculous to think that the espionage ring up there stops sharply at the borders of the United States, when most of the atomic affairs were going on down here. It is utterly fantastic and ridiculous and silly that we should sit here day after day while known members of the Communist Party, who have wormed their way into our government, who have sat in high places, drawn the salary that should be paid to honest, loyal, and patriotic employees. It is fantastic and silly to sit here and see them sit here and say that they rest upon the United States Constitution to protect themselves from going to jail.

I would like to point out to Mr. Fay and to the Attorney General, Mr. Clark, that it is time, in the interests of the American people and the preservation of the Constitution of the United States, that Mr. Kramer and these men who have been associated with him, be properly drawn into a proper court, if that is what you are looking for. I would like to promise you, Mr. Kramer, that you are going to get that. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN (using gavel). We will have to have more order. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Kramer, how long did you work for the Federal Government?

Mr. KRAMER. Approximately 11 years.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you sign a loyalty pledge under oath to the Federal Government?

Mr. KRAMER. I did.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did that oath of loyalty to the Federal Government say?

Mr. KRAMER. I swore to uphold the duties of my office and the Constitution, as I recall it.

Mr. HÉBERT. You swore to uphold the duties of your office and the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Which embraces all the laws and statutes attendant upon the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you sign Form 57 in applying for your position with the Government?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe so.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, you know you did. Now, you believe so. Did you or did you not sign it?

Mr. KRAMER. If that is the usual form of application for employment; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. That was a direct question. In Form 57, which you know you did sign, it asks: "Are you a member of the Communist



Party?" What was your reply to that direct question on Form 57, which you had to sign before you became a Government employee?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall.

Mr. HÉBERT. Before you could become employed by the Federal Government, you had to sign what is known as Form 57. You had to answer every question, and among the questions was a direct question: "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" Now, what did you sign to that direct question?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall my answer to that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. You do not remember what you signed?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, if you were a member of the Communist Party, you knew it, didn't you? Didn't you?

Mr. KRAMER. If I were; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. If you were?

Mr. KRAMER. I said if I were; yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, you would know it.

Mr. KRAMER. I would know it.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, what did you sign?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall what I signed.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, then, you did not know whether you were a member of the Communist Party or not? Of course you knew. I am merely paraphrasing your own reactions. Do you want this committee to believe that such an important question would escape your memory right now as to how you signed it?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall the answer to that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. If you were a member of the Communist Party, then you signed "Yes." Did you not do that?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall the answer to that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. If you were a member of the Communist Party, then you, of necessity, had to sign, "Yes," would you not?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall the answer to that question, I said.

Mr. HÉBERT. If you were not a member of the Communist Party, then you would, of necessity, have had to answer, "No."

Mr. KRAMER. That is true.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is true. Why didn't you answer "that is true" when I asked you if the same question had been put to you as to whether you were a member of the Communist Party? The question was the same. I said if you were not a member of the Communist Party, you would answer "No." You said, "That is true." I asked you if you were a member of the Communist Party, you would have to answer "Yes," and you said you don't remember. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. KRAMER. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. You signed a loyalty pledge, too, did you not?

Mr. KRAMER. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. A few minutes ago, Mr. Nixon asked you an opinion on the violation of the laws of this country, and you said you had no opinion, as to whether it was right or wrong to violate the law.

Mr. KRAMER. Of course, it is wrong to violate the laws.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, then, it is wrong then if anybody gave information to an unauthorized person.

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; it is wrong.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, you change your answer from "No opinion" to the fact that it is wrong and a violation of the law?

Mr. KRAMER. Any violation of the law is wrong.

Mr. HÉBERT. I did not ask you that. I said, then, you change your answer from that you have no opinion to that if you did give unauthorized information, or any person gave information to an unauthorized person, it was wrong, and a violation of the law.

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. So, you now have an opinion on that. And if you or anybody else did give information to an unauthorized person, you violated the oath of loyalty that you signed under oath; is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. If I had done so, it would be correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. And if you did violate that pledge and that oath, you have committed a crime against the Government of the United States; is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. If I had done so, that is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. If you have done so, that is correct.

In a war against England, would you defend the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. I would do whatever my country called on me to do.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is that?

Mr. KRAMER. I would do whatever my country called on me to do.

Mr. HÉBERT. I said in a war against England, would you defend the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. My answer is that I would do everything that my country called on me to do.

Mr. HÉBERT. You can answer that question "Yes" or "No." I said in a war against England would you defend the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. I would do anything that my country called on me to do, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. In a war against France would you defend the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. The same answer.

Mr. HÉBERT. In a war against France would you defend the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. The same answer.

Mr. HÉBERT. Repeat it.

Mr. KRAMER. I would do anything that my country called on me to do.

Mr. HÉBERT. In a war against Italy would you defend the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. I would do anything my country called on me to do.

Mr. HÉBERT. In a war against Russia would you defend the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. I would do anything my country called on me to do.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, tell me, Mr. Kramer, which country do you consider yours?

Mr. KRAMER. The United States.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then why did you not answer the questions directly before? Would you defend the United States in a war against Russia?

Mr. KRAMER. I would defend the United States.

Mr. HÉBERT. It would have been much easier if you would have answered the questions directly before.

Mr. KRAMER. All of those are direct answers to the question.

Mr. HÉBERT. We are trying to find out which country you owe allegiance to.

Mr. KRAMER. I owe allegiance to this country and to the people in it.

Mr. HÉBERT. Have you always kept that allegiance?

Mr. KRAMER. I certainly have and my record of employment with the Government shows that.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, then why won't you answer the questions if you owe allegiance to your country and no other country?

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered the questions to the best of my ability.

Mr. HÉBERT. To the best of your ability is not the best of your ability when you refuse to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination. Now, you know or you don't know Miss Bentley. Why don't you answer the question?

Mr. KRAMER. That answer is as much a protection of the innocent as it is of the guilty, and this is not the forum for it.

Mr. HÉBERT. This is no forum; this is no trial, and we are not trying you.

Mr. KRAMER. You are trying me; that is the whole point.

Mr. HÉBERT. We are trying to give you an opportunity to defend yourself and in the same forum in which you are accused.

Mr. KRAMER. This is no forum for accusations and charges.

Mr. HÉBERT. This is a forum for fact finding, and that is what we are trying to do—find the facts—and you won't help us to find the facts.

Mr. KRAMER. You are not trying to get the facts. You are making a circus to show up what Congress has not been doing for the people; that is what you are doing.

Mr. HÉBERT. If you want to make political speeches—

Mr. KRAMER. What do you think the speeches that have been made heretofore have been?

Mr. HÉBERT. We are trying to find out whether you are engaged in an espionage ring in the United States, and you won't answer.

Mr. KRAMER. I have told you that I have answered to the best of my ability in these questions.

Mr. HÉBERT. The best of your ability is that you won't answer, because if you will, you will incriminate yourself as well as your conferees.

Mr. KRAMER. You can draw any implication that you want from that, but that is a protection of the innocent, remember that.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am not drawing the implication.

Mr. KRAMER. You are drawing the implication.

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes; because we know you did, and you know it, and you know you sold your Government down the river, and you know it will be proved if ever the proper authorities show the desire to prosecute.

Mr. KRAMER. The proper authorities have been acting in this case, have they not? Why don't you trust the proper authorities?

Mr. HÉBERT. We are trying to make the proper authorities do their duty.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we will have to calm down a little bit, to get down to a quieter tone.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, again I ask you, Mr. Kramer, and I ask you not to answer the question for me, but answer to the entire American public which is interested, and has a right to know who is telling

the truth and who is not telling the truth. I ask you again, Do you know that lady there? [Indicating Miss Bentley.]

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is the question, then, that we go beyond the confines of this committee and tell the American people, and tell them that you will not identify the lady because she incriminated—the lady has charged that you have participated in an espionage ring against the Government. You don't answer to me. Now, answer to the American public. That is a good forum.

Mr. KRAMER. Well, you might answer to the American public, too.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will have to insist that the witness answer the question, the question by Mr. Hébert, which was, "Do you know that lady there?"

Mr. KRAMER. I have given the answer to that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Bentley, stand again, please.

(Miss Bentley arose.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know that person?

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered that question before.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your answer now?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer the question. I claim the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman. You made the point that the fifth amendment is for the protection of the innocent. I gather that your point there is that you are innocent; is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. I have made the general point, sir.

Mr. NIXON. I see. In other words, you are using the fifth amendment as a defense because you are innocent. I just want to see why.

Mr. KRAMER. You draw any inference you want from that, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Are you innocent?

Mr. KRAMER. I have stuck to my—to the answers to those questions, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Are you innocent of the charges that have been made?

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered all of those questions.

Mr. NIXON. Then, it is pretty clear, I think, that you are not using the defense of the fifth amendment because you are innocent. You could answer that question very simply. You are either innocent or you are not innocent.

Mr. KRAMER. I have answered those questions, sir.

Mr. NIXON. I think the record speaks pretty clearly on that point, Mr. Chairman. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. How did you first secure employment with the Government, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Through a Democratic district leader.

Mr. MUNDT. Through his recommendation?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Can you supply that name for the record?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall the name, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. You do not recall the name? What were the circumstances of your leaving the Government?

Mr. KRAMER. I think the appropriation for the committee for which I was working gave out.

Mr. MUNDT. Which committee was that?

Mr. KRAMER. The Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education.

Mr. MUNDT. I could not hear you, I am sorry.

Mr. KRAMER. The Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education.

Mr. MUNDT. Who was the chairman of that committee?

Mr. KRAMER. Senator Pepper.

Mr. MUNDT. The appropriation gave out, and the committee was dissolved?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. I do not know whether you have been asked the question—I came in late—where you are presently employed.

Mr. KRAMER. The Progressive Party.

Mr. MUNDT. You know Henry Wallace?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know Henry Collins?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds I have given before.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you believe that a Communist should be employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no opinion on the subject.

Mr. MUNDT. Does the party to which you owe allegiance and for which you are a working member have any opinion on that question?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not know.

Mr. MUNDT. You do not know? Surely an employee of the Progressive Party should know, and you know that for which the party stands, do you not?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not know whether it has taken any stand on that subject or not.

Mr. MUNDT. Then, you have no stand of your own on it?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no opinion on it at this point.

Mr. MUNDT. If you were an official in the Federal Government, that you have been—Lo! These many years—with being a party in power, would you knowingly appoint Communists to work under you in the Federal Government?

Mr. KRAMER. I would consider a person's employment in terms of his ability. I would not inquire into his race or creed or political affiliations.

Mr. MUNDT. From that, I assume, your answer is yes, that if it were a man of ability, if he were an able Communist, you would knowingly employ him under your department in Government; is that right?

Mr. KRAMER. I would not inquire into his political affiliations.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you be concerned at all about his loyalty to the American Government?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; I would.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you think he could be loyal to the American Government and be a Communist at one and the same time?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not see why he could not.

Mr. MUNDT. You see no reason why he could not. Are you familiar with the tenets and practices and the record of the Communist Party; are you?

Mr. KRAMER. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. What makes you think he could be loyal? Is this correct, then, that the extent to which you would safeguard the interests of the United States in a high position in the Federal Government would simply be to appoint somebody who appears to you to be able, regardless of his—

Mr. KRAMER. And loyal.

Mr. MUNDT. You would inquire into his loyalty. How would you check into his loyalty? What would he have to do to be disloyal in your opinion? What rule of thumb would you use to determine his loyalty?

Mr. KRAMER. That is hard to say.

Mr. MUNDT. You would say, "You are a loyal citizen, are you not?" and he would say, "I decline to answer on the ground of self-incrimination"; you would appoint him then?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't know whether I would or not.

Mr. MUNDT. The probability is that you might?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't know.

Mr. MUNDT. You don't know. You have been an adviser, you say, to Senator Pepper's committee. He must have asked your advice on several occasions. Did you always say, "I cannot recollect, I cannot remember, I stand on my constitutional rights?" If you did that I am afraid you secured your salary from the Federal Government under false pretenses. We are just trying to find out the facts.

I want to know from your mind what you think are the criteria to determine a person's loyalty to this country.

Mr. KRAMER. His devotion to his work.

Mr. MUNDT. Earl Browder is devoted to his work. Do you consider him loyal?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no information on the subject so I couldn't answer the question.

Mr. MUNDT. Hans Eisler is very devoted to his work. Do you consider him loyal?

Mr. KRAMER. I have no answer.

Mr. MUNDT. Benedict Arnold was very devoted to his work. Do you consider him loyal?

Mr. KRAMER. He was proven disloyal.

Mr. MUNDT. That is the only criterion you have then, that a man be loyal to his work, devoted to his work; if he is, he is loyal to his Government; is that right?

Mr. KRAMER. That would be a good rule of thumb criterion. The work, of course, encompassing work for the people of this country.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I am so bewildered by the attitude of this witness that I certainly have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Kramer, do you know Dr. Harry Dexter White?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question and claim the privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Irving Kaplan?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Norman Bursler?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Frank B. Coe?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Sonia Gold?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Abraham G. Silverman?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kramer, you will remain under subpoena and you are excused at this time. Make certain that either you or your attorney keep Mr. Stripling informed as to where you can be reached. You are excused.

Next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silverman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Silverman, please stand and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

### TESTIMONY OF ABRAHAM GEORGE SILVERMAN

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please state your full name.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Abraham George Silverman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you have counsel identify himself, please?

Mr. JAFFEE. Bernard Jaffee, 52 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silverman, when and where were you born?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Poland, in 1900.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. SILVERMAN. 255 West Twenty-third Street, New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am presently unemployed.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your last employment?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I was an executive for a large specialty store in charge of research and plans.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you give the committee the various positions you have held with the Government?

Mr. SILVERMAN. The last position I held with the Federal Government was that of economic adviser and Chief of Analysis and Plans, Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Matériel and Services, Air Forces. I held that position from March 1942 to August 1945.

The position I held prior to that was Director of the Bureau of Research and Information Services, United States Railroad Retirement Board. I held that position from 1936 until 1942.

Prior to that I was special negotiator for the United States Trade Agreement, United States Tariff Commission. I held that position from November 1935 through March 1936, I believe.

Prior to that I was chief statistician of the Labor Advisory Board of the United States National Recovery Administration. I held that job from the fall of 1933 to the middle of 1934.

Those were the jobs that I held with the Federal Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I decline to answer that in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Would it be possible for me to read a statement?

Mr. STRIPLING. It will be possible when we get to it.

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. As to whether or not you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMAN. In the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were employed in the War Department did you have access to classified material?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was your immediate superior in the War Department?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Gen. Bennett Meyers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he recommend you for the position?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel—

Mr. MUNDT. I was interested in your answer to the previous question.

Mr. STRIPLING. He said Gen. Bennett Meyers was his superior.

Now, I ask you did General Meyers recommend you for the position you held?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question, exercising my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Bentley, will you stand up, please?

Will you stand up, Mr. Silverman, and look at this lady standing and tell me whether or not you can identify her as Elizabeth T. Bentley.

(Miss Bentley and Mr. Silverman arose.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever know her under any other name?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional right against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silverman, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?



Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I decline to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment and also under the first amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been in the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster at 5515 Thirtieth Street NW., in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silverman, during the course of your official duties with the War Department, did you have access to reports relating to the B-29, the production figures concerning aircraft, location of aircraft plants, the names and types of aircraft, and the location and construction of aircraft material?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. What grounds?

Mr. SILVERMAN. In the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask Mr. Russell to ask him if he is acquainted with certain individuals.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I would like to make my statement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment and I think the committee will be glad to receive your statement.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know William Ludwig Ullmann?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds—that is, in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. RUSSELL. When Mr. Ullmann entered officer training school, did you recommend him to the United States Army?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds—that is, in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Mr. Ullmann furnish your name as a reference when he entered officer training schools?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. What grounds? You will have to say what grounds.

Mr. SILVERMAN. In the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. What grounds? You will have to say what grounds.

Mr. SILVERMAN. In the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Joseph B. Gregg?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on advice of counsel in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever met Joseph B. Gregg?

MR. SILVERMAN. I decline to answer that question on the advice of counsel in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know Ruth Gregg?

MR. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel in this context I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know Maurice Halperin?

MR. SILVERMAN. In this context on advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

MR. RUSSELL. Have you ever met Maurice Halperin?

MR. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel in this context I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know Irving Kaplan?

MR. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know William H. Taylor?

MR. SILVERMAN. In this context, on advice of counsel I decline to answer that question.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know Donald Niven Wheeler?

MR. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

MR. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with or have you ever met Harry D. White?

MR. SILVERMAN. In this context on advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know Allan Rosenberg?

MR. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

MR. MUNDT. Do you know Henry Wallace?

MR. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

MR. MUNDT. Why?

MR. SILVERMAN. On the same grounds.

MR. MUNDT. I asked you the question if you knew Henry Wallace and I didn't hear you answer the question.

MR. SILVERMAN. I said on advice of counsel I decline to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

MR. MUNDT. I would like to know what there is about the record of Henry A. Wallace, who has been Vice President of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture, and Secretary of Commerce and presently running for the office of President of the United States as a nominee of the newest political party in this country, what is there about Henry Wallace which would make it self-incriminating for you to admit knowing him if you do? The country would be interested in that.

MR. SILVERMAN. My statement would make that clear.

MR. MUNDT. I am not interested in your statement at this time. I want to know what there is about the record of Henry Wallace that

you know that might make it self-incriminating for you to admit knowing him.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Absolutely nothing at all.

Mr. MUNDT. How do you know there is nothing if you don't know him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I read about him in the newspapers like everybody else.

Mr. MUNDT. What is there that would make you reluctant to admit knowing him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MUNDT. You consider it, then, a means of possible self-incrimination to admit knowing a former Vice President of the United States and a candidate for President?

Mr. SILVERMAN. In this context I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MUNDT. You want your record to stand there that you think it might be possible self-incrimination?

Mr. SILVERMAN. In this context I refuse to answer that question on advice of counsel.

Mr. MUNDT. Very well.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Silverman, are you acquainted with Solomon Adler?

Mr. SILVERMAN. In this context on advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Norman Bursler?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Frank Coe?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with or have you ever met Lanchlin D. Currie?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds in this context.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Silverman, did you ever hold any meetings at your apartment which were attended by Veet Bassie, Irving Kaplan, Harry Magdoff, or Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment and also under the first.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever carry or convey any packages of any description whatsoever to the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Silverman, do you know Irving Russell?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know anything about Irving Russell that would make it self-incriminatory for you to know him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. For your information, Irving Russell was just made up in my mind right now. I don't know any such man, either. I just wanted to find out how ridiculous you were going to become.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I would like to explain in terms of the context.

Mr. HÉBERT. You will have a chance to explain. In other words, you just don't talk.

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. Have you learned any other lines besides those? Will it incriminate you to admit whether you have learned any other lines?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. HÉBERT. On the grounds that it might be self-incriminating?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is just a mental test. I wanted to find out about your intellectual ability.

Mr. MUNDT. I have a question for you, Mr. Silverman. Who recommended you to your first position in Federal employment? What was the circumstance by which you went from private life to Federal employment?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I became chief statistician of the Labor Advisory Board on the recommendation of Dr. Leo Wohlman, presently of Columbia University, with whom I had been associated in the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you say Leo Wohlman was president of Columbia?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Dr. Leo Wohlman, now of Columbia University, with whom I had been previously associated in the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Mr. MUNDT. How did you get your position with the National Bureau of Economic Research?

Mr. SILVERMAN. My recollection is he asked me—

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. By application and by recommendation of professors on the basis of my record and technical and economic professional skills.

Mr. MUNDT. Could you identify any other people who recommended you for employment?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Prof. Frank Taussig, Prof. Edmund Gay, Prof. John H. Williams.

Mr. MUNDT. They gave you written recommendations or verbal?

Mr. SILVERMAN. My understanding is it was not done that way. I applied for the position and recommendations weren't supplied directly.

Mr. MUNDT. What were the circumstances, then, by which you moved from that position, which was your first one in the Federal Government, to the second position, which you said you held in the Federal Government?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in this context as explained in the statement of mine and in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

Mr. STRIPLING. I suggest he read his statement first before any further questions.

Mr. MUNDT. One question before that. Did the witness testify that he at one time was employed by the Resources Protection Board?

Mr. SILVERMAN. The which?

Mr. STRIPLING. Not this witness. -Mr. Victor Perlo.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Perlo?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. SILVERMAN. May I read the statement?

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with your statement, Mr. Silverman.

Mr. SILVERMAN. My name is A. George Silverman, and my present residence is in the city of New York. I am 48 years of age, and a citizen of the United States.

I hold the degrees of S. B., A. M., and Ph. D. from Harvard University, and M. A. from Stanford University. Prior to 1933 I taught economics and statistics and did economic research in some of the leading educational institutions in the United States. From 1933 until August of 1945 I held responsible technical and administrative positions in various agencies of the Federal Government, including the National Recovery Administration, the Railroad Retirement Board, and the Army Air Forces.

I am deeply shocked by the charges leveled against me, the setting in which they have been made, and the course which this investigation has taken. For more than a year a special grand jury has been sitting in the city of New York listening to the same charges which have been presented at these hearings. I appeared and testified freely before that grand jury in September 1947. I did so, conscious of my own innocence, of my steadfast devotion to our country and its principles. I was deeply thankful for our heritage of constitutional due process of law—for a legal system designed to prevent the publication of malicious slanders against innocent individuals, to prevent the vilification of their characters without indictment and trial in open court where they would be afforded full opportunity to confront and cross-examine their accusers.

Yet, now, incredible slanders have been given wide publicity in the absence of indictment. I, among others, have been vilified. The doctrine of guilt by association has been carried to its extreme. The same stroke of the brush which has been used to smear me was used to smear Dr. Lauchlin Currie, whose high-minded attachment to the principles of our Constitution, selfless devotion to duty, outstanding loyalty, and service in a critical period of our Nation's history are matters of public record.

I consider these charges to be politically motivated. I am convinced they are designed to discredit the program of the Roosevelt administration by pointing the finger of accusation against so many of those who have supported its program and devoted years to its realization. These charges are calculated to conceal the achievements of that administration beneath a shroud of falsehood. In my opinion, they have been made at this time in order to divert the eyes of the Nation from the failure to meet the pressing needs of the American people for economic security, for protection against the high cost of living, for safeguarding their liberties.

My own conscience is clear. I am a loyal American citizen, devoted now, as always, to the principles upon which this Nation was founded and upon which it has grown and developed to greatness.

I am proud of my humble contribution to the welfare of the American people, proud of my record as a public official, proud of the fact that I was one of the first civilians in the Army Air Forces to receive the Award for Exceptional Civilian Service, signed by the Secretary of War.

I am innocent of any charges of espionage or other criminal conduct. With regard to my accuser, who has done me such irreparable harm, I am compelled to conclude that only a mind distorted by fear or greed or deep frustration could construct an edifice of such monstrous falsehood.

In the light of these circumstances and in view of the fact that the New York grand jury has not been dismissed, and this committee has indicated that a special grand jury may be convened in the city of Washington, my defense against the malicious charges requires the use of those provisions written into the Constitution of the United States precisely in order to protect the innocent against the peril of persecution. Upon advice of counsel, I shall assert my right to refuse, on the basis of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment, further to testify on matters relating to the charges which have been leveled against me.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Dr. Silverman, in your statement you state that you are innocent of any charges of espionage.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a correct statement, is it not?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In the next sentence you say "with regard to my accuser." Did you mean the person who accused you of espionage?

Mr. SILVERMAN. The person who made the accusations against me at these hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. The person who made the accusations against you. Well, who is that person?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. There was only one such person as far as the newspapers are concerned: Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley.

Mr. NIXON. I raise the specific point that counsel can advise the witness on his constitutional rights, but counsel is not here to tell the witness what answers to make to the questions. Both of the last times counsel was giving the witness the answer to the question. From now on he should advise the witness as to his rights in each case.

Mr. JAFFEE. That is all I am doing.

Mr. NIXON. You just told the witness to give the answer to the question in each case. You have no right to do that before this committee or before the courts.

The CHAIRMAN. We will start all over again.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you are innocent of any charges of espionage.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are innocent, are you not?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then in the next sentence you say, "with regard to my accuser."

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who accused you and made the charges of espionage?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley in the hearings before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. SILVERMAN. According to the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you know Miss Bentley if you saw her?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that—

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I know her now.

The CHAIRMAN. You know her now.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you stand, and Miss Bentley, you stand? Is that Miss Bentley as you know her?

Mr. SILVERMAN. She says she is and you say she is, so she must be.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that Miss Bentley—you know her?

Mr. SILVERMAN. She says she is and you say she is.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say she is?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you said a few seconds ago that you did know who your accuser was.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I knew the name of my accuser.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any pictures of her in the newspapers, as well as reading about her?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Innumerable pictures.

The CHAIRMAN. Did those pictures look like that person?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Sometimes yes, perhaps, and sometimes no, perhaps.

The CHAIRMAN. In your opinion did the pictures look like that person?

Mr. SILVERMAN. She had many aspects in those pictures. I cannot answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that is Miss Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it is Miss Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMAN. She says she is and you say she is.

The CHAIRMAN. She hasn't said anything. Do you think it is Miss Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I am told it is Miss Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say you think it is Miss Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I think it is Miss Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know it is Miss Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional rights.

The CHAIRMAN. You know it is Miss Bentley, don't worry about that.

Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Silverman, you are deeply shocked by the charges made against you?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. The implication of that is that the charges are false. Is that correct?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN (answering again). Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Is that your answer, "Yes"?

Mr. SILVERMAN. The answer is still "Yes."

Mr. NIXON. You are innocent of the charge of espionage, you state specifically?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You, of course, recognize that other charges were made also by Miss Bentley?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. One of the charges made was that you gave restricted documents to unauthorized people. Is that charge false?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You never gave to Miss Bentley or any other person any restricted documents?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I never gave any certified material to any person, any unauthorized person.

Mr. NIXON. Will the reporter please read that answer back?

(Answer read by reporter.)

Mr. NIXON. You never gave to Miss Bentley any restricted documents?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. NIXON. You have already answered the question, Mr. Silverman. You have indicated that you didn't give any restricted documents to any person. Now "any person" includes Miss Bentley. Do you want to change that answer now?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel—

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. NIXON. It is too late to change the answer, counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the witness go ahead.

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. NIXON. The record stands that you have now testified that you gave no restricted information to any unauthorized persons.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Another charge Miss Bentley made was that you gave information concerning the breaking of the Soviet code to Mr. Silvermaster. You have said these charges are false. Is that charge false?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Upon advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Silverman, you have stated in this statement of yours, which will be spread in the newspapers tomorrow, that Miss Bentley made false charges, that they are all false, and that she is a liar. And, yet, when I ask you as to whether or not a specific charge she made—I have asked about two specific charges—you refuse to say whether those charges are false.

Mr. SILVERMAN. My statement has made my position perfectly clear with respect to that general proposition.

Mr. NIXON. Are all the charges made by Miss Bentley false?



Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. NIXON. Do you want to take that particular portion out of your statement, do you?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Then your statement does say the charges made by Miss Bentley are false. You realize that, do you?

(Mr. Silverman confers with Mr. Jaffee.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. The statement speaks for itself.

Mr. NIXON. Since the statement speaks for itself—

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to say, Mr. Counsel, let the witness answer these questions. Don't whisper in his ear every time that he wants to answer.

Mr. JAFFEE. I have no intention of doing that. I was simply advising him.

Mr. MUNDT. Regardless of your intention, you have been doing it. I have been watching what you said and the witness has parroted everything you said. Wait until the witness consults you.

Mr. JAFFEE. I will be glad to do that.

Mr. MUNDT. Conform your actions to your intentions.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, two of the major charges that have been made concerning Mr. Silverman by Miss Bentley were (1) that he gave information concerning the impending breaking of the Russian code to Mr. Silvermaster, and (2), that he gave to Miss Bentley confidential information which he obtained in his official position.

He has made the statement, and I quote from that statement, "I am innocent of any charges of espionage or criminal conduct." Both of the charges made by Miss Bentley would constitute criminal charges. And yet when this witness is asked whether or not he will say that those specific charges are false and that he is innocent of those specific charges he refuses to answer.

Under the circumstances I think it is quite clear that this witness has no facts whatever which he is willing to give to this committee and to the country proving his charge that Miss Bentley's statements are false. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Dr. Silverman, did you know prior to D-day the day D-day would occur on?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. McDOWELL. Dr. Silverman, did you ever make a bet or win any money on the day D-day would occur?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you ever discuss with any person the creation of the B-29 plane?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. McDowell. Mr. Chairman, you have been on this committee for a long time. We have all observed its activities for a long time. I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if you can tell me if any person ever accused of being a Communist came before this committee who was poor and didn't have enough to eat or who was oppressed. Where do they get this stuff that communism comes out of the slums and out of poverty and out of oppression? We have had a constant parade of those accused of being Communists who were doctors of law, doctors of philosophy, high Government officials, colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants.

I have nothing more, Mr. Chairman, other than this: It appears to me that all of the great educational institutions of this country that have the power of conferring great honors, higher honors than I have ever attained, on men should develop some method of withdrawing these honors.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. Hébert. Dr. Silverman, I read a part of your prepared statement in which you mention—there is one paragraph before but I will pass it because you will get the context of what I am asking you, and I hope on advice of counsel you don't refuse to agree with what you have read already and say that it might incriminate you.

Speaking of the indictment, you say:

\* \* \* and trial in open court where they would be afforded full opportunity to confront and cross-examine their accusers.

Do you believe in that principle?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I certainly do.

Mr. Hébert. Do you believe that any accused should be faced by their accuser and given an opportunity to deny that accusation in open court?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I do.

Mr. Hébert. Stand up, Dr. Silverman, please.

(Dr. Silverman arose.)

Mr. Hébert. Miss Bentley, please stand.

(Miss Bentley arose.)

Mr. Hébert. Dr. Silverman, you are now before the greatest open court in this country, I believe, beyond the confines of any limited courtroom in this country. You are now in the presence of probably 1,000 or more people in this committee meeting room. You are in the presence of an invisible audience of millions of American people who listen to the radio. You are in the presence of millions of American people who see moving pictures. You are in the presence of competent and able representatives of the American press, which is free.

I now tell you, Dr. Silverman, you are facing Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley, who may be known to you under the name of Elizabeth T. Bentley, or perhaps under the name of Mary or under the name of Helen. I tell you, Dr. Silverman, that this lady standing here, whom I have described by name, accuses you in open court before the American people of being an espionage agent, or rather of having given her secret documents, confidential documents, which you, Dr. Silverman, obtained through your connections with the Army Air Forces. She accuses you of disloyalty to your Government, and she tells you that you were untrue to your trust.

You face your accuser, Dr. Silverman. What is your answer? Is she telling the truth or isn't she telling the truth, and do you recognize her?

Mr. SILVERMAN. In my opinion, she is telling a huge web of lies.

Mr. HÉBERT. You tell Miss Bentley here—that is contradictory now to the fact that you refused to answer because it might incriminate you. Are you waiving that now?

Mr. SILVERMAN. With respect to the charge of espionage and any other criminal conduct I waive.

Mr. HÉBERT. You waive any charges right now—

(Mr. Silverman confers with Mr. Jaffee.)

Mr. HÉBERT. Wait a minute. You can answer by yourself. You are a doctor of philosophy and had access to all this. You don't need to have anybody tell you what to do. You didn't ask advice of counsel when you handed these documents to Miss Bentley, did you?

Miss Bentley has made these charges and you are familiar with them. Now, you have your opportunity in open court to tell this lady that you have never seen her before, that you have never received anything from her, that you never knew her as Helen, Mary, or Elizabeth Bentley, and tell her that she never gave you any documents that were confidential or in violation—rather, that she—you have got me confused—[laughter]—that you, Dr. Silverman, never handed to her any documents, and you further tell her that you never gave documents to any unauthorized person with the intent and purpose of transporting them to other unauthorized persons.

Now, you have got your chance.

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is too complex. I do not consider this to be a court.

Mr. HÉBERT. You are hedging. You asked for an open court. I am giving it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him go ahead.

Mr. SILVERMAN. I didn't ask for an open court. I asked for a court.

On advice of counsel, I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you say in answer to a previous question that you were once serving under the authority of Gen. Bennett Myers?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you testify in court during the trial of Gen. Bennett Myers?

Mr. SILVERMAN. No.

Mr. MUNDT. You did not testify. In your prepared statement you list a long record of things of which you are proud, but at no place do you say you are proud of any of your associates. When we ask you about any of your associates you refuse to answer on the ground that it might be self-incriminating.

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Don't you think that the average American citizen is proud of his associates and his friends?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I have explained that in this context that is the way it appears to me, and on advice of counsel in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. MUNDT. You were in a position in Government—if you were in a position in Government where you had appointive power, would you appoint a known Communist to serve in the Federal Government?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment and under the first amendment.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you believe that a man can be a Communist and a loyal American citizen at the same time?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment and under the first amendment.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you believe a man can hold a responsible Federal position and have dual loyalty to his country and another country at the same time?

Mr. SILVERMAN. On advice of counsel I refuse to answer that question under the first amendment and in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MUNDT. When you entered the Government employment did you make known to your employers the doubt that exists in your mind as to whether a man can be a Communist and a loyal American public servant at the same time?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I must decline to answer that question on advice of counsel in the exercise of my constitutional privilege.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, those are all the questions I have to ask the witness, but I want to read something into the record at this point as the result of some independent research in connection with the testimony of Victor Perlo, who testified, I believe, that he was employed by the Resources Protection Board.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was employed, Mr. Mundt, by the War Production Board. We are prepared to show, however, that Mr. Perlo was given access to the data which were in the Resources Protection Board—all of which was secret.

Mr. MUNDT. I think, then, the country, which has an intensive interest in this whole situation and the existence of this espionage ring, and the fact that people who are either admitted Communists or who refuse to deny that they are Communists have held these important positions, should also know something more about what employment means in the Resources Protection Board.

I have a photostatic copy here of the way in which the Resources Protection Board operated, the part it played in government, and the various accesses it had to secret information, and a short statement describing it—describing the activities of the Resources Protection Board. I want to read that into the record at this time. It reads:

The photostated sheets presented to the Board for its judgment after the original information had been refined and checked by the staff, were sheets about 24 by 18 inches. They showed, for example: (1) Location of all important plants in the manufacture of aviation gasoline and fuel oil going back to the manufacture of the indispensable chemicals necessary for the cracking process; (2) the percentage of the total United States production from each plant; (3) the unit volume from each plant; (4) the future schedule of production from

each plant; (5) notation of increasing need for the product if that were the situation; (6) finally a symbol—

indicating the position the plant played in our whole preparedness program—

Some of these meant that if the plant at the location specified were knocked out, a certain proportion of the industry would be dead. In some major industries, the knocking out of one plant which would require 12 months to rebuild would have killed the entire production of that industry for that period of time.

These photostated sheets are now kept in the Pentagon, probably in the Library of the Army Intelligence, are still secret and are used by the Army in planning for defense.

In short, the Resources Protection Board data, if possessed by an enemy, would save enemy espionage agents months and years of work, would be about 90 percent reliable for a war starting tomorrow, and could be kept about 95 percent accurate by continuing work in the United States. Probably the only sensitive data not carried in this information is the atom bomb. Even the location of jet engine production and, equally important, the locations of the critical components could be estimated with fair accuracy from the documents.

I think that the country—and I agree with Mr. Hébert that in hearings of this type the people comprise the court, the people of America have to decide whether legislation is needed to keep people of this type from holding secret positions in Government. We are not a court of law; we are not endeavoring to convict these people and place them in jail, but we are trying to bring before the people of America a situation existing, a situation which has been brought in by sworn testimony, all of which has been corroborated even to the point of the transfer of money, and I want to call attention finally to the fact that Mr. Perlo, the Victor Perlo who had access to the information which I have just read, is the same Victor Perlo who, when having called to his attention the laws of perjury, scratched out of his testimony before this committee that portion of his testimony which denied that he had been guilty of the charges made.

I think the country should know those facts.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more questions to ask this witness, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert?

Mr. HÉBERT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell?

Mr. MCDOWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this witness under subpoena?

Mr. STRIPLING. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want him to remain so?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, if either the counsel or witness will inform Mr. Stripling where he can be reached—

Mr. STRIPLING. We will give him 48 hours' notice.

The CHAIRMAN. We will give you 48 hours before we call you again. You are excused.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, before we recess, I would like to make a brief report as chairman of the subcommittee, that Mr. Samarin is now in Washington, so we will hear him in Washington instead of

New York. It will be in executive session in the regular committee room at 2 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to say that Mr. Samarin will be heard by the full committee. The Chair would like to make this announcement. The witnesses for Friday are Harry Dexter White, Lauchlin Currie, Donald Hiss, Dr. and Mrs. Bela Gold, Frank Coe. This comprises the full list of the witnesses who have requested that they be heard.

I just want to say this: There seems to be an impression that this investigation or these hearings may end soon. That is as far from the truth as you can possibly imagine. This investigation and these hearings and executive hearings will be continued, and continued until we get to the roof of the situation, until we are either able to prove or disprove that an espionage ring exists in the United States.

I want to add that many persons whose names have not yet been mentioned, persons high in Government, persons high up in the military, will be called before this committee at an early date.

We stand adjourned until tomorrow at 10 a. m.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m., an adjournment was taken until 10 a. m. Friday, August 13, 1948.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas, Karl E. Mundt, John McDowell, Richard M. Nixon, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research, and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. The record will show that a quorum of the full committee is present. Those present are Mr. Mundt, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas.

Mr. Stripling, the first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lauchlin Currie.

The CHAIRMAN. Lauchlin Currie. Mr. Currie, will you stand and raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CURRIE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

## TESTIMONY OF LAUCLIN CURRIE

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Currie, will you please state your full name and present address.

Mr. CURRIE. Lauchlin Currie, 165 Gaylor Road, Scarsdale, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. CURRIE. I was born in 1902 in Nova Scotia, Canada.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CURRIE. My present occupation is business executive in the export-import business in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mr. CURRIE. If I might, Mr. Counsel, I should request to make a statement in which I set forth my background, experience, and full statement relating to the various charges that have been made with

a full explanation of the circumstances, and I would appreciate very much if I were permitted to make that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Currie, we will be glad to look over your statement and if your statement is pertinent to the inquiry or to your defense, we will be pleased to have you read the statement.

First, however, we would like to identify you.

Mr. Stripling will ask a few questions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state your educational background?

Mr. CURRIE. I took my undergraduate work in London University, England; did my graduate work at Harvard University; took my Ph. D in economics there, and taught at that institution.

Mr. STRIPLING. In your statement, do you set forth your Federal employment?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that he read his statement at this time if it is agreeable to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. May we see the statement?

Go ahead, Mr. Currie.

Mr. CURRIE. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Lauchlin Currie; I reside at 165 Gaylor Road, Scarsdale, N. Y.

I appreciate this opportunity afforded me by the committee to appear at my request and to answer false statements and misleading suggestions which have been made concerning me in prior testimony before this committee.

First, some facts concerning my background and history. I was born in 1902 in Nova Scotia, Canada. My father, a Canadian citizen, was of Scottish descent. My mother, née Alice Eisenhauer, also a Canadian citizen, is of German descent. In 1911 and again in 1918 my family spent the year in the United States where I attended school. I took my undergraduate university work at London University and then came to Harvard in 1925 where I did my graduate work and received my Ph. D. and remained as a teacher of economics. Shortly after coming to Harvard I took out my first papers applying for United States citizenship. My naturalization was completed in 1934. While at Harvard I was offered a position in the Treasury Department. In 1934 I accepted it and came to Washington, where I worked under Mr. Marriner Eccles until he was made Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board later in that year. I went with him to the Board as assistant director of research.

In 1939 I was appointed by President Roosevelt as Administrative Assistant to the President with special duties in the field of economics. I retained that position until 1945, during which time I was sent twice to China to confer with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. During part of this period, in 1943-44, I concurrently held the office of Deputy Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration. In early 1945, on behalf of the Secretary of State, I headed a wartime trade and financial mission to Switzerland.

In 1945 I resigned from Government service to enter private business and I am now president of Lauchlin Currie & Co., engaged in the export-import business, with offices at 565 Fifth Avenue, New York.

My name has been brought into the proceedings before this committee through the testimony of Miss Elizabeth Bentley and Mr. N. Gregory Silvermaster. Miss Bentley admitted to you that she had never met me and had never seen me and had never had any communication



with me. The statements made by her about me were, as noted by Congressman Rankin, hearsay three times removed. I, on my part, wish to assert unequivocally that I never met, saw, nor had any communication with Miss Bentley. The first time I ever heard her name was when I learned of the testimony which she gave the committee.

I understand that there is no accusation that I am or ever have been a Communist. Nevertheless, I welcome this opportunity to state again under oath, as I did before the Federal grand jury, convened in the Eastern District of New York to investigate the charges similar to those before this committee, that I am not and never have been a Communist, a member of the Communist Party, a believer in the tenets or doctrines of communism and that I have never been affiliated with any organization or group sympathetic with the doctrines of communism or engaged in furthering that cause. I have never had any reason to believe that any friends of mine or even acquaintances or associates were Communists.

I understand that there are three charges made against me: First, that I stated to A. G. Silverman that the United States was about to break the Russian code, information which he is said to have reported to N. Gregory Silvermaster, who in turn reported it to contacts of hers in the Russian Government. The second charge is that I was used by persons acting with Miss Bentley on behalf of a Communist spy ring to place or protect persons in that ring in positions in the United States Government. This charge specifically relates to my alleged interference to save N. Gregory Silvermaster in an investigation which threatened his tenure in Government office. The third charge is that I disclosed "inside information" about China to persons named by Miss Bentley.

First, as regards my alleged communication to A. G. Silverman. I knew both Silverman and Silvermaster under circumstances which I shall relate. I wish at this point, however, to deny emphatically that I ever stated to Silverman, Silvermaster, or anyone else that the United States was about to break the Russian or any other code. I did not know during the war, nor do I know now, that any branch of the Government or of its military forces attempted to or was about to break the Russian code. I knew nothing and I know nothing about whatever work was done in connection with our own or foreign codes. It is obvious that it would lend a note of plausibility to the story of code-breaking to attribute it to someone on the White House staff.

I have stated that I knew both Silverman and Silvermaster. My work as Administrative Assistant to the President was in the field of economics. In the course of this work I not only came in contact with all, or practically all, the economists in the Government, but was called upon to work with them, to give them advice, to express opinions regarding their competence, and to deal with such interdepartmental matters as came into the White House involving economic matters and economic personnel. Other assistants to the President had similar duties in connection with legal matters, with political appointments, and with civil servants, and all of us found that we were continually given as references by the persons with whom we came in contact. During my tenure in the Foreign Economic Administration I had several hundred economists working under me. I mention this to make clear that, while I knew some of

the persons mentioned in the testimony before you, I also knew literally hundreds of economists throughout the Government.

I first met N. Gregory Silvermaster in 1940. At the direction of the President I was looking into a reported mutiny aboard ship. The Maritime Labor Board designated N. Gregory Silvermaster, of whom I had never heard previously, to supply the required information. My work with him was quickly concluded and my only remaining impression of it was that he was entirely competent. No question of loyalty arose or entered my mind. I had no further official contact with Mr. Silvermaster, but between 1940 and 1945 saw him several times at social gatherings at which there were always several people present.

In June 1945, an official of the Board of Economic Warfare telephoned me to say that Mr. Silvermaster was working for the Board on loan from the Department of Agriculture and that the Board had received from Army Intelligence a copy of a report which, if substantiated by the facts, made his employment undesirable. They asked me to inquire whether this report constituted the Army's final opinion. I understand that Mr. Silvermaster states that he saw and talked with me about this matter. I have no recollection of such a conversation, although it may have occurred. In accordance with the White House customary procedure in such matters, I referred this inquiry to the War Department. I did this by telephoning the Under Secretary of War, Judge Robert P. Patterson, told him of the situation, and asked him to have the matter reviewed to make sure that the report represented the considered judgment of the Department. I, myself, made no recommendations or any investigations. I did not see the report or know of its contents since it was not my duty or function to do any of these things.

I am also informed that it has been stated before this committee that there were at that time adverse reports on Mr. Silvermaster in the files of the Civil Service Commission, the FBI, and in those of the Naval Intelligence. I did not know at that time, nor did I know until the testimony before this committee, of the existence of any such reports, or of any reports other than the War Department report.

Judge Patterson subsequently telephoned to me to say that the matter had been reviewed and that in the judgment of the Department the statements made in the report were not substantiated and that the report was being withdrawn. According to the letter from Judge Patterson to Mr. Milo Perkins which has been inserted in the record of these hearings, Judge Patterson stated:

I have personally made an examination of the case and have discussed it with Maj. Gen. G. V. Strong, G-2. I am fully satisfied that the facts do not show anything derogatory to Mr. Silvermaster's character or loyalty to the United States, and that the charges in the report of June 3 are unfounded.

These are the facts of the case. Upon the basis of these facts the charge is made before this committee that I "interceded" for Mr. Silvermaster and that this intercession resulted in an improper disposition of the case. Such a charge is false on the facts and a calumny both upon me and Judge Patterson as well as the officer who was the Chief of Army Intelligence. While statements from me as to my own character would be unfitting, I can state emphatically that any person who knows Judge Patterson or General Strong

knows the absurdity of the suggestion that they would permit, much less yield to, political or other pressure in a matter concerning the security of the United States.

I recall one further fact in connection with Mr. Silvermaster which should be mentioned. At one time I was asked by an investigator, I believe from the Civil Service Commission, regarding my opinion of Mr. Silvermaster's loyalty to the United States. I replied that, so far as I knew, he was a loyal public servant. I do not recall having recommended him for any post.

I first met A. G. Silverman when I was a graduate student at Harvard and he was an instructor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I was familiar with his work as a scholar and a teacher and believed that his technical competence was outstanding. We renewed our acquaintance after I came to Washington when he was an official of the Railroad Retirement Board. Except for a brief period in 1940, when I was working at the President's direction on legislation to be proposed to Congress on old-age and retirement-benefit plans for maritime workers similar to those in effect for railroad labor, I had little official contact with him, but I always respected his high technical ability and had no reason at any time to question his loyalty nor had any grounds to suspect any Communist affiliation. His reputation was that of one of the top-ranking statisticians of Washington. I had no occasion to discuss with him any matters of public importance and certainly none of a confidential nature; I have no recollection of ever having done so.

Miss Bentley further states to this committee that I was the source of inside information regarding China and our relations with China which was relayed to her via Silverman and Silvermaster, and that she suspected that I knew that what I said was destined for the Soviet Government.

Taking the latter statement first, I emphatically deny that I ever knew, believed, or suspected that any statement of mine was repeated to any person acting under cover for the Soviet Government or any foreign government. I have never lent, and would never lend, myself to such disloyal action. I have frequently met and carried on negotiations with accredited representatives of foreign governments, including the Soviet, in the discharge of my official duties, and in all such have been concerned only with the interests of the United States. Among the thousands of loyal Americans who have been my colleagues during my 11 years of Government service, I challenge anyone to find one person who ever doubted my loyalty to this country.

Coming to the charge that I disclosed inside information about China to Silverman, Silvermaster, or any unauthorized person, this I absolutely deny.

I assume that "inside information" means information which is confidential either because it is not generally known or because it relates to the economic or military position of the Chinese Government, or to the plans, intentions, or proposals of either the Chinese or the United States Governments. I was deeply conscious of the responsibility imposed upon me and the confidence placed in me by President Roosevelt and never discussed matters of the type mentioned with any of the persons mentioned. In fact, I never discussed these matters with anyone other than officials of the Government officially charged with re-

sponsibility in connection with China. The persons mentioned above, of course, did not fall within this category.

I have, of course, talked with a great many people about China. I do not recall any such conversations with Silverman or Silvermaster, but it is not impossible that the subject of China was discussed in gatherings at which one of them may have been present. Many persons knew of my special interest in China. It was frequently mentioned in the newspapers. It was generally known that I knew the Generalissimo, Madam Chiang Kai-shek, and members of the Chinese Government. I admired the Chinese and was deeply sympathetic with their struggle against Japanese aggression and with their sufferings as a result of it. It was my official duty to assist the Chinese Government in all ways possible and compatible with our own military effort. Consequently, upon innumerable occasions people raised with me the subject of China, and I talked about the subject as freely as was compatible with my official responsibilities. I did this privately and with representatives of the press, but I wish to stress again that I was at all times conscious of the fact that my words had to be carefully considered, both from the point of view of not disclosing what should be kept secret and from the point of view that what I said might be twisted and given an official character. This is a position which is familiar to all Government officials and is, of course, not unknown to members of this committee.

In conclusion, let me state that I have spent 11 years serving the Government of the United States in positions of considerable responsibility and clothed with a most confidential character, in the Treasury, in the Federal Reserve Board, in the White House, in the Foreign Economic Administration, and on loan to the State Department. During this time a mass of the most confidential information went across my desk and through my hands. Never until the present statement of Miss Bentley have I been suspected or accused of betraying any of it despite the publicity that surrounds the White House. Now I am accused of disclosing one matter about which I had no information of any sort whatever and of disclosing what is frequently described as "inside information" about China, although no one has said, and I am sure no one can say, what its specific content was.

I have looked back upon my 11 years of service to the Government of the United States as a privilege and as a duty to which I gave all that I had. I realized, of course, that public service is a rough and tumble affair in which one cannot be thin-skinned about the give and take of public controversy. But charges which involve one in the activities of an alleged espionage ring are another matter. I, therefore, invite the most searching examination by the committee and respectfully request that it find, as I know that it will, that these charges are wholly untrue.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Currie, do you have anything else you want to add to your statement at this time?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. On pages 5<sup>3</sup> and 6 of your statement, at the bottom of page 5 you state:

I had no further official contact with Mr. Silvermaster, but between 1940 and 1945 saw him several times at social gatherings at which there were always several people present.

Did you ever visit Mr. Silvermaster at his home at 5515 Thirtieth Street NW.?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes; I was entertained at his home several times. There were always other people present and the occasion was entirely social.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you name the other people present, please?

Mr. CURRIE. I don't remember at this time all the people present. I do remember he had his immediate superiors, people more or less of my rank in Government, who were present, in the Farm Security Administration and his former superiors in the Maritime Labor Board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you name them, please?

Mr. CURRIE. There was Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Will Alexander, I recall specifically; also Mr. Louis Bloch.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say you were there several times, three or four times?

Mr. CURRIE. Three or four times I should say.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William Ludwig Ullmann?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes; I knew him as an economist in the Treasury, and I met him at these occasions at the Silvermasters.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever go down into Silvermaster's basement?

Mr. CURRIE. There was one occasion on which I went to the basement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who took you down there?

Mr. CURRIE. Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he show you any photographic equipment?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you see any photographic equipment?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you see what could be termed a photo-room or photographic room, a special room for that purpose?

Mr. CURRIE. I don't recall. I would like to explain to the committee the circumstances of the occasion.

At one of these occasions when I was at the Silvermasters we were admiring a victrola that had been made by Mr. Ullmann, and he said he had done it in his own workshop. My boy had his own workshop with his own power tools and was very much interested in power tools. So one Sunday morning I took him over to see the workshop and Mr. Ullmann's power tools. That is the only occasion I remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Anatole Gromov of the Russian Embassy?

Mr. CURRIE. I met him at a social occasion and was entertained at his house on one occasion.

Mr. STRIPLING. You met him at a social occasion. Where was that?

Mr. CURRIE. As I recall, it was in the latter part of 1944, when I was introduced to him at a luncheon in the Hay-Adams in Washington.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 5 and 6 denote typed statement of witness. See p. 854, this publication.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who gave the luncheon?

Mr. CURRIE. Mr. Luther Gulick.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you identify him, please?

Mr. CURRIE. He was an official at the War Production Board and what his official position was at that time, I cannot recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you spell Mr. Gulick's name?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes; G-u-l-i-c-k.

Mr. STRIPLING. And where did Mr. Gromov entertain you? Where was his home located?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall the year or the date?

Mr. CURRIE. I think it was shortly after this luncheon he invited my wife and me to dinner and we accepted. He was introduced to me as the first secretary of the Russian Embassy in charge of cultural relations. There was nothing in the conversation, as I recall, that would be inconsistent with that description. He made no efforts to draw me out; there were no leading questions, as I recall. The conversation generally was on cultural matters, on which he was a very well-informed person.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe you stated in your statement you knew George Silverman.

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Silverman ever ask you to recommend William Ludwig Ullmann for a commission in the Army?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not recall, Mr. Stripling. I believe, according to the records of this committee, that Mr. Ullmann listed me as a reference one or two times. He may very well have, I am sure he did have, and he may very well have asked me, I do not recall. If he had asked me, I probably would have given him permission because I knew nothing at all derogatory to Mr. Ullmann at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not you recommended Irving Kaplan for a position in the Government?

Mr. CURRIE. There again I would prefer if you would consult the official records. I cannot trust my recollection after this lapse of time as to who I recommended.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point will you help us consult the official records?

Mr. CURRIE. I don't know, sir. I assume they are available in the case of Mr. Ullmann. I notice in the testimony it was stated that I had given my name as a reference.

The CHAIRMAN. If we call upon you for a little assistance to get some of these records, will you help us?

Mr. CURRIE. I am only a private citizen now, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You have some influence.

Mr. CURRIE. I hope so.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Helen Silvermaster, the wife of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. CURRIE. I met her at these same occasions I mentioned previously.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you also know her son, Anatol Volkov?

Mr. CURRIE. Slightly. I think he was present one of these times.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you recommend him or help him to get in the Coast Guard?

Mr. CURRIE. Not that I recollect.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't recall Mrs. Silvermaster or Mr. Silvermaster getting in touch with you regarding Anatol Volkov?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not recall, Mr. Stripling, but I wouldn't want to be too dogmatic because my name is used frequently in matters of reference. I think it is a perfectly natural and human thing—I think we perhaps have all done it—to give as references the most prominent people we know and many times I happened to be that person, and it may be. I cannot emphatically deny it, but I have no recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever make any inquiry regarding Mr. Silvermaster's background?

Mr. CURRIE. No; I never did. I never felt it was my duty or my job to make any investigation on my own. Whatever doubts had arisen in my mind from this G-2 report would have been dispelled by Judge Patterson's disposal of the case.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were the individual who brought it to Judge Patterson's attention?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Silvermaster's secretary, Miss Burke, told the committee she delivered an envelope to you from Mr. Silvermaster, and I believe she said she took it to you on the second floor of the State Department Building. Do you recall receiving an envelope from Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir. My office was on the second floor of the State Department Building and I have no doubt that the lady is correct, but I received economic material from hundreds of people in the Government and I can't possibly remember this particular occasion.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Currie, in your statement on page 3<sup>4</sup> in the second paragraph, next to the last sentence, you say:

I have never been affiliated with any organization or group sympathetic with the doctrines of communism or engaged in furthering that cause.

Have you never belonged to any organizations which might be classified as Communist front organizations?

Mr. CURRIE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Weren't you identified or affiliated with the Washington Committee to Aid China in 1940?

Mr. CURRIE. The only connection I had there was that I was once solicited for a contribution to the Washington Committee to Aid China, and I think I gave them \$2.50. I was informed subsequently that that meant my name was enrolled, but that was my only contact with the organization.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Mildred Price?

Mr. CURRIE. I believe there was a Mildred Price in connection with China; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. In connection with China or the Washington Committee To Aid China?

Mr. CURRIE. I don't know. The man who solicited my contribution was an employee of mine in the Federal Reserve Board at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. As a matter of fact, didn't you get in touch with Mrs. Gifford Pinchot and ask her not to withdraw her support for a concert which was being held at Uline Arena and in which Paul Robe-

<sup>4</sup> P. 3 denotes typed statement of witness. See p. 853, this publication.

son was to be featured, and this meeting was cosponsored by the National Negro Congress and the Washington Committee To Aid China, and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, upon finding Communist inspiration behind it, threatened to withdraw—didn't you and Mildred Price get in touch with Mrs. Gifford Pinchot?

Mr. CURRIE. I have absolutely no recollection of that at all. This is the first time to my recollection I ever heard of that.

Mr. STRIPLING. You gave no public statement regarding this matter?

Mr. CURRIE. Not to the best of my knowledge; no.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you in 1942 arrange a conference between Earl Browder and certain officials of the Government of the United States?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever met Earl Browder?

Mr. CURRIE. I met Earl Browder on one occasion at the request of Mr. Sumner Welles.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you explain the circumstances?

Mr. CURRIE. I don't recall the occasion very well, Mr. Stripling. Mr. Welles once called me and said there was some statement about China in the Daily Worker which he thought it was important to have retracted. I have to search my memory, because it was a long time ago.

This statement, I believe, had something to do with the alleged American intervention in China. He asked if I might be present at the interview in case he wanted to call on me to refute some statement made by Mr. Browder. Mr. Browder, I believe, was accompanied by Mr. Minor. The upshot of the conference—I took no part in the conference—the upshot of the conference was that I believe Mr. Browder withdrew whatever statement it was he had made previously.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Frank Coe?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know Mr. Coe?

Mr. CURRIE. I know Mr. Coe quite well. He was director of research at the Foreign Economic Administration when I was Deputy Administrator there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know John Abt?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know Mr. Adler?

Mr. CURRIE. Not very well. He was an economist at the Treasury, and he was particularly concerned with Chinese matters so that I met him several times in connection with Chinese matters.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Norman Bursler?

Mr. CURRIE. I believe I have met him; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harold Glasser?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Sonia S. Gold?

Mr. CURRIE. I don't believe so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William J. Gold or Bela Gold?

Mr. CURRIE. There was a Gold at the Foreign Economic Administration. That may have been the same man, I am not sure.



Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Jacob Golos?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Joseph B. Gregg?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Michael Greenberg?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Maurice Halperin?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Julius J. Joseph?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Charles Kramer?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Irving Kaplan?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Duncan C. Lee?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Solomon Lischinsky?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harry Magdoff?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Robert T. Miller III?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Willard Z. Park?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know Mr. Perlo?

Mr. CURRIE. Very slightly. When I knew him he was an economist at the Department of Commerce and I believe he went later with either the War Production Board or the OPA, as you would know by your records.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William W. Remington?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Allan R. Rosenberg?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes; he was an economist at the Foreign Economic Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. You testified you knew Mr. Silverman.

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William H. Taylor?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Helen B. Tenney?

Mr. CURRIE. I don't believe so.

Mr. STRIPLING. You testified you knew William L. Ullmann.

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Donald Niven Wheeler?

Mr. CURRIE. I am not sure, Mr. Counsel. The name is familiar but I cannot place him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harry Dexter White?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Currie, did you testify before the New York grand jury which has been investigating alleged Government espionage activities for the past 13 months?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did you appear before the grand jury?

Mr. CURRIE. Once.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you be willing for your testimony before the grand jury to be made public?

Mr. CURRIE. If that is the customary thing. I have no feeling about it. I ask for no privilege.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever interviewed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes, prior to my appearance before the grand jury.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they question you regarding the alleged statement that you made to Silverman regarding the breaking of the Russian code?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you give them a statement at that time?

Mr. CURRIE. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any objection to that statement being made public?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have no objection?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I have a few questions.

First of all, I would like to commend Mr. Currie on his attitude before the committee, which is certainly refreshing following the series of witnesses to whom we have been compelled to listen over the past week. We are trying to get at the truth of this matter, which is pretty difficult to do with witnesses who consistently conceal pertinent information from the committee.

I don't think the question was asked—and I think the record should show—you are a witness here this morning as a result of your own request?

Mr. CURRIE. That is right, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, as to some of the matters on which I would like to ask questions, you are the first man we have had before us who has admitted he has been in the basement of the Silvermaster home. We are a little bit curious about that basement. The man who owned the home advertised it for sale with the description that it included a well-equipped photographic laboratory.

As you recall the basement of that home, was it divided up into different rooms or was it a great big basement where, if you walked into it, you saw the whole room as you came in, or what is your recollection of the general architecture of the basement of the Silvermaster home?

Mr. CURRIE. I have only the vaguest impression, Mr. Mundt. I personally had very little interest in this.

Mr. MUNDT. I understand you went down to look at the workshop.

Mr. CURRIE. The conversation was almost entirely between Mr. Ullmann and my son and was entirely concerned with the power tools

he had and I just stood by and paid very little attention to it. So it may very well have been equipped as you describe. I didn't notice or it didn't register.

Mr. MUNDT. Naturally you wouldn't be looking for it.

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. MUNDT. You wouldn't be able to testify to your own knowledge either yes or no as to the photographic equipment?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. You understand, too, of course, that none of the witnesses before this committee has accused you of being a Communist or disloyal.

Mr. CURRIE. That is right, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Your name entered the picture as a result first, I believe, of the testimony of Miss Bentley that men like Silvermaster and Silverman, who were contacting her, had given your name as the source of some of their information, not that she had contacted you, not that your name was attached to it, but that they had used you as a contact in the White House, which they claim had done two things: (1) Given them information, and (2) helped them in the general over-all program that Silvermaster and Perlo had worked out of pushing their people forward in government by using reputable references to get them in key spots.

Now, you are not clear in your own mind, of course, as to just how many of these you have given references to or how many have used your name as references. I suppose an administrative assistant in the White House is guilty at times of the same kind of laxity as Members of Congress. There are a lot of people who use your name as reference. It is a little bit difficult sometimes to check completely on the people and the temptation is great to give them a sort of general over-all reference which isn't too specific and pass it off in that way.

Is it possible that you may in the course of your official duties have been guilty of that kind of laxity, which I say is something to which Congressmen are sometimes guilty themselves?

Mr. CURRIE. I was constantly consulted, Mr. Congressman, on economists and on positions. My recommendations were always given on grounds of technical competence. The question of loyalty never came up. I always assumed that if a person is occupying a responsible position in the Government it wasn't up to me to question his loyalty. I have made a lot of recommendations and a lot of appointments in my day. Some of them are men that would be familiar to you all. Those I happen to remember because they stand out.

Mr. MUNDT. You would not be able to testify under oath of your own knowledge that you had never unintentionally recommended a man who did have a Communist affiliation because you assumed that if they were in the Government they were loyal?

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. You would not be able to testify under oath that you had never recommended somebody who did turn out to be a Communist or who was a Communist using your good name?

Mr. CURRIE. No. All I could testify to under oath is that I never wittingly recommended anybody who was a Communist.

Mr. MUNDT. I think a lot of Americans have been under the same illusions that if a person has a job in the Federal Government that he is loyal. We all know now to our chagrin and regret that it is

not true, that no test of loyalty, no check on membership in the Communist Party is made of an employee very frequently before he secures his position. Were that not true the State Department would not have had to discharge 134 people for disloyalty reasons. We wouldn't have a case like Carl Aldo Marzani in the courts today, an admitted Communist.

Out of this hearing we hope will come, if nothing else, a tightening of the employment methods of the Federal Government, some kind of screening which will stop at the entry door people who are Communists and who are disloyal.

Now, I would like to ask you this question, Mr. Currie, as a high Government official, as a man in whose Americanism I believe: You have heard or read about the testimony, I presume, of Mr. Silverman and Mr. Silvermaster, with whom you have been acquainted, in whose home you have been entertained, who, when asked the question, "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" said, "I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment for fear of self-incrimination"; would you knowingly employ in the Federal Government a man who gives that kind of answer to that type of question?

MR. CURRIE. I would not employ in the Federal Government any person whom I had reason to feel or suspect might be a Communist in any post where there could be any conflict of loyalties that might be detrimental to the United States.

MR. MUNDT. Any conflict of loyalty anywhere in Government detrimental to the United States.

MR. CURRIE. That is perfectly possible, but I would like to make my statement more general. There may be positions in which that might not enter. I don't know what they would be at the moment.

MR. MUNDT. So that I am sure I understand your position, if a man seeking employment from you or through you in the Federal Government gave that answer to the question from you to him, "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" would you be inclined to answer you would not employ him if it were a position of any importance?

MR. CURRIE. That is correct, sir; yes.

MR. MUNDT. How well did you know Mr. Robert Miller 3d?

MR. CURRIE. I barely knew him. I think I met him once.

MR. MUNDT. You didn't know him well?

MR. CURRIE. No.

MR. MUNDT. I would just like to say this in conclusion, Mr. Chairman: Without in any way casting any reflections on the testimony of Mr. Currie, it is interesting to me how thoroughly this whole chain of events corroborates the testimony of Miss Bentley. Somehow or other, she knew who Mr. Currie knew, she knew about the fact that Silvermaster and Silverman had ingratiated themselves into the confidence of Mr. Currie, she knew of the relationship of Mr. Currie to the information in the civil-service files, she knew he had called them at one time to the attention of Judge Patterson, she knew that Judge Patterson had sent back a letter saying that in his opinion the person in question was not guilty of the charges. That doesn't reflect on the testimony at all of Mr. Currie, but it certainly does corroborate the fact that Miss Bentley had an uncanny access to official information in the Government, which I am prepared to believe she did not get

from Mr. Currie but she got from the direct contacts, probably without any knowledge—I think without any knowledge of Mr. Currie at all; they were using him as they would use anybody to further their own nefarious purposes. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Mundt has covered those facts that I had on the matter very well.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Currie, you indicated that you do not feel that a man should be employed in government in a position in which there might be a conflict of loyalties if he were a Communist. Would you say that the positions held by Mr. Silvermaster, Mr. Silverman, and Mr. Ullmann at the time that you knew them were positions of that type?

Mr. CURRIE. They were.

Mr. NIXON. They were positions in which members of the Communist Party should not be employed, in other words?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You testified that you knew Mr. Silvermaster quite well, that is, you had been at his home on 3 or 4 occasions, and also you knew Mr. Silverman quite well; yet, during the time that you knew them, you never had any reason to believe that they might be members of the Communist Party, or in any way have Communist sympathies.

Mr. CURRIE. I would like to repeat again, Mr. Nixon, the remark that I made before to Mr. Stripling, that the only time that question had ever come to my mind was in 1942 over the G-2 report on Mr. Silvermaster, and the fact that Judge Patterson, in whom I had complete confidence, should have reviewed that personally, and found that unsubstantiated, and that removed whatever doubt there would have been in my mind as a result of that charge. Unfortunately, I did not know of any report or any other investigation or any other material in the Government files.

Mr. NIXON. I am not referring, Mr. Currie, to Government files. I know your testimony is very clear on that point, but you have testified that you knew these men quite well, that is, socially—

Mr. CURRIE. Socially.

Mr. NIXON. And otherwise you had met them and, obviously, it is to be understood that you had spoken to them from time to time about various matters, and yet, during the time that you knew them, you never had any suspicion that they might be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You never had any suspicion that their sympathies might be on the Communist line?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You never discussed politics with them?

Mr. CURRIE. Not that I recall.

Mr. NIXON. What did you discuss at the time that you met them during these several occasions, socially and otherwise, that you had conversations with them? You never discussed politics. What else did you discuss with them, and what else do you discuss in Washington? I am just curious.

Mr. CURRIE. It is awfully difficult to remember after 6 years what was discussed.

Mr. NIXON. I understand.

Mr. CURRIE. It was purely on social occasions, and I attached no particular significance to them. I was entertained a great deal at that time. I went out a great many times, and I do not remember these occasions from others.

Mr. NIXON. If you had any suspicion that they had been members of the Communist Party, you would not have recommended Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. CURRIE. I most certainly would not.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you also testified that, although you knew Mr. Silvermaster socially and otherwise reasonably well, you cannot recall whether he ever discussed with you the matter of his loyalty investigation.

Mr. CURRIE. No; I have read it in the testimony of this committee that he had seen me at that time, and he probably did. I do not remember. This meant a great deal to him; it meant very very little to me. I was quite indifferent as to the outcome. If the report had been upheld, I would not have lifted my finger about it. I did not intercede; I did not intervene. I referred the matter. That was my position.

Mr. NIXON. And you cannot recall whether this man, Silvermaster, in whose home you visited on four occasions—you cannot recall specifically whether he did or did not discuss this matter of his loyalty with you?

Mr. CURRIE. No, he was very grateful for my having had this report referred to the War Department. I do remember that.

Mr. NIXON. You do remember that.

Mr. CURRIE. But I did no more than I would have done for any employee of the Government or any agency of the Government. It was a routine procedure, as far as I was concerned, and I gave it very little thought.

Mr. NIXON. When you sent the report over to Mr. Patterson, as you indicated, you sent it without—

Mr. CURRIE. Excuse me, Mr. Congressman, I did not send the report to Mr. Patterson. I called Judge Patterson.

Mr. NIXON. I meant, when you asked Mr. Patterson for the report, was that on the occasion—

Mr. CURRIE. No; I never saw the report. I asked Mr. Patterson if he would review this report and make sure that it was the considered judgment of the Department, and he said he would be very happy to do so, and then he communicated directly with Mr. Perkins later. I did not.

Mr. NIXON. At that time or at no other time, have you ever given a favorable recommendation to any person in Government for Mr. Silvermaster; is that correct?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not recall, Mr. Nixon, ever having recommended him for any position, but there again I have to rely upon the official records. I do not remember having recommended him for any post. I only recall being interviewed at one time by the Civil Service. I believe it was, under the Hatch Act provision. I am not sure. Those interviews very frequently happened, and I always felt that I know

of no reason to question a man's loyalty unless I had a specific reason, which I did not have in this case.

Mr. NIXON. Now, in answer to Mr. Stripling's question in regard to the letter which Mr. Silvermaster's secretary is supposed to have delivered to your office, you testified that you received economic materials from a number of Government officials.

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Have you received economic materials previously from Mr. Silvermaster, delivered by his secretary?

Mr. CURRIE. The only occasion I remember was the one I mentioned in my testimony of 1940, when I was checking into a thing, a matter, at the President's direction. But there was a constant flow of material that came into me on all economic matters.

Mr. NIXON. I understand that. That is easily understandable. But my question is, Did Mr. Silvermaster constantly send you economic material?

Mr. CURRIE. No. There would be no occasion. He was a labor economist, and that was a field in which I never got into very much.

Mr. NIXON. In fact, you cannot recall that he did send you any economic materials, then?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. NIXON. At all?

Mr. CURRIE. No. No; I would not impugn the testimony of his secretary; I just do not remember.

Mr. NIXON. Then, as far as this particular material is concerned, you do not know whether that was economic material or not?

Mr. CURRIE. I have no recollection of it at all.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Currie, when the White House gets in touch with a department, just as does a Member of Congress—when a Member of Congress gets in touch with a department—in regard to a case, even though you indicate no recommendation one way or the other, the department is pretty likely, at least, to get that particular matter from the bottom of the pile to the top of the pile and give it special consideration; isn't that the case?

Mr. CURRIE. Give it consideration from the point of view of treating the matter, not necessarily of giving one reply or another reply. It is a routine thing of the thousands of suggestions and inquiries and complaints that flow into the White House all the time, which are referred all the time to the various departments for handling.

Mr. NIXON. Then, in other words, the fact that you would indicate an interest in a man would not have any effect upon the disposition of a case.

Mr. CURRIE. I am quite certain in this case it would not.

Mr. NIXON. I see. In other words, the White House secretary forwards a case to the War Department, indicates that you know the man, but you do not recommend him, and he gets the same treatment as if it came up through channels and any other way.

Mr. CURRIE. Yes; I do not even know, remember, whether I said I knew the man.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, there is no reason at all to go through the White House, is there, in these cases?

Mr. CURRIE. I was trying to remember back to the circumstances, since this has come up, and the only reason I can recall why it was not

taken up directly from the BEW to the War Department was the peculiar position that BEW was in vis-à-vis the War Department then. It was wartime, and they were receiving things—they were in a rather weak bargaining position vis-à-vis the War Department, and I do not think they could afford to raise any questions about anything that the War Department was interested in. This is kind of reconstructing the circumstances.

Mr. NIXON. I understand, Mr. Currie, but I mean if the influence of the White House was nil in the War Department, what would it help for the BEW to refer the matter through you?

Mr. CURRIE. Just to make sure that this report was well-founded, was substantiated, that it was the considered opinion of the War Department. It was a very serious charge at that time. It reflected on the agency against whom these charges could be made, and I think they felt that they would like to have a little review, but were reluctant to ask for it.

Mr. NIXON. One thing we have certainly learned here, Mr. Currie, is that—and this is quite novel and interesting as far as I am concerned, that is—that going through the White House has no influence on a department.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Currie, Mr. Silverman, Mr. Ullmann, and Mr. Silvermaster refused to state whether they knew you or not on the grounds that it might incriminate them. Do you know any reason why knowing you would incriminate anybody?

Mr. CURRIE. I can imagine no reason why knowing me should incriminate anybody.

Mr. HÉBERT. You say that with respect to Mr. Silvermaster's coming to see you about this loyalty problem, you do not recall that.

Mr. CURRIE. I do not recall that he did. He says that he did, and I think he may have; I do not remember.

Mr. HÉBERT. What makes you so definite that somebody telephoned you from the Bureau of Economic Warfare, and what makes you so definite that you called Judge Patterson? Why do you remember those points, those minute details, and do not remember the man involved—what he said?

Mr. CURRIE. I cannot account for my memory, Mr. Hébert. I do remember that somebody called me. I thought it was Mr. Perkins. I checked with him, and he said he did not call me; he said it was Mr. Stone. I do not remember who it was. Somebody called me from the BEW.

Mr. HÉBERT. You do remember it was a telephone call?

Mr. CURRIE. It was a telephone call, and I passed it on.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, you mentioned to Mr. Nixon that the reason they went through you was that they wanted to be absolutely certain that it would be reviewed, since this was a very serious charge with respect to loyalty toward the Government, especially in the Bureau of Economic Warfare.

Mr. CURRIE. That is not my recollection; that is my reconstruction. I was trying to explain what that was.

Mr. HÉBERT. It was a very serious charge?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes; that is right.



Mr. HÉBERT. And yet, it had no effect on you that a friend of yours was charged with disloyalty, and you dismissed it?

Mr. CURRIE. He was no more a friend of mine than were dozens of people scattered throughout the Government. Matters affecting economists usually came my way.

Mr. HÉBERT. The fact that you had been entertained in his home, the fact that you took your son over to his house to see the Ullmann tool shop—

Mr. CURRIE. That, I assure you, would not affect me in a matter affecting the security of the United States.

Mr. HÉBERT. But it did not leave any lasting impression on you.

Mr. CURRIE. It left the impression—

Mr. HÉBERT. I mean, it just left a passing fancy with you: That man "is being charged with being disloyal. They will clear him. So what? So I will forget about it."

Mr. CURRIE. No, the fact that he was subsequently cleared of the charge reassured me that any questions that arose in my mind as a result of this charge were disposed of.

Mr. HÉBERT. And you never discussed that with him?

Mr. CURRIE. As I said, I testified that he said he was very grateful to me, and I never told anybody, and there was no reason for him to be grateful, but he persisted in being grateful.

Mr. HÉBERT. You say this was a routine matter?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you recall any other incidents of anybody else's loyalty being questioned and being referred to you?

Mr. CURRIE. Offhand, no; I do not recall.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then it could not have been a routine matter. This was a single case.

Mr. CURRIE. Not the charge, Mr. Congressman. The fact is that there were things referred to the White House which were in turn referred to the departments; that was the routine aspect of the case.

Mr. HÉBERT. In only one case was there a charge of suspected disloyalty, a charge of suspected disloyalty in the Bureau of Economic Warfare that was referred to you?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not remember now.

Mr. HÉBERT. To the best of your recollection there would be only one case?

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. And that one case turns out to be Silvermaster, whom you know?

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Nobody else?

Mr. CURRIE. Not that I can recall.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Currie, how many times were you at the Silvermaster home?

Mr. CURRIE. I think in the whole period, three or four or five times; I do not really recall exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. And what were the approximate dates?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not remember, Mr. Congressman—Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did they start in 1943 or 1944?

Mr. CURRIE. No; I think it came—I was invited after my first official contact with them, which must have been in 1940, but I only imagine that. I cannot recall from my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the last time you were there; what year?

Mr. CURRIE. That again I cannot recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you think it was in 1944?

Mr. CURRIE. I left the Government in 1945, and I assume it was probably within a year of that time, but I really must say that that is only guessing.

The CHAIRMAN. Within a year of 1945?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes. But that is, as I say, only guessing again; I do not have certain knowledge of my own recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you again tell the committee, as best you can recall, the names of the persons who were present at the Silvermasters' home when you were there?

Mr. CURRIE. The person I definitely recall would be Mr. C. B. Baldwin, who was Mr. Silvermaster's boss at the Farm Security Administration; and I believe Mr. Will Alexander, who also followed Mr. Baldwin in the Farm Security Administration, and Mr. Louis Bloch, who was chairman of the Maritime Labor Board, who was the previous superior of Mr. Silvermaster, and their wives. I believe that is right. I am not quite sure of my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. You were there possibly five times, you say?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not remember; several times.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there not any other people present?

Mr. CURRIE. Mrs. Silvermaster, Mr. Ullmann; I met Mrs. Silvermaster's brother there; that is all I can remember.

The CHAIRMAN. What was Silvermaster's brother's name?

Mr. CURRIE. I believe it was Boris. I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his business?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. But you think that the last time you were there—the first time was in 1940, and the last time was within a year of 1945?

Mr. CURRIE. That should be—

The CHAIRMAN. It must have been 1944—it might have been 1946.

Mr. CURRIE. That is my best informed guess.

The CHAIRMAN. It may have been 1944 or 1946.

Mr. CURRIE. No; I left the Government in 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. So it would be either 1944 or 1945?

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date when you received word on this Army Intelligence report?

Mr. CURRIE. It has been brought out in the testimony that was in June 1942.

The CHAIRMAN. June 1942. So you had been at the Silvermasters' home prior to that time and after that time.

Mr. CURRIE. I should imagine so, but I cannot fix the dates definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. And in reply to one of Mr. Mundt's questions you said that you never questioned the loyalty of a person when that person was making application for a position; is that correct?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you never questioned the loyalty of a person either when they were in the Government; is that correct?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Then if you never questioned the loyalty of the person one way or the other, why did you take an interest, such an interest, in the Army Intelligence report on Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. CURRIE. I did not take an interest in the Army Intelligence report of Mr. Silvermaster. I never saw the report. I did not read the report. I did not intercede. I referred it to the appropriate official of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. In a routine manner?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct. If it had been a Naval Intelligence report, I would have referred it to Mr. Forrestal.

The CHAIRMAN. But it was a routine matter, so it would just go—you would refer it through channels?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it a little odd that you should call the Under Secretary of War, the next highest official in the War Department, if it was just a routine matter?

Mr. CURRIE. I think not. I knew Judge Patterson, and he was the civilian in the War Department charged—who would be charged with military intelligence matters. He would be the logical person for me, I think, to refer anything to.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Silvermaster ever talk to you about this Army Intelligence report?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not remember that, Mr. Chairman. He has stated before this committee that he came to see me, but I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall whether he talked to you about it or not?

Mr. CURRIE. No. To the best of my recollection, I did not at that time see the report at all, and I certainly would take no position on its findings, because that was not my business. It would have been quite improper for me to take any stand at all on the conclusions or recommendations or evidence or findings of that report.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the FBI question you on that Army Intelligence report?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any idea what was in the Army Intelligence report about Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea at all of what was in it?

Mr. CURRIE. The only thing I recall having been told was the conclusion, the statement that he was not a proper person to be handling military documents or having access to military secrets, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that conclusion?

Mr. CURRIE. Whoever it was who called from BEW, whose name, unfortunately, I cannot now recall.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did it take, after you got word of the Army Intelligence report, how long did it take to get word back that Silvermaster was cleared?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it was a short time?

Mr. CURRIE. Probably within a month, but I am not sure. I am not at all certain on this.

The CHAIRMAN. The person from BEW, the first person from BEW, you have no idea who that person might be?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir; I thought it was Mr. Perkins, but I checked recently with Mr. Perkins, and he does not recall that he called me.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I will just suspend my questions until there are a couple of questions from Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just one month, I want to tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. He said about one month, about a month later.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, if you have not already done so, the Chair would like to instruct you to get this Army Intelligence report on Mr. Silvermaster.

Mr. HÉBERT. You mean if the Army will give it to us, with the permission of the White House.

The CHAIRMAN. At least we will try to get it anyway.

I will just read your testimony in regard to that:

Judge Patterson subsequently telephoned to me to say that the matter had been reviewed and that in the judgment of the Department the statements made in the report were not substantiated, and that the report was being withdrawn.

Did Judge Patterson tell you anything that was in the report?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir, not to my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you go on to say:

According to the letter from Judge Patterson to Mr. Milo Perkins which has been inserted in the record of these hearings, Judge Patterson stated, "I have personally made an examination of the case, and have discussed it with Maj. Gen. G. V. Strong, G-2."

Did General Strong discuss this matter with you?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you at any time discuss this matter with either the civil service or Naval Intelligence?

Mr. CURRIE. Not to my recollection, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that there is a report on Mr. Silvermaster in Civil Service or Naval Intelligence?

Mr. CURRIE. I believe that in the transcript before this committee there is a statement that there is. I did not know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, were you not asked some questions by the Civil Service Commission in connection with Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What were those questions?

Mr. CURRIE. The only question I can recall which was asked me was whether I had any reason to question the loyalty of Mr. Silvermaster.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your answer?

Mr. CURRIE. My answer was that I had not of my own knowledge any reason to question the loyalty of Mr. Silvermaster.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Civil Service question you before or after you knew of the Army Intelligence report?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not know, but I am sure the committee must know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, that is important. Just think a little bit about it. Did the Civil Service question you before someone in the BEW got in touch with you concerning Mr. Silvermaster, and you heard of the Army Intelligence report, or did they question you after?

Mr. CURRIE. I have just stated to you, Mr. Chairman, that I do not know whether it was before or after. I believe Mr. Russell appeared before this committee, and stated that he had interviewed me in the

Civil Service and so there must be a record somewhere, but I do not of my own knowledge know.

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to Mr. Silverman, you say that his reputation was that of one of the top ranking statisticians of Washington. How well did you know Mr. Silverman?

Mr. CURRIE. I knew him over a long period of years, not particularly intimately, but for a long period. The only time I worked very closely, intimately with him, was in 1940 on the proposed legislation which was designated by the Railroad Retirement Board, and he worked with me at that time, but we did prepare this legislation, and that was the only official contact I had with him, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't he contact you after 1940?

Mr. CURRIE. I saw him from time to time, but we were not particularly intimate.

The CHAIRMAN. When you saw him from time to time, did you see him in your offices, or did you see him at social affairs or where?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not recall the circumstances now. I remember seeing him occasionally, but I do not remember where or how or when, what the occasions were now.

The CHAIRMAN. Can't you recall seeing him at some social affair?

Mr. CURRIE. It is very possible, or at various committee meetings in the Government; I do not know. You see, at that time, Mr. Thomas, I was meeting constantly with the economists in the Government, and it is very difficult for me to say now when and under what circumstances I met any particular person.

The CHAIRMAN. On page 10 of your statement, you are referring to "inside information." You say:

In fact, I never discussed these matters with anyone other than officials of the Government.

Wasn't Mr. Silvermaster an official of the Government?

Mr. CURRIE. I added "officially charged with responsibility in connection with China."

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you discuss this matter with any of the persons who have been named in connection with these hearings?

Mr. CURRIE. I had occasion to discuss some elements of the China program with Mr. White of the Treasury, particularly the financial aspects of this China program. We had various meetings on that.

The CHAIRMAN. What Mr. White is that?

Mr. CURRIE. That is Mr. Harry D. White.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss the same matters with any officials in BEW?

Mr. CURRIE. No; at the time when I was in BEW I was no longer very intimately connected or concerned with the Chinese policy. There were a great number, I may say, there were a great number of confidential things that I handled in BEW which, apparently, have not been talked about in these hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in conclusion, you say:

I have spent 11 years serving the Government of the United States in positions of considerable responsibility, and clothed with a most confidential character, in the Treasury, Federal Reserve—

And so on.

Have you seen the file on you in the Treasury Department?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any file exists there?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir. I assume there must be, because I was senior analyst at the Treasury at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. You were what?

Mr. CURRIE. I assume there must be, because I had the rank of senior analyst at the Treasury for some months in 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. CURRIE. For some months in 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the FBI question you before you appeared before the Federal grand jury?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they question you concerning your knowledge of Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they question you concerning Victor Perlo?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not question you concerning him?

Mr. CURRIE. Not to my recollection. They may have; I do not recall the name.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they question you concerning Mr. Silverman?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they question you concerning Miss Bentley?

Mr. CURRIE. They never mentioned Miss Bentley by name. They asked me if I knew a woman by the name of Mary, and I said I never had. I recognize now that that is probably who was being referred to. But I never heard of Miss Bentley or Miss Bentley's name until the testimony spoken before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the only questions I have.

Mr. MUNDT.

Mr. MUNDT. In connection with your work in China, which resulted in your having several missions to China, and talked with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, were you at that time one of those who were helping to formulate our American policy vis-à-vis China?

Mr. CURRIE. I think I might be characterized as one of those.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you care to tell the committee whether it was your recommendation that we permit Communists—that we urge, that we insist, I guess the recommendation was, that we insist that the Chinese Nationalists accept Communists as part of the coalition government in China?

Mr. CURRIE. No; that question never arose in the time in which I was concerned with China. I was concerned with China from 1941 through 1942, those 2 years. The policy of the Government at that time was as complete a support of Chiang Kai-shek and the National Government as was compatible with our own military necessities, and I was specifically charged with being the person to get as much material and to assist and help the Chinese as much as possible in that policy.

Mr. MUNDT. The time, then, that we launched on what is commonly referred to as the "Chinese appeasement policy," you were no longer recommending Chinese policy?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. When did you first learn, Mr. Currie, that the Civil Service Commission had reported officially that Nathan Gregory Sil-

vermaster was such a bad security risk that he should be removed from the Government?

Mr. CURRIE. As far as I recall, the first word I ever heard of that was in testimony before this committee.

Mr. MUNDT. It had never come to your knowledge before that time?

Mr. CURRIE. No.

Mr. MUNDT. What were the circumstances under which Mr. Silvermaster expressed his gratitude to you for having relayed the report to Judge Patterson?

Mr. CURRIE. What were the circumstances?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. CURRIE. I do not recall the occasion or the time. I just remember that he expressed himself as very grateful, and I said that there was nothing that I would not have done for anybody else. There was nothing personal in it.

Mr. MUNDT. I think you said that he persisted in expressing his gratitude.

Mr. CURRIE. I believe so.

Mr. MUNDT. It could be that perhaps Shakespeare was right when he said, "Methinks my lord protests too much." His gratitude was pressed upon you, there might have been some good reason why he felt that gratitude.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we had better leave Shakespeare out of the hearing.

[Laughter.]

Mr. MUNDT. When did you first learn, Mr. Currie, that General Strong had cleared Mr. Silvermaster? Was that when you read—

Mr. CURRIE. I did not learn that until I read this letter that I believe was put in as an exhibit or part of the testimony before this committee.

Mr. MUNDT. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman, although I would like to have the record show that Mr. Currie, in addition to having answered questions in a forthright manner, came here without benefit of counsel to whisper in his ear the answers he should give to the committee. I think that is very commendable.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Currie, just so the record will be clear on this point, as I understand this matter of referring the Silvermaster case to the War Department, it was just a routine matter, as far as you were concerned.

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You had a considerable number of routine matters that you did refer to the War Department from time to time?

Mr. CURRIE. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Well, would you say about how many it would run? Would you say it would run in the hundreds a month, I suppose, matters you might have to refer, or would it run—

Mr. CURRIE. Not very many matters came to me which I would refer to the War Department, because, you see, I was an economist at the White House, and most of my work had to do with economists and economics, except for the period when I was handling the lend-lease program for China, when I had a good deal to do with the War Department. Apart from that, I had very little contact with them.

Mr. NIXON. But you had a number of referrals to the War Department from your department.

Mr. CURRIE. To other departments. The routine thing, I would like to stress, is that we try to get things from off our desk as quickly as possible, and try to pass them on to the proper people.

Mr. NIXON. Now, this referral to Judge Patterson was in June of 1942, as I understand it?

Mr. CURRIE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. As you recall, that was right at the height of the war effort.

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And was it always your practice on a referral to call Judge Patterson on the telephone and take him away from the business of planning the war effort just to turn over routine referrals that you had on a man? Did you always call him on the telephone?

Mr. CURRIE. I can only imagine, Mr. Nixon, that I was frightfully busy at the time, and disposed of it in that way. As I recall, from the dates presented to the committee, I must have been just on the point of leaving for China, and I was tremendously busy at that time. That is one reason, perhaps, why I do not recall the whole thing very well.

Mr. NIXON. So, on these referrals it was your practice to call the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or the Under Secretary of War, Under Secretary of Navy, on the telephone so that—

Mr. CURRIE. You either called or referred by letter. But in any case, I was supposed to refer to the top of the Department. I was not supposed to communicate with an officer down along the line, you see, on a matter of this sort.

Mr. NIXON. I understand.

Mr. CURRIE. And I assumed it was always referred down, but the channels were always through the top of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt there at that point?

Mr. NIXON. Just a minute, Mr. Chairman. When you made a call like that on Secretary Patterson or you made a call to him or to one of the other individuals, they always made it a practice to call you back and tell you what they said or had done; is that correct, even though you indicated no interest in the case, except as a referral?

Mr. CURRIE. I do not remember, Mr. Nixon, whether they always called me back or not.

Mr. NIXON. Well, Judge Patterson did in this case.

Mr. CURRIE. In this case I recall that he did.

Mr. NIXON. And you called him and you indicated no particular interest in the case?

Mr. CURRIE. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask Mr. Currie if he knows Henry Collins.

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Carl Aldo Marzani?

Mr. CURRIE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did you go to China officially for the Government?

Mr. CURRIE. Twice.



Mr. STRIPLING. Were you accompanied at one time by Emile Despres?

Mr. CURRIE. I was accompanied the first mission to China by Mr. Despres.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Mr. CURRIE. He was an employee of the Federal Reserve Board at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who else accompanied you on that trip to China except for Mr. Despres?

Mr. CURRIE. He was the only person. I should explain, Mr. Strippling, that that first mission to China was not a political or a military mission; it was an economic mission. I was sent out there to advise the Chinese on the problem that is still with them, the problem of inflation and, therefore, I took with me an economist from the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. STRIPLING. I see. Those are all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more questions?

Mr. HÉBERT. I want to ask Mr. Currie just one thing. Mr. Currie, are you satisfied that we have accepted your invitation for a searching examination this morning?

Mr. CURRIE. I am very much indeed.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused. The next witness, Mr. Strippling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry Dexter White.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. White, will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WHITE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. White, in reply to your request, I doubt if you will be on that long anyway. If, however, you should get tired, you just let me know, and we will give you a recess.

Mr. WHITE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Strippling.

### TESTIMONY OF HARRY DEXTER WHITE

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please state your full name, Mr. White?

Mr. WHITE. Harry Dexter White.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you always been known by that name?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. WHITE. Boston, Mass., October 29, 1892.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mr. WHITE. I studied at Columbia, Stanford, Harvard. I got an A. B. and an A. M. at Stanford, a Ph. D. at Harvard; I taught at Harvard for some 6 years, I think, and subsequently at the St. Lawrence University.

Mr. STRIPLING. What subject did you teach at Harvard?

Mr. WHITE. Economics—international economics—at Harvard.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. WHITE. 334 West Eighty-sixth Street, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. WHITE. Well, I am sort of financial and economic consultant.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. WHITE. I was with the Federal Government for some 13 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you detail to the committee the various positions you held in the Federal Government?

Mr. WHITE. I think I began as an assistant director of research—prior to that I was called down for a special job—then I was Assistant Director of Research at the Treasury. I then became Director of Monetary Research, which was a separate division from the Division of Research. Subsequently I was assistant to the Secretary, and in my last year with the Treasury I was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and I then served for a year as the United States Executive Director on the International Monetary Fund.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. WHITE. I know Mr. Silvermaster pretty well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you visited in his home?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; I was in his home a number of times.

Mr. STRIPLING. Has he visited in your home?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir; he visited in my home a number of times.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Mr. Silvermaster—approximately when?

Mr. WHITE. That is hard to say. It was 8, 9, 10, or 11 years ago. It must have been more than 8 because it was prior to the war. I should say closer to 10.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a statement to read, Mr. White?

Mr. WHITE. Well, I have a brief number of things that I have jotted down.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean, do you wish to read a statement?

Mr. WHITE. I should like to, if I may.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I think it would be all right to read that at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WHITE. I voluntarily asked to come here before this committee, and the committee has been kind to grant my request. I have read in the newspapers charges that have been made against me by a Miss Elizabeth Bentley, and a Mr. Whittaker Chambers. I am coming before you because I think it is important that the truth be made known to the committee, and to the public, and I am prepared to answer to the best of my ability any questions that any member of the committee may wish to ask.

I should like to state at the start that I am not now and never have been a Communist, nor even close to becoming one; that I cannot recollect ever knowing either a Miss Bentley or a Mr. Whittaker Chambers, nor, judging from the pictures I have seen in the press, have I ever met them.

The press reported that the witnesses claim that I helped to obtain key posts for persons I knew were engaged in espionage work to help them in that work. That allegation is unqualifiedly false.

There is and can be no basis in fact whatever for such a charge.

The principles in which I believe, and by which I live, make it impossible for me to ever do a disloyal act or anything against the interests of our country, and I have jotted down what my belief is for the committee's information.

My creed is the American creed. I believe in freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of criticism, and freedom of movement. I believe in the goal of equality of opportunity, and the right of each individual to follow the calling of his or her own choice, and the right of every individual to an opportunity to develop his or her capacity to the fullest.

I believe in the right and duty of every citizen to work for, to expect, and to obtain an increasing measure of political, economic, and emotional security for all. I am opposed to discrimination in any form, whether on grounds of race, color, religions, political belief, or economic status.

I believe in the freedom of choice of one's representatives in Government, untrammelled by machine guns, secret police, or a police state.

I am opposed to arbitrary and unwarranted use of power or authority from whatever source or against any individual or group.

I believe in a government of law, not of men, where law is above any man, and not any man above law.

I consider these principles sacred. I regard them as the basic fabric of our American way of life, and I believe in them as living realities, and not as mere words on paper.

That is my creed. Those are the principles I have worked for. Together those are the principles that I have been prepared in the past to fight for, and am prepared to defend at any time with my life, if need be.

That is all I am going to say at this time. I am ready for any questions you may wish to ask. [Applause.]

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. WHITE. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know him?

Mr. WHITE. He has worked for me for some 10 years. He has been most of that time in China, but he has been off and on in the office.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Norman Bursler?

Mr. WHITE. I have met him a few times; not well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Frank V. Coe?

Mr. WHITE. I know Frank Coe very well.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you known him?

Mr. WHITE. He and I came to the Treasury—I never knew him before then—in 1934. I was impressed with his ability then, as I am now, and he worked for the Treasury for several years. He taught—I tried to get him to leave his teaching and come to the Treasury, I think it was, when the war broke out. I think he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. WHITE. I have known Lauchlin Currie for many years. He and I taught at Harvard together, and were students there together.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Sonia S. Gold?

Mr. WHITE. Mrs. Gold; yes, I do. She worked in the Division for, I think, a couple of years.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the Monetary Research?

Mr. WHITE. In the Division of Monetary Research.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William J. Gold or Bela Gold?

Mr. WHITE. I do not think so. Is that her husband?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. She once introduced me to her husband; said a few words.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Irving Kaplan?

Mr. WHITE. Irving Kaplan? Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know him?

Mr. WHITE. Fairly well. We used to play ball. He is not a very good player, incidentally. [Laughter.]

Mr. STRIPLING. Baseball?

Mr. WHITE. This was volleyball, and baseball, both, softball.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Abraham G. Silverman?

Mr. WHITE. Who is that?

Mr. STRIPLING. Silverman.

Mr. WHITE. Well, George Silverman; oh, yes; very well.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you have testified you knew Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

Mr. WHITE. Very definitely; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William H. Taylor?

Mr. WHITE. Bill Taylor; yes, he worked for me—I would not know exactly—some 6 or 7 years. Part of that time he was in China; part, I think he was in a prisoners' camp in China, I am not sure, but I know him well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William L. Ullmann?

Mr. WHITE. I know William Ullmann well. He also worked for me.

Mr. STRIPLING. When Mr. Silvermaster testified before the committee recently he stated that you appointed him to attend the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in 1944, I believe it was.

Mr. WHITE. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. As the interpreter.

Mr. WHITE. Well, more than an interpreter. We were dealing, among some 40 nations, with the Russians, and it was very difficult to conduct negotiations with them. Everything had to be translated back and forth two ways. We spent months, literally months, in our prior conversations, and I thought it would be an excellent thing to have an economist and a man who knew Russian there to help in the interpretation and in the discussions, and I was glad to have him there. I asked him to come, and he got leave. I do not remember where he was at that time, with what agency, and, unfortunately, I think he got ill, either the first or the second day, so he was of no use.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know John Abt?

Mr. WHITE. I have heard his name. I may have met him, but I do not think so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lee Pressman?

Mr. WHITE. I know Lee Pressman well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Henry Collins?

Mr. WHITE. I do not think I have ever met the gentleman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. WHITE. I know Alger Hiss; not very well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Donald Hiss?

Mr. WHITE. I know them both.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever know anyone in 1935 or 1936 who went under the name of Carl, C-a-r-l?

Mr. WHITE. I do not recollect any such name. I may have; it is a long time ago.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever know—I believe you stated you did not know a person by the name of Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. WHITE. To the best of my recollection I remember no such name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chambers has testified that he was the courier for a Communist apparatus, operating in the Government in 1935, and 1936, and part of 1937. He testified that he was known only as Carl to the members of that apparatus. And I ask you again, do you remember any person in that period known to you only as Carl?

Mr. WHITE. I have no recollection. I doubt very much whether I would have known any man by just the first name. It would have been very peculiar.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. WHITE. I know Victor Perlo; not well.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times would you say you had been at the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. WHITE. Oh, over the years, I suppose, half a dozen times, maybe a little more, maybe a little less.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever go into Mr. Silvermaster's basement at 5515 Thirtieth Street?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; they asked me that question before, and I listened to the question being asked of Mr. Currie.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you mean by "they"?

Mr. WHITE. Did somebody ask me something?

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you mean by "they" asked you the question before?

Mr. WHITE. At the grand jury. Maybe I am anticipating, so I will pass that. I was collecting my memory. Yes, I was at the basement. It was at a party, and they were playing ping-pong. I fancied myself a little as a ping-pong player, and we played a few times.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, right there. Let me see that note. One thing I cannot reconcile, Mr. White, you send me a note and you say that:

I am recovering from a severe heart attack. I would appreciate it if the chairman would give me 5 or 10 minutes rest after each hour.

For a person who had a severe heart condition, you certainly can play a lot of sports.

Mr. WHITE. I did not intend that this note should be read aloud. I do not know any reason why it should be public that I am ill, but I think probably one of the reasons why I suffered a heart attack was because I played so many sports, and so well. The heart attack which I suffered was last year. I am speaking of playing ping-pong, and I was a fair tennis player, and a pretty good ball player, many years prior to that. I hope that clears that up, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. [Applause.]

I would say that you had an athlete's heart. Go ahead, Mr. Strippling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Getting back to the question, Mr. White, whether you were in the Silvermaster basement, did you ever notice any photographic equipment?

Mr. WHITE. I do not recollect. I do not think I would have paid any attention to it. I am not at all interested in photography myself. I do not think I have snapped a picture in 20 years. It might have been; it might not. I do know, though, that Mr. Ulmann was interested in photography. I do know that. He had some splendid photographs in his home, which were, he said, done by him—Silvermaster—done by him, and they looked quite professional. And I also remember that many years prior to that, or as a result of that, I asked whether he would not take some pictures of my children, which he very generously did, and they are very excellent pictures. We still have them, and they are hanging in my bedroom.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. White, the names that I read to you a few moments ago, were the people that Elizabeth T. Bentley testified comprise the so-called Silvermaster group. A number of these people worked for you. I believe you admitted knowing all but one.

Mr. WHITE. Not admitted; affirmed, if you do not mind, Mr. Strippling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I will be glad to change the term. Would you tell me whether or not you have ever had any reason to suspect that any of those people were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. WHITE. No, except one; and if I may cite the occasion——

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. It was either 1942 or 1943—I do not think it was as late as 1944; I think 1942 or 1943—Mr. Silvermaster spoke to me, saying that he was being asked to resign from the Board of Economic Warfare on the ground that he was being accused of being a Communist; and he asked whether I could not be of some assistance to get his name cleared. He had never impressed me as a Communist: he was an able economist and interested in world affairs. We had had many discussions.

I said to him—well, I was a little taken aback, and I said, "Well, are you a Communist?" He said, "No." I said, "Well, what is there that you can give me or show me or what charges have been made? I cannot do anything for you unless I know something about your background, more than I did." He said he would send me a copy of a reply which he made, I think, to the Civil Service Commission. I am not quite sure.

He subsequently sent me a 10- or 20-page—it was a fairly long—statement, in which there was, prefacing each paragraph, an allegation or a claim or a statement, apparently made by somebody. I would judge from the paper that he had access to the charge that was made. And then his reply was set up there.

After reading the reply it convinced me of the integrity of the man, and that he was not a Communist.

I then went to Mr. Herbert Gaston, who was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and on the Loyalty Board, and a fairer and more conscientious man never served the Government, as anybody who knew or who happened to know Mr. Herbert Gaston would testify. I went to him and I said that this man was being asked to resign from the

Board—I think it was subsequent to that—and I said he was being asked to resign now.

I can well understand and thoroughly sympathize with the view that if there is any slightest question of a man's being a Communist, he ought not to be in a position—ought not to hold a position where there was any confidential information passed; that even though there was no evidence or proof, a mere suspicion was enough. We were at war, and there was no need for that. I said that I was not interested in seeing him get his post back. In fact, I did not think he should.

I said that I understood that this record was such that he could not get his old post back with the Department of Agriculture, which was, I had presumed, nothing to do with any possible confidential information; and I said, unless there was evidence, it seemed to me that it would be a darned shame for a man to lose his livelihood and not be able to work for the Government unless there was a case against him, and I said, "Mr. Gaston"—or "Herbert," as I called him—"would you please look into this and satisfy yourself as to the merits of the case?"

Mr. Gaston said he would. Mr. Gaston subsequently informed me he did, and I think the man was cleared. He must have been because he got a job in the Department of Agriculture. That was the only occasion in which there was any question in my mind raised as to any of these men that you mention being a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, we had before the committee this week Victor Perlo.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Perlo, I believe, testified that he worked in the Monetary Research Division in the Treasury Department; is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you responsible for bringing Mr. Perlo into that Division?

Mr. WHITE. No; I do not think I even knew Mr. Perlo then; I might have met him, because I probably have met almost every economist in Washington—most of the good ones, at any rate—and I was not in charge of Monetary Research at that time. I was Assistant Director—Assistant Secretary—when he came on, but I subsequently met him, and he did a number of things for me. He was a specialist on United States cyclical movements of business conditions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you employ William Ullmann?

Mr. WHITE. William Ullmann I employed myself; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. And did you employ any of the other people whom I read to you?

Mr. WHITE. Well, some of them I employed myself, and I will indicate, if you like, the remainder, if they worked in the Division while I was the Director. I would have approved their employment. Not only would I have approved their employment, but usually, unless it was a person with a low classification, I would have interrogated him solely for the purpose of ascertaining the technical competence, sometimes for short periods, sometimes for a long period. It depends on his history and his academic background.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Perlo and Mr. Ullmann, as well as your friend Mr. Silvermaster—

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have all been accused.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Ullmann is also my friend.

Mr. STRIPLING. Make him your friend, too.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What about Mr. Perlo?

Mr. WHITE. Not that I would not wish him to be a friend. I just do not happen to know him very well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Regardless of friendship involved, they have all been before this committee and have all refused to state under oath whether or not they were members of the Communist Party. Do you have any attitude on their refusal to answer that very pertinent question since two of them were former employees in your department and the other a very close friend of yours whom you interceded to keep in the Government?

Mr. WHITE. No; I do not think I would know what the situation is. Apparently they have had the advice of counsel. I suppose it depends on what counsel you have. I do not happen to have any counsel that I would seek advice of that kind from. I do my own thinking.

Mr. STRIPLING. If you were still head of the Monetary Research—

Mr. WHITE. What is that?

Mr. STRIPLING. If you were still Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, would you reemploy these people if they refused to answer that question?

Mr. WHITE. Well, I should hardly do so under the circumstances. Of course not. I mean, I would want to know a lot more about it, and want to know a lot of the evidence, would want to turn it over to the proper investigating authorities, and have them be extremely careful. I should not want to injure an innocent man, and I should not take alone myself anybody's word about anybody else being Red or a Communist, but I certainly should want a thorough investigation made. As a matter of fact, we did that with all cases.

Mr. STRIPLING. You investigated all these people?

Mr. WHITE. I did not, no; but we have a very excellent Secret Service in the Treasury, and all cases were turned over to them for investigation. I say, "all," I do not think that was quite true in the beginning. I think when I first came there, I am not sure that that was done; but several years later, when it was a Treasury ruling or an administration ruling, I do not remember, that everyone should be so investigated, they made an investigation not only of everyone who came in, but everyone who had been in and they had to be cleared.

Mr. STRIPLING. And that investigation was made by the Secret Service?

Mr. WHITE. It was turned over to the Secret Service of the Treasury Department.

Mr. STRIPLING. And did you subsequently review their reports?

Mr. WHITE. I did not review it. We just took their findings.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they make findings?

Mr. WHITE. Oh, yes. I mean, they would say, if I remember correctly, it would say either "Approved"—I do not remember when there ever was a case of disapproval. There may have been, but I do not remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not know of anybody who was ever asked to resign?



Mr. WHITE. I do not remember, no. I do not think there was. I think if there had been I think I would have remembered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Mr. Perlo ever asked to resign from the Treasury?

Mr. WHITE. I do not know; not while I was there.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you leave there?

Mr. WHITE. I left the Treasury in the spring of 1946.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Harold Glasser employed in your department?

Mr. WHITE. Harold Glasser was employed in my division; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether Harold Glasser was ever asked, together with Victor Perlo, to resign because of his being a security risk?

Mr. WHITE. That, I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never heard of that?

Mr. WHITE. I never heard of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether Harold Glasser was the subject of a loyalty investigation?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you intercede in behalf of Mr. Glasser?

Mr. WHITE. What is that, sir?

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you intercede in behalf of Mr. Glasser?

Mr. WHITE. I did not intercede in behalf of Mr. Glasser, but I know that either the Civil Service or representatives of the FBI came to see me. I could not be sure of the date, but it was around in the forties, and asked me about Glasser, saying they were making a loyalty proof, and I naturally read the file that was on him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. White, one of the members of the committee has asked me to show you pictures of Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Or the individual who testified that he was known as Carl in 1935 and 1936.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. The pictures I have here, one from Time magazine of August 16, which picture was taken by Thomas McAvoy of Life, and the other appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of August 4, which is an Acme Telefoto. I will show you these two pictures, and ask you if you recall an individual who resembles Whittaker Chambers. [Showing witness two photographs.]

Mr. WHITE. I think I have seen that one [indicating].

Mr. STRIPLING. I should like to state, however, that according to our information that individual is much heavier now than he was in 1935 or 1936.

Mr. WHITE. This one, I think, I have seen [indicating]. No; I have no recollection of ever having met him. Of course, that is 12 or 14 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the answer?

Mr. WHITE. What is that, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. What was the answer?

Mr. WHITE. I say I have no recollection of ever having met him. It was 12 or 15 years ago. I must have met anywhere from 5 to 10,000 persons in the last 15 years, but I have no recollection. It may be that he did meet me, and it may be that I did chat with him.

Mr. NIXON. In the event that you had met that individual, Mr. White, on, say, as many as three or four occasions, would you recollect whether you had or had not met him?

Mr. WHITE. The oftener I was supposed to have met him, the more nearly would it be that I would have remembered. It partly depends on where, what the conversation was. I should think so, three or four times, I do not know.

Mr. NIXON. Well, assuming that a meeting did occur on as many as four occasions, would your testimony be that you do not recollect having met this person?

Mr. WHITE. My testimony would have been the same. I do not recollect ever having met him. It is possible that I may have met a chap like that in any one of a dozen conferences or cocktail parties or meetings.

Mr. NIXON. Suppose you had met this individual on four occasions by himself, and were engaged in conversation with him, would you recollect whether you did or did not?

Mr. WHITE. I should think I would—I should think I would, but I am not sure.

Mr. NIXON. And you do not want to say then that if you had met him on three or four occasions, whether you do or not remember having met him?

Mr. WHITE. I do not recollect ever having met him.

Mr. NIXON. You do not recall having met any person who was known to you by the name of Carl during that period?

Mr. WHITE. No; I do not. Something I remember very definitely, though, judging from the papers, and I am quoting only from the papers, or referring to the papers, that the gentleman said that he met me and was convincing me or tried to convince me, either not to go into or leave—I do not remember precisely—the Communist Party or the Communist ring. That, I would have remembered. And that I can affirm without any qualification or hesitation or shortness of memory or breath could not possibly have been so.

Mr. NIXON. I think it might be possible, Mr. White, that you are confusing the testimony that Mr. Chambers gave in regard to you, and that which he gave in regard to Alger Hiss. It was Mr. Hiss, who Mr. Chambers testified that he asked to leave the Communist Party, not you.

Mr. WHITE. Well, that is possible.

Mr. NIXON. There is no claim, in other words, by Mr. Chambers that you were asked to come into the party or out of the party.

Mr. WHITE. I am sorry, I did not read the testimony.

Mr. NIXON. I just wanted to have you understand that.

Mr. WHITE. I happened to be out in the country most of the time, and the local papers do not give much coverage of the news.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony is that you did not during the year 1935 or 1937—

Mr. WHITE. I do not recollect having met that individual.

Mr. NIXON. I am sorry, but I did not hear you. You what?

Mr. WHITE. I said I do not recollect having met that individual. I am merely repeating what I said before.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Striping.

Mr. STRIPING. Mr. White, did you attend the United Nations meeting in San Francisco?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were there did you lose your brief case?

Mr. WHITE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it stolen?

Mr. WHITE. No, not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. It did not disappear?

Mr. WHITE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were any files ever missing or stolen from the Division of Monetary Research of the Treasury Department?

Mr. WHITE. I recollect a case in which there were two folders containing material, which had been left on the desk of somebody—somebody had worked on them, and when he came back in the morning, he had reported to somebody that they were no longer there.

My attention was brought to it at once. I called in the Secret Service—I do not remember when it was, but judging from the reaction it must have been during the wartime, because prior to that, I do not think we would have paid much attention to it—called in the Secret Service, and asked them to look into it, and then requested them to suggest or recommend or instruct us as to any measures which they regarded as necessary to tighten up on the handling of that material, because it was a large division, and we happened to handle literally thousands and thousands and thousands of documents, some of which were confidential, and some of which were not. They did make recommendations; we did follow them.

That is the only occasion that I know that things were missing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were those files ever recovered?

Mr. WHITE. Not to my knowledge. No, as far as I know they disappeared.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were the files?

Mr. MUNDT. Pardon me, I did not hear the question. Was it your testimony that the files were never recovered?

Mr. WHITE. Not to my knowledge. I do not think they were. Incidentally, they were not, as described, they were not terribly important, but the fact that two folders could disappear was a matter of considerable concern.

Mr. STRIPLING. Five folders, were they not?

Mr. WHITE. File folders?

Mr. STRIPLING. Five instead of three.

Mr. WHITE. I thought there were two, but they may have been three.

Mr. STRIPLING. There were five, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WHITE. Could you give me the year? I am curious.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was March 24, 1943.

Mr. WHITE. 1943. Your investigating agencies do very well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Oh, yes; but not well enough, I am afraid. I have the report here, Mr. Chairman, regarding these files. There is some confidential aspect of it which I do not want to read into the record, but I will give it to the committee, if the committee wants to look at it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Stripling, you had better proceed while we are looking at this.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go ahead, Mr. Mundt, if you want to ask some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Dr. White, in your statement, or in answer to a question, rather, you mentioned that you at one time had some suspicions

about the loyalty of Mr. Silvermaster because he came to you and said that he had been charged with being a Communist and was about to lose his job in the Treasury Department because of its important nature to our national security, in view of these charges; that you were disturbed by them and asked him to submit what evidence he could that he was not a Communist, and that he submitted a report of 10 to 20 pages in which he set out the allegations and his replies thereto.

Mr. WHITE. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. What other evidence did you find besides the unsubstantiated statements of Mr. Silvermaster that the charges were false?

Mr. WHITE. None. My whole evaluation and appraisal of the man was that he was not a Communist. I was a little bit shocked by what he told me. I made no pretense at being a person who could examine intelligently or run down the basis of them; I was sufficiently impressed with his answer to be convinced myself to ask Mr. Gaston to see that the matter was carefully examined. My suspicions arose when he told me that; they died when the case was cleared and when I had read the document, and I had no suspicions whatsoever subsequent to that or prior to that.

Mr. MUNDT. After Mr. Gaston's investigation, if he made one, and after it was brought to his attention, at least, what happened to Mr. Silvermaster's employment status? Did he remain with the Treasury or was he then—

Mr. WHITE. He was not in the Treasury. I did that as a friend. He was with the Board of Economic Warfare.

Mr. MUNDT. Very well.

Mr. WHITE. And the sole concern I had was that he could get a job somewhere in the Government where there was no question of his having access to confidential information.

Mr. MUNDT. But he was removed from the Board of Economic Warfare then on the basis of these charges and transferred to the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. WHITE. I think that was prior to when I spoke. Now, I am not sure whether it was prior or whether he was in the process of it.

Mr. MUNDT. But, it was as a result of those charges that he was removed from BEW and transferred to Agriculture.

Mr. WHITE. That was my understanding; that is what he told me, and I was quite in sympathy with that action.

Mr. MUNDT. And he apparently solicited your aid at the time he was being transferred, because you said he did not want to lose his means of livelihood, that you sympathized with him in that very normal, human motive. But had he already been transferred to one position from the other there would have been no need for him to solicit your aid.

Mr. WHITE. I do not mean that he had already been transferred, but I think he had been asked to resign.

Mr. MUNDT. Asked to resign.

Mr. WHITE. I think that was it.

Mr. MUNDT. As of your own knowledge, you have no substantiating evidence to confirm the statements that he made. It simply appeared to you convincing enough so that you felt warranted in calling attention of Mr. Gaston—

Mr. WHITE. Congressman Mundt, when taken into context with the numerous discussions that you have had with the man over a number of years before and, of course, since—

Mr. MUNDT. I am simply trying to establish for the record that you are not here saying that of your own knowledge and investigation you can categorically say that Mr. Silvermaster was not a Communist.

Mr. WHITE. Oh, no; I never made any investigation of that.

Mr. MUNDT. That was the point I was trying to get at.

Mr. WHITE. If I thought he was a Communist, why, I would not have associated so closely with him as I did.

Mr. MUNDT. In your answers you said that you knew a man by the name of Coe.

Mr. WHITE. Frank Coe.

Mr. MUNDT. You spoke very highly of him, and at some length.

Mr. WHITE. Well, I should not want to have it thought that I would not speak highly of a number of others that I mentioned. I happened to speak of Frank Coe because he happened to be my assistant.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not going to ask you to speak about a number of others, but I wonder if you speak as highly in your praise of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

Mr. WHITE. I did not know Silvermaster as well. I know Coe almost exclusively from his technical competence and ability, and he is a very charming chap and a very fine chap. He has very high technical competence, and, as I said, he impresses me as a man of fine character, and that is in no way suggesting that I might not say the same about others about whom you may ask me. But you are asking me about Frank Coe.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, I am asking you about Mr. Silvermaster.

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. You do not care to speak of him in the same high terms that you do of Mr. Coe?

Mr. WHITE. I should not hesitate—I think that Mr. Silvermaster—anyone who knows him would say that he is a very charming fellow; incidentally, a good singer, and a good musician, and a pretty good athlete, and he is a man who has thought a great deal, has read a great deal, his conversation is very interesting, and he knows a great deal about world affairs, and I do not know as much about his competence as an economist, because he is not in the field in which I was in—he was in a different speciality in economics. It is like asking a cancer specialist about how good a nose and throat man is.

Mr. MUNDT. I might add that he lost a considerable amount of his charm when he appeared before this committee and refused to testify under oath as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party on the basis that his answer might incriminate him.

Mr. WHITE. That is quite possible, but I was not a member of the committee, nor am I here; and I do not know how he behaved.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you believe that a member of the Communist Party can be loyal to the American Government as a public servant in a high, important Government post and a member of the Communist Party at one and the same time?

Mr. WHITE. I should not think so, Congressman. I would not have employed anybody I knew or suspected to be a Communist to such a post. I might, if I were hiring people, clerks, or something where there was no opportunity to influence policy or to obtain information, I believe. I do not know. I was not faced with that choice.

Mr. MUNDT. The difficulty, Dr. White, is that clerks are the type of people who pick up exposed folders and steal them.

Mr. WHITE. Yes; but, Congressman Mundt, you are talking about something we now know. If you go back to 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, and those years, that was not in the forefront of our mind. We were concerned with the enemy, not at that time with what was regarded to be our ally, and as a matter of fact, I know one occasion in which there was a suspicion of somebody being in contact with the enemy, and we took such steps as were called for. It proved that the suspicion was unfounded. That is why I would not want to mention the man's name.

Mr. MUNDT. Of course, during that period of time that you mention, Russia was not always an ally. That was during the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Mr. WHITE. That is true. When they made the pact with Germany, and when they invaded Finland, they certainly were not, and I think if you will take the record of our Department, you will find it very hard to find anywhere in Washington or anywhere in Congress a division or a group of men who worked harder to prosecute—to help the Allies, prior to our entrance into the war, than the Division of Monetary Research and the United States Treasury. The records will show that. I remember very well writing a memorandum—I am kind of proud of it in retrospect; I suppose we read the memoranda in which we were good forecasters and forget the ones in which we guessed wrongly, but anyway, I remember this one which I had written to Secretary Morgenthau in 1938, and repeated in 1939, the early part of 1939, saying how necessary it was for us to strengthen England's and France's hands, and to do what we could to strengthen China, because I said—I will not repeat it verbatim; I do not remember it verbatim—but the essence of it was that Germany means to attack, and contrary to the beliefs held in many quarters, she means to attack in the west, and not in the east.

Mr. MUNDT. The reason I asked the question about whether you would employ Communists or whether you felt that Communists would be loyal to the Government is to avoid any possible misinterpretation of the creed which you gave as yours, which is very highly commendable, except that you said something that may be subject to misinterpretation when you said you were not concerned with a man's political conviction.

Mr. WHITE. I do not know whether I said that, Congressman Mundt. If I did, I am happy that you corrected the impression. I should have said this: We never asked a man whether he was a Democrat or a Republican. I could not tell you now how many Republicans we had on our staff or how many Democrats. Oh, in the course of conversations, you get to know something about a man's political affiliations, largely in a facetious comment, but we never inquired, and so far as Communists are concerned, if we ever knew or suspected one, we did not hire him, and we assume that the Secret Service would clear all the others.

Mr. MUNDT. Just how well did you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. WHITE. Not very well. I may have met him a few times before he began to work in the Treasury. I think I did. I think he was a member of some committees or some groups, and I met him, I think, when he began working. It is quite possible; it would have been almost routine—not almost, but it would have been routine for the Assistant Director, or the Director, to introduce any new man if he was not low in the classifications, to the various officials who had concern over his work, and he would have been brought in and been interviewed by me. I am pretty sure I met him a few times before that.

Mr. MUNDT. How important were the positions that he held in your Department?

Mr. WHITE. Not important. He was taken on, as was explained to me by his director, the man who employed him—he was taken on, if I remember correctly, because they needed somebody to concentrate on the possibilities of a boom and bust in the United States. That was after the war, and he was supposed to be a specialist in that. I think that is what he did over at the Department in which he worked, and he was taken over for that reason, to my recollection.

Mr. MUNDT. You said you had been in the country and had not been following the hearings.

Mr. WHITE. As closely as I could. There is only one local paper where I am.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Victor Perlo is the man who, in testifying before this committee, in bringing a prepared statement, in which he first categorically denied the charges about his being a Communist and about being the head of one of the espionage rings—when advised of his status under the perjury laws of the United States, and the fact that if those denials could subsequently be proved false, he would be subject to perjury—after consulting counsel, he sought and received permission from the committee to delete his denials from his prepared statement.

Now, as a very able and highly educated American citizen, who has held high Government positions—

Mr. WHITE. Thank you. I sincerely mean that.

Mr. MUNDT. That is quite all right. What would be your reaction to a witness who would engage in that kind of behavior, and in charges as serious as these?

Mr. WHITE. Congressman Mundt, I have known little about this sort of thing prior to these hearings, and the FBI grand jury hearings, when naturally I became much interested in them; and I do not know in judging somebody else where to draw the line between what they feel is their proper conduct before a committee or before a court.

Would you mind if I digressed a little bit—I will try to be short about this but, but you asked me a question, which is pretty searching. If you do not care to listen, Mr. Chairman, I will stop.

The CHAIRMAN. No; it is perfectly all right for you to digress a bit, but please make it a bit.

Mr. WHITE. I will try. If I do not, you stop me. You know, our country was founded, among other things, on the principle that there shall be no star chamber proceedings. In fact, the people who wrote our Constitution revolted against that very practice of star chamber proceedings in which innocent people were convicted of crimes, and they had no opportunity for a hearing, and it was because of that—I

am not telling you this because I know you know that equally as well as I know it, if not more so; that is your job in life. It is because of that that the Bill of Rights was included, which includes the right of trial by jury, the right to cross-question, the right to have counsel who can cross-examine, and all the paraphernalia that stands for Anglo-American justice when a man is tried. That, I think you will agree, is one of the cardinal principles of Anglo-American and American Government. That is what we were built on.

Now then, you ask a man—and I do not know what he thinks; I have not seen him, but trying to put myself in his position, possibly he feels—possibly—that there is a frame-up; he feels he is not getting consideration; maybe he has attorneys who look at this in a hard-boiled fashion, and say, “Now, look, never mind the flowers and the furbelows; you have certain rights and you should defend them. If you do not want to take any chance against making statements or any frame-up or anything of that sort”—mind you, I am not suggesting for one moment that this committee is not perfectly sincere in its investigations; that is for you to judge.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know that this is getting anywhere.

Mr. MUNDT. I am interested in it.

Mr. WHITE. Therefore, I say—Mr. Chairman, I can talk to Mr. Mundt privately.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead; proceed. They are interested, and they would like to have you tell us that.

Mr. WHITE. All I want to say, and I will wind it up, is to say that, therefore, I would hesitate to judge any man who comes before this committee, and I recognize that congressional committees must have broader scope than courts. I have been before them, and I know it is absurd to expect the kind of procedure in a congressional committee that you get in court. It would stop legislation; it would serve no useful purpose; it is hard enough now to get good legislation without introducing a lot of routine. I recognize that.

The CHAIRMAN. I think this is beside the point of the inquiry, so you will please direct your answers and the members of the committee will direct their questions to the witness concerning the inquiry on espionage.

Mr. WHITE. It is a very reasonable request, Mr. Chairman, and I will finish my comments to Mr. Mundt in private, if he cares to listen.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mr. MUNDT. I do not know anything more pertinent to the inquiry on espionage than this reference to Mr. Victor Perlo, because he is one of the persons involved in it.

The CHAIRMAN. If you think it is pertinent, then you and this witness can meet and talk about it.

Mr. WHITE. It will be a pleasure on my part. [Applause.]

Mr. MUNDT. Maybe we can approach it this way. Having heard and read about the reply that Mr. Victor Perlo made to this committee, and when we gave him his opportunity, in the best court of this country, which is the court of public opinion which—

Mr. WHITE. If it is properly presented, Congressman Mundt. If the whole story is presented, I agree with you.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, I am referring, you understand—



Mr. WHITE. And the public could read something beside the headlines, Congressman Mundt, you know that, as well as I.

Mr. MUNDT. I am referring to a statement made by Mr. Perlo, not in answer to a question made by this committee, but one in which he and his counsel thoughtfully schemed out and typewrote and mimeographed and gave to the press, and then, when being asked whether he could stand on it, and stand up under perjury, again in consultation with attorneys, with counsel, deleted the part denying the charges.

I want to know specifically from you now what your reaction would be, as an average American citizen, to that kind of performance.

Mr. WHITE. I do not know. That nonpluses me. I would have to give that thought. I do not care to be any man's judge or the judge of any man's behavior under conditions which prevail at the present—I was going to say courtroom—but I mean in this committee hearing. I would be taken aback. But I do not know, Congressman.

Mr. MUNDT. You would be taken aback?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Well, I certainly was taken aback, taken aback to the point where in my opinion either Victor Perlo is guilty of the charges, guilty as sin, or is an unmitigated ass. I do not know which.

Mr. WHITE. I simply mean, I did not want to associate myself with that role. Maybe yes, maybe no.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess for 5 minutes.

(Short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Everyone please take his seat.

Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. White—

Mr. WHITE. May I thank you publicly, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. White, a moment ago I may have left an impression with you—I said a moment ago I may have left an impression with you in regard to the testimony of Mr. Chambers which, upon looking at the record, I found may have been incorrect. I indicated to you that Mr. Chambers had testified that he had gone to see Mr. Hiss and had requested that he leave the party, and that Mr. Hiss had refused.

As far as you are concerned, his testimony was not that he had requested that you leave the party, but that he did discuss with you the fact that he was leaving what he termed the Communist movement, and that he advised apparently that you would do also.

Now, you can state categorically, I understand, that that is not true.

Mr. WHITE. Well, I do not remember whether anybody ever told me they were leaving the Communist movement. I think that would have stuck in my memory, but I very definitely can say that no one ever asked me to leave the movement, because I never belonged to it.

Mr. NIXON. As I say, there is a difference between party membership and maybe adherence to the tenets of the party, and I think that was the distinction Mr. Chambers was making in his testimony. His indication was not, in his testimony at that time, that you were actually a party member, you understand; that is the point that I wish to make.

Mr. WHITE. Well, my statement would go for a request that I cease being—what did you say—a first cousin to this movement?

Mr. NIXON. Whatever you like.

Mr. WHITE. Whatever you like to call it.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, the point I want to clear up is that you are stating for the record that at no time did this man by the name of Carl discuss with you the fact that he was leaving the Communist Party, and discuss also the matter of your, shall we say, ceasing to be a friend of the Communist Party—shall we put it that way.

Mr. WHITE. The first, certainly, not to my recollection. The second, I certainly would have remembered, and the answer is "No."

Mr. NIXON. There is one other comment that I would like to make, Mr. Chairman. I was interested, as was the rest of the committee, as were the other members of the committee, in Mr. White's testimony and statement in regard to the method in which these proceedings were conducted. The members of this committee also are very critical of star-chamber proceedings, and as Mr. White, of course, being a rather noted scholar in various fields knows, star-chamber proceedings were secret proceedings.

Mr. WHITE. Precisely.

Mr. NIXON. They were conducted in such a way in which people were not allowed to present their side of the case. They were conducted secretly. A judgment was reached, and announced without any opportunity for members of the press—if they had a press at that time—and of course we know this was historical, or members of the press or members of the person's family or his friends to be present to hear the charges, and to see what they were doing, and there has been some criticism of this committee on the ground, possibly, that these proceedings should have been secret. I am glad to note that Mr. White has indicated that he does not favor secret proceedings, and that he favors an open hearing, as we are having at the present time.

Mr. WHITE. Congressman Nixon, I am reluctant to pursue a point which the chairman feels is a digression. I should not, however, like to leave the impression that I get from your remarks that you agree with me with respect to a certain matter. I was not referring to the question of secret or unsecret hearings. I was referring to the fact that the secret hearings frequently made a man guilty, and he had no chance to prove his innocence, according to the kind of court procedure which our American fathers thought was necessary; and you will note when they put into the Bill of Rights one of the rights that a man shall have the right of trial by jury, they did not say merely that he shall have the right to appear in an open court, that he shall have the right of trial by jury.

I do not know, but I think, it is a reasonable assumption that you are a lawyer, Representative Nixon, and you hesitate, possibly not—there are lawyers on the committee—and they will recognize that there is a very considerable difference between a witness' appearing before a committee, with the kind of procedures which the committee has—the committee is courteous, but I am not referring to the courtesies extended to witnesses, but rather to the right that a witness would have to cross-examine through his counsel other witnesses, and all the other protective devices which our fathers felt were neces-

sary to surround an individual who was accused of a crime. That is what I had reference to.

Mr. NIXON. The only thing that I wanted to get clear was that you were opposed to having secret hearings, is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. I would not say that. I think that hearings of this kind should have been secret—should have been a court proceeding.

Mr. NIXON. Court proceedings are not secret.

Mr. WHITE. Well, no—until there were grounds for evidence for indictment, and, then, I certainly think they ought to be open, of course. I think the public ought to know what is going on.

But, Congressman, I think you know—I am sure you appreciate that you need to balance the need for conducting a hearing of this kind against the dangers of doing irreparable harm to some innocent persons. That is a precious heritage which Americans have, that a man is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty. That has been reiterated by every great jurist in American history, time and time again, and certainly you would be the first to recognize that, that in order for a man to have a fair trial, it requires all the rules and regulations of a court hearing.

Mr. NIXON. You are absolutely correct.

Mr. WHITE. Where a man is indicted for a crime—I am not speaking about matters on which congressional inquiries are usually directed about; congressional committees are admirably adapted to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Just let the Chair say this: This is not a question before the committee at the present time. What our forefathers did, why they did, and we have been trying to help them out ever since. The question now is espionage, and I think that we ought to direct our questions and direct your answers to the matter at hand. Otherwise, we will get far afield into tennis and croquet and baseball, and our forefathers, and everything else.

Mr. WHITE. Do not forget volley ball.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

I would like to ask you a couple of questions.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I am at your service.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did you hold when Mr. Silvermaster came to you and told you about the intelligence report?

Mr. WHITE. I was Director of Monetary Research at the Treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. You are Director of Monetary Research at the Treasury?

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. As I recall your testimony, you were very much surprised that an investigation had been made, is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. I was surprised that a question had been raised about Mr. Silvermaster's loyalty.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and then I recall your saying that you asked him whether or not he was a Communist.

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his answer?

Mr. WHITE. Definitely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Definitely not. Then you decided that he was not a Communist; is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. Well, that is putting it a little different from the way I would put it. I said that I asked for some more of his background, what were the charges, what were his answers.

The CHAIRMAN. But you asked him if he were a Communist.

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that if you asked that question of any Communist he or she would answer it?

Mr. WHITE. I would not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that if you asked the question of another employee of your Department who happened to be a card-holding Communist, if you asked the question if he or she were a Communist, they would undoubtedly say "No"?

Mr. WHITE. Probably, but that would not stop my asking.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, you went on to say that you looked over the answer, the written answer, of Mr. Silvermaster in connection with the charges that had been made.

Mr. WHITE. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Silvermaster gave you the impression—Mr. Silvermaster said that he had seen the charges that had been made against him; is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. I am not sure. I said he must have seen them, because in his memorandum, which he gave to me, which was a copy of what, I think he was submitting to some board or had submitted to a board, there were on the top of each paragraph a sentence or a phrase or sometimes several sentences, containing allegations or claims or indictments, and then his answer followed, and I said I presumed he must have had access to the charges.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think that is a very fair presumption. What board was it that made that investigation?

Mr. WHITE. The investigation?

The CHAIRMAN. Of Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. WHITE. I do not know. You mean the board that I requested?

The CHAIRMAN. No; the board which made the investigation of Mr. Silvermaster's loyalty.

Mr. WHITE. I do not know. It was either the Army or the Navy or the Civil Service. I am not sure which. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. And so, Mr. Silvermaster had on his answer, the copy of which was given to you, certain allegations and then his answers following.

Mr. WHITE. Yes; they were not in quotations, and there were statements, and then there were several paragraphs, pretty long, giving his own history and background, and a number of things.

The CHAIRMAN. So, after seeing that, seeing his answers and asking him the question, "Are you a Communist?" you came to the conclusion that he was not a Communist?

Mr. WHITE. That was my feeling, yes; coupled with my many conversations with him on many topics over several years.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. But, did you get in touch with the Army or the Navy or with the Civil Service to find out what their side of the story was?

Mr. WHITE. No; that was not my function. The reason, I think, that Mr. Silvermaster came to me, the reason I am sure is that he knew—he must have known that Mr. Herbert Gaston was a member of the board of inquiry—I do not remember how many members there

were on it—it was a Government board that was appointed at that time to review loyalty cases; and he thought possibly I could intercede on his behalf, which I was glad to do, as a friend when, after having read his paper and knowing him as I did, I went to Mr. Gaston. I will repeat what I said—anyone who knows Mr. Gaston, and I am sure he knows many people—

The CHAIRMAN. You said that before.

Mr. WHITE. You wanted me to repeat it. Do you want me to repeat it?

The CHAIRMAN. I remember it.

Mr. WHITE. You remember it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Fine.

The CHAIRMAN. But, you did not get in touch with the Army or the Navy or the Civil Service to get their side of the question?

Mr. WHITE. Not to my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. You just took his answers to the questions, and you asked him, "Are you a Communist?" and then you took his type-written copy, and then you concluded that that was a good risk, is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. That was not my decision, Mr. Chairman. I did not decide to put him back or not. I requested that this whole matter concerning him be gone into thoroughly.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. To see that there would be no injustice done.

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in favor of going into the matter thoroughly?

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. So that justice could have been done?

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you think that if you thought it should have been done thoroughly that you should have gotten in touch with the Army Intelligence or Naval Intelligence to find out what they had to say about this?

Mr. WHITE. It was natural for me to go to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who was the Treasury representative on that board, whom I knew well, and to ask him that if and when the case came before them would he see that it was given a thorough investigation, and that justice was done, and that the matter was not merely passed over, and with the possible irreparable damage to an individual.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any other cases that you had like Mr. Silvermaster's?

Mr. WHITE. I do not think so. I would have remembered.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get in touch with Mr. Gaston in connection with any other cases?

Mr. WHITE. What?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get in touch with Mr. Gaston in connection with any other cases?

Mr. WHITE. I do not think so. I would have remembered, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. If another person had gotten in touch with you

and had been in the same predicament that Mr. Silvermaster was in, would you ask him if he was a Communist, and then look at his answers and go to Mr. Gaston, without going to Naval Intelligence?

MR. WHITE. If he had been under my employ, I would have turned this matter over to our very excellent Secret Service. This is not a man in my employ, but this was a friend, and I did it as an act of humanity.

The CHAIRMAN. Could it be possible that a friend of yours was a member of the Communist Party and you did not know it?

MR. WHITE. I have many friends, thank heaven.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the answer to my question.

MR. WHITE. How can I answer that, Mr. Congressman? How do I know who is a Communist or not? I know many people and I have many friends. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am asking you whether it would be possible if any of your friends might be Communists.

MR. WHITE. (a) There are Communists; (b) I have friends; (c) those friends might be Communists. I mean, that is silly.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you feel about Mr. Silvermaster today in view of the testimony that has been given before the FBI and Federal grand jury and before this committee, and what you have read in the newspapers? Do you think Mr. Silvermaster was ever a member of the Communist Party?

MR. WHITE. You cannot erase 7 or 8 years of friendship with a man that way unless I see evidence, unless the court declares he is, and until they prove he is guilty. I believe he is innocent.

I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, this applause is not my fault.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

What charges have been made by any witness before this committee that prompted you to come and request that you appear as a witness?

MR. WHITE. On Saturday a week ago Al Gregory, an acquaintance, called me on the telephone and said that I had been accused of being the leader of a spy ring. I read in the next Sunday's paper testimony by a Miss Bentley and by—whether it was that same day or subsequently—Mr. Chambers of such charges, and naturally, I wanted to appear before this committee to clear my name insofar as it is possible to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard or read that you had been charged with being a leader of a spy ring?

MR. WHITE. I heard that, and I think I read it, too, in the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Who charged you with being the leader of a spy ring?

MR. WHITE. Either or both, a Miss Bentley and a Mr. Whittaker Chambers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chief Investigator, what charges were made against Mr. White?

MR. WHITE. Other charges, if I might add.

The CHAIRMAN. Against Mr. White; what were they?

MR. WHITE. That I stated in my preliminary statement that I had placed—

The CHAIRMAN. By either Mr. Chambers or Miss Bentley.

Mr. WHITE. That I had placed in key posts or positions men whom I knew to be espionage agents for the purpose of furthering their work. That charge was repeated in the papers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you want me to read it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is the testimony of July 31 of Elizabeth Bentley. She was referring to the people in the Silvermaster group who were in the Treasury. She was asked by Mr. Stripling:

Were there any other individuals in the Treasury Department who were working with your group?

Miss BENTLEY. With the Silvermaster group?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. Harry Dexter White.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was Mr. White's position?

Miss BENTLEY. I believe he was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, is that correct, or do you call him an Under Secretary, I am not sure.

Mr. STRIPLING. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness says she believes. What was he. We want to know.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and head of Monetary Research, as I know.

Mr. RANKIN. Is he a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. I do not know whether Mr. White was a card-carrying Communist or not.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the extent of his cooperation with your group?

Miss BENTLEY. He gave information to Mr. Silvermaster which was relayed to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever give information to Mr. Silvermaster concerning the work of your department?

Mr. WHITE. We must have talked about the work in my department. I would never give him any secret or confidential information.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. WHITE. I did not do it to anybody. I did not do it to anybody who was unauthorized. There were, of course, within the division scores of people who worked on problems.

The CHAIRMAN. But you went to the extent of getting in touch with Mr. Gaston to get his name cleared because he had been charged with being a Communist, because he was a friend of yours.

Mr. WHITE. Precisely. I will do a lot for my friends, good friends, and that was the least any decent human being could do for a man whom we thought was innocent.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, going back and recalling those days, did you ever recall Mr. Silvermaster asking you for any information that might be of a secret nature or such that you should not give it out?

Mr. WHITE. No, no; I never have. In those years we discussed a good deal about Germany and Hitler's activity, and the possibilities of war, and then, after the war, the possibilities of success, those problems. We discussed economic problems; we ranged the field pretty well. I do not remember his ever asking me for any confidential information, because it would be none of his business.

The CHAIRMAN. If you were shown a photostatic copy of a Communist dues-paying card or a Communist membership card with Mr. Silvermaster's name on it, would you believe that Mr. Silvermaster was a Communist?

Mr. WHITE. Well, it certainly would be strong presumptive evidence that he was. I do not know whether those things are framed; yes, I should think it would be that. If that is evidence before the court, I would accept it. The court is in a better position than I am.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of these other people whose names have been mentioned here today by Mr. Stripling either worked under you or with you or that you helped in some way or another.

Mr. WHITE. Well, I can remember some of the names, but I do not remember all.

The CHAIRMAN. The names that you can recall.

Mr. WHITE. Well, Frank Coe I have described.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. He came to the Treasury at the same time I did. Harold Glasser, I employed some 10 or 12 years ago, and he came from another Government department. Bill Taylor worked for me—who were some of the others? Where the checks are?

Mr. STRIPLING. Blue checks.

Mr. WHITE. Red checks would be more appropriate.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the best statement you have made.

Mr. WHITE. I added it from your point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not hear the latter part.

Mr. WHITE. I will run down the list.

Mr. STRIPLING. Perhaps I should read the ones that I asked you about.

Mr. WHITE. Please do that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just to refresh your memory. Solomon Adler.

Mr. WHITE. He worked in the Division.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that name?

Mr. WHITE. Solomon Adler.

Mr. STRIPLING. Norman Bursler.

Mr. WHITE. He did not work for me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Frank Coe, you have mentioned.

Mr. WHITE. I have mentioned him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Lauchlin Currie.

Mr. WHITE. Lauchlin Currie you know about that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Sonia Gold.

Mr. WHITE. She worked for the Division for a while.

Mr. STRIPLING. William J. Gold.

Mr. WHITE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Irving Kaplan.

Mr. WHITE. I do not think so. The reason I hesitate there is that we have a branch, a sort of subsidiary, that was called Foreign Exchange Control, in which there were several hundred employees. I have a vague recollection that he might have worked for them for a time. I am not sure. The records, I think, will show that. He did not work in the Division of Monetary Research.

Mr. STRIPLING. George Silverman.

Mr. WHITE. George Silverman did not work for us, but when we were establishing the Foreign Exchange, we were very short-handed for excellent statisticians, and in my judgment George Silverman is among the best economic statisticians. I asked his superior whether he could not release him for a couple of months to get started—to help us get started, and I think his superior did, and we got him over there.



Mr. STRIPLING. William H. Taylor.

Mr. WHITE. He worked for us.

Mr. STRIPLING. William L. Ullmann.

Mr. WHITE. He worked for us.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that last name?

Mr. WHITE. Ullmann.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all. Victor Perlo.

Mr. WHITE. Victor Perlo I explained.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. White, of all the persons who have been mentioned at these hearings to date, 9 or 10 have worked in your Department, and in addition to that, two others are friends of yours, and one is a very close friend.

Now, how do you account for that?

Mr. WHITE. That is one of those "when did you stop beating your wife" questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Not exactly.

Mr. WHITE. But let me answer. I do not know whether there were 9 or 10. There may have been.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, say 8 or 9.

Mr. WHITE. It does not matter for our purposes where there were 7 or 11. In the first place, all of these men that worked for us are what I would call class A and some class AA economists in the field in which they were interested. We had working for us, or we have hired, or I have hired, or my assistants have employed rather than hired, probably over a hundred economists during the course of these years, well over a hundred economists. At least one of these men was there when I came, there were several of them who came just the way they always come, through civil service, or through the Employment Bureau, and their qualifications were suitable.

Ullmann, I employed, knowing him, myself. I would have been glad to employ George Silverman, but he would not have worked for me. We could not have paid him enough. I asked him. Several of them were employed by assistant directors, recommended, and it would have gotten my approval.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, maybe I did not phrase my question correctly.

Mr. WHITE. Would you mind rephrasing it?

The CHAIRMAN. I will put the question in a different way.

Mr. WHITE. Do, because I have not the slightest intention of dodging it.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. No. Don't you think it is strange that of the persons, all the persons mentioned, either by Miss Bentley or by Whitaker Chambers, that of those persons mentioned, at least 8 or 9 of them, possibly 10, worked under you, and 2 others are friends of yours?

Mr. WHITE. Well, it certainly is disconcerting, but I would not say it is strange. We had probably the largest economic department; those are economists, and most of them are, and they are economists, most of them, in a special field in which the logical place for them to go would be either one of two places, the Federal Reserve Board, and the Treasury; and the Treasury at that time was expanding rapidly because we were given responsibilities far in excess of anything we had; and we needed all the good people we could possibly get; and I have called up my colleagues that I have known in the profession, not one, but a dozen of them, and I said, "Would you please send me the best men you had, so that we could get them," and this got around,

I am sure, and anybody who was good, who wanted a job, he would come to the Treasury, and if he was good, and I think I am a pretty good judge of the competence in that field, he got the job—he or she got the jobs. The “she’s” were taken on later when Secretary Morgenthau said that we ought to give more of the women a chance and let the men do the work, and I thoroughly agreed.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, let’s go on.

Of these 10 people, did you hear that either the Army Intelligence or the Naval Intelligence or the Civil Service had been investigating their loyalty?

Mr. WHITE. No. I do not think so. I mentioned the case of Glasser, I mentioned the case of Silvermaster. Those are the only two, to my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us take the case of Glasser.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You learned from whom that—

Mr. WHITE. The FBI came to see me about him. I do not remember the year; must have been close to 1940.

The CHAIRMAN. What was their interest in him?

Mr. WHITE. They wanted to know whether he was— I imagine what they were attempting to ascertain was whether he was a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. And their questions were in that direction, whether in my judgment he had done anything that could be regarded as disloyal or anything of that kind. I said, no, that Glasser was and Glasser is an extremely competent and able economist, one that I was very proud to have in my service.

The CHAIRMAN. But, could he not still be a Communist? That is a fair question.

Mr. WHITE. Certainly, it is a fair question, Mr. Chairman, and I will give you a fair answer. I suppose any man who is above six could be a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Even though he might be one of the best economists?

Mr. WHITE. You mean that a Communist could be a good economist?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WHITE. I do not see that the two are mutually exclusive. It is possible. I do not know. One of the economists that used to have a good deal of prestige among economists—

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind, we are talking about Mr. Glasser.

Mr. WHITE. I was going to cite an instance which even probably you know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have to cite an instance. You can answer that very promptly yes or no, and the answer is very naturally yes.

Mr. WHITE. What was your question?

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to ask another question. When you found that the FBI was inquiring about Mr. Glasser, did you get in touch with the FBI and ask them their interest?

Mr. WHITE. No; they told me. I mean, they told me.

The CHAIRMAN. They told you?

Mr. WHITE. There were a couple of men who came to see me; there may have been other such occasions; there were a couple of FBI men who came to see me, I think it was later.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's stick to Mr. Glasser.

Mr. WHITE. All right, let's. Now, what did you want to know?

The CHAIRMAN. And they told you that they were inquiring about Mr. Glasser because they had reason to believe that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHITE. I do not think they said that, no. They were merely making an inquiry about whether or not he was. No, they did not, to my knowledge, to my recollection, they did not say they had reason to believe that he was a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any of these other people that the FBI or the Naval Intelligence or the Army Intelligence or Civil Service got in touch with you about?

Mr. WHITE. I do not remember any.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever get in touch with you about Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. WHITE. I do not think so. I doubt it very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever get in touch with you about the Golds?

Mr. WHITE. I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You are certain that no intelligence agency ever got in touch with you about any other persons?

Mr. WHITE. I am not certain, Mr. Chairman. I was running a big division; I was a very busy man. This is over a period of 10 years. I must have seen anywhere from 10 to 30 conferences of persons in the course of a day. I could not be expected to remember, except unusual things, on such routine matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you still have a copy of the report that Mr. Silvermaster gave to you?

Mr. WHITE. I do not think so. I think I gave it back to him.

The CHAIRMAN. You gave it back to him?

Mr. WHITE. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that same time?

Mr. WHITE. I am not sure; I do not remember. I read it, and I imagine I gave it back to him.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Well, will you look in your files and ascertain whether or not you have such a copy?

Mr. WHITE. I will be glad to produce such of the files as I have.

The CHAIRMAN. If you do have, will you send it to the committee?

Mr. WHITE. If I do have it, I will be glad to send it to the committee. It will be the fall before I will have access to my files.

The CHAIRMAN. The fall will be plenty of time.

Mr. McDOWELL. Dr. White, I am almost ashamed to say that up until Miss Bentley mentioned your name I had never heard of you.

Mr. WHITE. Well, it is nothing to be ashamed of. May I ask your name?

Mr. McDOWELL. McDowell.

Mr. WHITE. I did not mean to be facetious. I heard your name, but I just did not connect the face with the name.

Mr. McDOWELL. I understand that. You testified, Dr. White, that you read the charge that was made against you in a country newspaper. Have you read the record—have you had the testimony?

Mr. WHITE. No; I have not. I have read the New York Times; I did get the Sunday Times, where I am, and I read that thoroughly. I did read—I was in New York for a couple of days and I read several of the newspapers, and I read the papers pretty thoroughly while I was here.

Mr. McDOWELL. But you have not read—

Mr. WHITE. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. The transcribed copy?

Mr. WHITE. No; I have not.

Mr. McDOWELL. In making myself acquainted with you, Dr. White, I have been told that you were the author of the famous Morgenthau plan. I presume that is true; is it?

Mr. WHITE. Did you also hear I was the author of the famous White plan, by chance?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. You did. Apparently you did hear of me. No; I would not quite say that. I would say that I participated in a major way in the formulation of a memorandum which was sent to—which was given to the President, I suppose, to the proper authorities, and might I comment on that?

Mr. McDOWELL. Well, no.

Mr. WHITE. Or would you rather I would not?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would rather you would not. It is immaterial.

Mr. WHITE. What is immaterial?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to ask you—

Mr. WHITE. I thought you asked a question. You would not ask immaterial questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Sometimes I do.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, I suggest you instruct the witness that it is obvious that he is a great wit, that he is a great entertainer, and would undoubtedly be a great entertainer socially, but I would ask you to instruct the witness to answer the questions. He is well able to take care of himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. White, please be responsive to the questions; leave out the side remarks, and I would like to say this to other people in the room. You are the guests of the committee. We are conducting a public hearing; we have got very important questions to ask, and we are attempting to get the answers. The Chair would appreciate it if you would not applaud. Proceed, Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Dr. White, do you know Charles Kramer?

Mr. WHITE. I know him, yes; not too well, but I know him.

Mr. McDOWELL. You have talked to him?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; he has been at the office a few times. I think he was once down at my home; I am not sure.

Mr. McDOWELL. He has been a guest in your home, you think?

Mr. WHITE. He was a guest once there when there was a meeting in which we had—if you are interested in the subject, I will tell you; but I think he was there; however, I am not positive.

Mr. McDOWELL. You have testified that you knew Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Who, sir?

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. WHITE. Ullmann, yes; I did.

Mr. McDOWELL. And that you knew he was a very good photographer. As a matter of fact, if I recall, you testified that he took a picture of your children; it was a very good picture.

Mr. WHITE. That is correct.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you know, Dr. White, that Mr. Ullmann, sitting where you are now, was asked by me if he knew anything at all about the photographic arts, or had any skill, and he declined to answer on the grounds that his answer might incriminate himself?

Mr. WHITE. I did not know that.

Mr. McDOWELL. Don't you think that is a strange thing for him to say?

Mr. WHITE. I can only repeat, Mr. Congressman, what I said before about the attitude of witnesses.

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to refer, Mr. Chairman, back to another question that I asked Mr. Ullmann, and which was taken as being entirely facetious by those in the chamber at the time. I asked Ullmann if he knew how to play tennis. He declined to answer on the grounds that his answer might incriminate him.

Mr. WHITE. I noticed that.

Mr. McDOWELL. My question was directed because Miss Bentley testified that this man told her he was a very expert tennis player.

Mr. WHITE. I think he is an excellent player. I have played with him myself. I think he used to be a tennis instructor.

Mr. McDOWELL. I see. Well, now, let us get back into the Silvermaster cellar. I think everyone in Washington has been in there but me. You would know photographic equipment when you saw it, of course, Dr. White?

Mr. WHITE. I think so.

Mr. McDOWELL. And you did not notice anything down there at all?

Mr. WHITE. I did not, but the fact that I did not notice, does not mean that it was not there, because I was just looking at—it was a pretty cluttered up cellar, as I remember. We had to chase the balls.

Mr. McDOWELL. Well, I have no further questions, Dr. White, but in view of the very noble statements you have made here about the rights of humans, star-chamber proceedings, and so forth, all of which I agree with, and I am sure the other members do, too, but you have testified that you knew Mr. Perlo, Mr. Ullman, Mr. Silverman, and Mr. Silvermaster and Mr. Kramer.

Mr. WHITE. That is right, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. In the case of one or two of them, you have testified that they were friends, good friends, and you are willing to defend them, and you have proven that you would defend them.

Mr. WHITE. That is right, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. In case we proved that these men are all part of an espionage ring, your place in history is going to be changed considerably, would you not think?

Mr. WHITE. I certainly think that I would not profit by having as close friends people who have been of disservice to their Government.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman, except I would like to read into the record the testimony of Mr. Chambers, in view of the fact that the witness has stated that he has not seen a copy of the record; is that correct?

Mr. WHITE. I have not, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. And I would like to read it into the record, and ask him whether or not it is true or not true.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. This testimony was given on August 3 by Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, Miss Bentley testified last Saturday and she named Harry Dexter White as a person who worked with the espionage group. Did you know Harry Dexter White?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Harry Dexter White a Communist? Was he a Communist, to your knowledge?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can't say positively that he was a registered member of the Communist Party, but he certainly was a fellow traveler so far within the fold that his not being a Communist would be a mistake on both sides.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you go to Harry Dexter White when you left the Communist Party and ask him also to leave the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. You considered him to be a Communist Party member, then?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I accepted an easy phrasing. I didn't ask him to leave the Communist Party, but to break away from the Communist movement.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did he tell you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He left me apparently in a very agitated frame of mind, and I thought I had succeeded. Apparently I did not.

Mr. WHITE. That is much of what I read. I think that I read substantially what was there.

Mr. STRIPLING. You had that testimony in mind when you made your statement?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for your presence, Mr. White.

Mr. WHITE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The witnesses this afternoon will be Donald Hiss, Dr. and Mrs. Gold, and Mr. Frank Coe. We will recess until 2:15.

(Whereupon, at 1:25 p. m., the committee recessed until 2:15 p. m. this day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The first witness, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Bela Gold.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gold, will you stand and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GOLD. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF BELA GOLD

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Gold, will you please state your full name and present address.

Mr. GOLD. My name is Bela Gold. My address is 619 Southerest Drive, Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt? The record will show that the subcommittee is sitting, consisting of Mr. McDowell, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. GOLD. I have here a statement about my personal background which may expedite the hearing if you care to hear it. It is a short one.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you qualified the witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Sufficiently. I suggest he read his statement at this time.

Mr. McDOWELL. Go ahead.

Mr. GOLD. The following is a factual statement about my personal background, training, and Washington work experience.

#### EARLY BACKGROUND AND TRAINING

I was born in Hungary in 1915, came to the United States at the age of 5, and have not been abroad since. After attending the New York City public schools, I studied engineering at New York University, receiving a B. S. in mechanical engineering in 1934, worked for a year as a research assistant on a study financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, and then did graduate work in economics at Columbia University from 1935 to 1937, holding a university fellowship during the latter half of this period. The following year was spent in field research on a fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council.

Mr. McDOWELL. Will the witness suspend for a moment. The record will show that Mr. Nixon is present.

Mr. GOLD. From 1938 to 1939, I was engaged in economic and management research for one of the central research agencies of the life-insurance industry, working primarily on problems of distribution.

#### WASHINGTON WORK EXPERIENCE

My first position in the Federal service involved helping to organize a division in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics for the purpose of conducting field studies of the problems confronting the agricultural programs in order to help increase the effectiveness of such operations. I remained with this Division of Program Surveys as assistant head until mid-1943.

Partly because I was growing restive under heavy administrative burdens and partly because I was eager to resume direct work in my field of specialized training—economics—I agreed in June 1943 to being borrowed by the Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization in order to conduct a study of wartime food-management problems. It is my understanding that I was invited partly because my work had entailed appraising rather than defending agricultural program operations and, partly, because I had helped to organize some singularly constructive hearings during the preceding fall on the possibilities of making important savings in agricultural manpower during the war through the application to major types of farm work of the motion-

economy principles which had been developed and used with great profit in industry. My agreement with the committee staff provided for my working independently—even to the point of retaining my office in the Department of Agriculture building—and also for my concentrating not on criticism of past shortcomings but rather on high-lighting the problems that lay ahead and on assessing the alternative organizational and policy means of dealing with them.

This proved to be one of those job changes, experienced at one time or another by most men, in which the promises proved more attractive than the realities. In this case, the difficulties were due in considerable measure to my own lack of experience in congressional committee work and even to a certain reluctance, or perhaps inability, to adapt myself to its demands. At any rate, when the hearings which I had organized were not published and when no action was taken on my own report, it seemed appropriate to seek another position.

Having kept in touch with developments in the various agencies dealing with food programs, I knew that the recently organized Foreign Economic Administration was still seeking additional personnel. Accordingly, without any of the usual folderol, I asked the Assistant Administrator in charge of the Office of Economic Programs, whom I had met in connection with my committee work, if he had any openings in which I might be interested. After the usual preliminaries, I was hired in January 1944 as a special assistant dealing almost exclusively with organization, budget, and other administrative matters. My next major assignment involved directing the preparation of a report for release to the public which would summarize the functions, problems, and achievements of the Foreign Economic Administration. Thereafter, for the remainder of my service in the Federal Government, my duties were concerned almost exclusively with postwar commodity problems, with the greater part of my time being devoted to work on the Draft International Commodity Convention which was later incorporated into the International Trade Charter. When the Foreign Economic Administration was disbanded in the fall of 1945, I was transferred along with a large section of FEA into the Department of Commerce.

I left the Federal Government in the spring of 1946, after 6½ years of progressively more responsible service. That service is a source of considerable personal satisfaction to me. And it does not seem unreasonable to call attention to the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, there was never during that long stretch of years the slightest reflection on my competence, on my devotion to my duties, or on my loyalty to the Government. Nor do I recognize any even remotely persuasive basis for casting such aspersions now.

#### PREPARATION OF BOOK ON AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

Early in 1944, some 2 or 3 months after I left the Senate subcommittee, I was asked by its staff director if I would care to bring my food report up to date and expand it into a monograph for publication by the committee. When I agreed, the FEA was formally requested to free some of my time for that purpose. In the course of checking more recent development in the various sectors of agricultural operations, I called, among others, on Dr. N. G. Silvermaster, then Director of the Farm Labor Division of the Farm Security Administration.



I had last seen Dr. Silvermaster in the fall of 1942, when he had been included, at the suggestion of Dr. Howard R. Tolley, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in the panel of witnesses invited to the hearings on the application of motion-economy procedures to farm work. Dr. Silvermaster was not only extremely helpful in clarifying my understanding of newly emergent problems in his particular field of specialization, farm labor, but agreed to read my chapter on that subject upon completion. Later, as I learned that he had for long taught economics at a west-coast college and also that he was currently advising on the preparation of a doctoral thesis dealing with agricultural problems, I prevailed upon him to read other chapters of my own report and to advise on shaping it into a suitable doctoral dissertation.

I saw Dr. Silvermaster some 10 or 12 times during the year that I worked on the thesis, each time for the sole purpose of reviewing in detail another completed chapter of my manuscript. The resulting report was submitted to an examining board at Columbia University in May 1945, and was approved subject to some suggested minor modifications. In the course of preparing subsequent drafts of the manuscript before committing it to print, I have, of course, consulted various other economists and agricultural specialists. But, although I have not seen Dr. Silvermaster for more than 3 years now, I remain grateful for his generous help at that early stage in the undertaking. In all fairness to him, especially in view of the grave charges which have been so widely publicized, I want to emphasize under oath that he never made any suggestion or expressed any view to me that any reasonably responsible person could possibly consider subversive or disloyal. In all of my relations with him, he impressed me as a man of great capacity, of scholarly interests, of reserve, and of sincere generosity.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

In concluding, I should like to emphasize that the following statements are made under oath:

I have never seen the witness who has apparently put forward the completely unfounded charges reported by the newspapers last week.

I am not and have never been a member of the Communist Party or of any organizations associated with it.

I deny without qualification that I have ever disclosed any Government documents or their contents to any unauthorized individuals.

And I am determined to do whatever may be possible to clear my name of these outrageous allegations. In this connection, I can only regret no longer being a Government employee, for authoritative machinery exists not only to investigate civil servants accused of such charges but to give those found innocent unequivocal clearance. It is regrettable that those who are no longer in Government service do not have access to any institutional arrangement for determining and publicizing innocence with an effectiveness comparable to that achieved in broadcasting unfounded charges on a Nation-wide basis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Gold, are you acquainted with Solomon Adler?

Mr. GOLD. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with Norman Bursler?

Mr. GOLD. No. I may have seen the man once, but I am not acquainted with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Frank V. Coe?

Mr. GOLD. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. Coe well?

Mr. GOLD. Well, I worked for him for a year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. GOLD. No. I met him once.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. GOLD. I may have met him twice or three times. His wife worked for me—not for me, but on my staff.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harold Glasser?

Mr. GOLD. No. I met him once.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Joseph B. Gregg?

Mr. GOLD. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Maurice Halperin?

Mr. GOLD. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. GOLD. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Charles Kramer?

Mr. GOLD. I guess I have met him two or three times. He worked on this committee on which I was a staff member.

Mr. STRIPLING. Irving Kaplan?

Mr. GOLD. Yes. He was a fellow economic adviser in the Foreign Economic Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. Solomon A. Lischinsky?

Mr. GOLD. I think I met him once back in '41.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry Magdoff?

Mr. GOLD. I met him once when he turned me down for a job.

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert T. Miller?

Mr. GOLD. I never heard of him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Willard Z. Park?

Mr. GOLD. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Victor Perlo?

Mr. GOLD. I met Perlo twice, once in '43 when he turned me down for a job, and once in '46 when we were both members of the Government committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. William W. Remington?

Mr. GOLD. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Allan R. Rosenberg?

Mr. GOLD. I beg your pardon?

Mr. STRIPLING. Allan R. Rosenberg.

Mr. GOLD. I don't know him. I knew he worked in the same agency in which I worked and met him once or twice.

Mr. STRIPLING. Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. GOLD. I met him twice, I think, in a car pool.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. GOLD. Yes; as I have testified.

Mr. STRIPLING. William H. Taylor?

Mr. GOLD. I think I met him once or twice, maybe.

Mr. STRIPLING. William L. Ullmann?

Mr. GOLD. Yes; I met him at the Silvermaster home.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry D. White?

Mr. GOLD. Never met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Donald Wheeler?

Mr. GOLD. I don't think I have ever met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times were you, if ever, at Mr. Silvermaster's home?

Mr. GOLD. I would say, roughly, 10 or 12 times. It is a book 15 or 16 chapters and we would go over one chapter at a time during each of our visits.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never furnished any information to Mr. Silvermaster?

Mr. GOLD. Never.

Mr. STRIPLING. Which you obtained in your official capacity in the Government?

Mr. GOLD. Never.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are not now or never have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLD. Never.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't know Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. GOLD. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Were you ever in the Silvermaster cellar, Dr. Gold?

Mr. GOLD. Yes; I was there once.

Mr. McDOWELL. Can you describe the interior?

Mr. GOLD. No. It was an odd occasion. I had admired some buttons that Mrs. Silvermaster was wearing when I came into the house, and it developed that Ullmann had made them. I was a little curious as to how, and so he showed me he had a power machine in his basement.

Mr. McDOWELL. Any photographic equipment down there?

Mr. GOLD. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. You feel sure that you saw no photographic equipment?

Mr. GOLD. I can't say that I made a search for it. It is just that being in his cellar I didn't notice anything that I would now recollect as being photographic equipment or resembling it in any way.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you have any knowledge by word or conversation that there was any photographic equipment in the cellar?

Mr. GOLD. In the cellar; no. I just knew that Ullman had, of course, taken pictures because they had pictures hung all over the house that he had taken. Presumably, he had a camera. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. You knew Mr. Ullmann was skilled with a camera?

Mr. GOLD. I gathered that from the pictures they had hanging in the house.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon, any questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. At that point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the witness a question. Did Mr. Ullmann ever give you a camera?

Mr. GOLD. No. I borrowed one from him once over a week end.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind was it?

Mr. GOLD. I am afraid I can not tell you what kind. All I know was it was too involved for me to handle. One with a rangefinder in it.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you returned it to him?

Mr. GOLD. Oh, yes. I tried it for 1 or 2 days, and by the time I got everything focused the picture was gone and finally gave it up.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Hébert, any questions?

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Stripling, in exactly which connection is this witness charged by Miss Bentley? He has made a general denial.

but I would like the charges to be read to him from the record, and let him deny them.

Mr. GOLD. The newspapermen in Pittsburgh asked what the charges were and there was difficulty in running them down.

Mr. STRIPLING. She was testifying regarding the Silvermaster group in the Treasury and it reads as follows:

Mr. STRIPLING. Anyone else?

Miss BENTLEY. William Gold.

Mr. STRIPLING. G-o-l-d?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was he employed?

Miss BENTLEY. I believe it was FEA—I can't recall whether BEW or FEA, but it was that same outfit.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he furnish information to your group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he did.

Mr. HÉBERT. You heard those charges, Mr. Gold?

Mr. GOLD. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. You categorically deny them as being untrue?

Mr. GOLD. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Dr. Gold, have you ever used any other name than Gold?

Mr. GOLD. No, and never any other name than Bela either. The William J. comes as an alias without foundation.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Stripling, I believe the witness is here without subpoena at his own request.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; he asked to be heard.

Mr. McDOWELL. When was the request made?

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe Mr. Gold was the first person to ask to be heard. I think it was the following day after her testimony.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you very much, Dr. Gold.

Mr. GOLD. Thank you very much.

Mr. STRIPLING. Sonia Gold.

Mr. McDOWELL. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. GOLD. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF SONIA GOLD

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please state your full name and present address.

Mrs. GOLD. My name is Sonia Gold, and I live at 619 Southerest Drive in Pittsburgh.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born?

Mrs. GOLD. I was born in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you the wife of William Gold?

Mrs. GOLD. No; I am the wife of Bela Gold.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mrs. GOLD. I have it written in a statement if you would like to hear it.

Mr. STRIPLING. May I see it, please?

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you qualified the witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. You may proceed to read your statement.

Mrs. GOLD. I was born in New York City in 1917 and attended the New York City public schools. I received a B. A. degree from Hunter College in 1938. I did graduate work in economics at American University during the academic year 1939-40 and at Columbia University during the academic year 1940-41. I have been matriculated for my Ph. D. degree in economics at Columbia University.

My graduate studies in population and migration problems led to my first job in the Federal service, as a research assistant for the House Select Committee on Interstate Migration in June 1941. While with this committee, I wrote a report, Transition in the Labor Market After World War I. When the research program of this committee was curtailed, I accepted a position as a labor-market analyst with the Bureau of Employment Security in the spring of 1942. My division was later transferred to the War Manpower Commission.

In the summer of 1943, wishing to broaden my work experience and to add another specialization to my academic qualifications and work experience, I applied to the Division of Monetary Research. This Division was known throughout the Government by economists as a model division and held in great regard for its high professional standards. I was hired by the Division in the fall of 1943 and, except for the period of my maternity leave, stayed with the Division until August 1947, when I resigned to accompany my husband to Pittsburgh. During my employment at the Division I was assigned to work on a variety of technical monetary and financial problems: inflation, exchange rates, and so forth.

I always considered it, and still consider it, an honor and a privilege to have worked in the Division of Monetary Research. This feeling was general throughout the staff. My superiors impressed me as brilliant, conscientious men, earnestly devoted to the best interests of our Government. At no time during my employment did any member of the staff or any other individual suggest or request that I reveal any Government information to any unauthorized individuals. And I have never done so.

I came to know Dr. and Mrs. Silvermaster during the period when Dr. Silvermaster advised my husband on the book he was writing. Mrs. Silvermaster was a gracious hostess during our few visits to their household, and I knew her as an intelligent woman who could also sew a fine seam, was an expert cook, and like any mother, was absorbed in the education of her son. Dr. Silvermaster impressed me as an able and likable person. There was never the faintest suggestion of anything sinister about their personalities, their behavior, or their household.

I, too, wish to declare under oath that I have never seen the witness who has apparently put forward the completely unfounded charges against us reported by the newspapers last week. I am not and have never been a member of the Communist Party or of any organizations associated with it. I deny without qualification that I have ever disclosed any Government information to any unauthorized individual. I also want to join my husband in stating that we are determined to do whatever may be possible to clear our names

of these allegations, and that we perforce must look to the Government to provide some authoritative means of clearing those former civil servants over whose names a shadow has unjustifiably been cast.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Gold, do you know Solomon Adler?

Mrs. GOLD. Yes. He worked in the Division of Monetary Research.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Norman Bursler?

Mr. GOLD. I know the name. I have never met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Frank V. Coe?

Mrs. GOLD. Yes. I worked for him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lauchlin Currie?

Mrs. GOLD. I have never met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Irving Kaplan?

Mrs. GOLD. I met him during the brief period when he worked in the Division.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mrs. GOLD. I met him at the Division.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Charles Kramer?

Mrs. GOLD. I have never met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know George Silverman?

Mrs. GOLD. I met him once or twice in a car pool.

Mr. STRIPLING. Met him where?

Mrs. GOLD. In a car pool.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William L. Ullmann?

Mrs. GOLD. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know Mr. Ullmann?

Mrs. GOLD. I don't know him well at all. He was present in the Silvermaster house a few times when we were there, and I, of course, knew him in the Division, but never worked with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harry D. White?

Mrs. GOLD. I worked with Mr. White.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Mundt, have you any questions?

Mr. MUNDT. No questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Stripling, for my own information, will you please clear present confusion over the names here of William Gold and Bela Gold? As I understand it, Miss Bentley in her testimony used the name William Gold. Is that correct?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did she use the name Bela Gold?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; she did not. I received a telegram from Dr. and Mrs. Gold and they signed it Bela Gold; but I believe you made some reference to the fact that you were probably the William Gold referred to.

Mrs. GOLD. The newspapers listed my name as Sonia Gold at the Treasury, and I know I was the only Sonia Gold at the Treasury, so we thought that my husband's name had been reported wrongly by the newspapers when not understood here, or something.

Mr. NIXON. What does the testimony show in that regard?

Mr. STRIPLING. William Gold.

Mr. NIXON. No reference in the testimony to Bela Gold?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Hébert?

Mr. HÉBERT. No questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Were you in the basement of the Silvermaster home, Mrs. Gold?

Mrs. GOLD. No; I wasn't.

Mr. McDOWELL. Never was there?

Mrs. GOLD. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. You are here at your own request?

Mrs. GOLD. Yes; I am.

Mr. McDOWELL. When was your request made?

Mrs. GOLD. I think we sent our telegram as soon as we read the newspapers.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Stripling, have you anything further?

Mr. STRIPLING. No further questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. The witness is excused. Call the next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Frank Coe.

Mr. McDOWELL. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COE. I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Coe, do you have counsel?

Mr. COE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you have counsel?

Mr. COE. Yes; my counsel is with me.

Mr. McDOWELL. Will counsel identify himself?

Mr. ROGGE. My name is O. John Rogge. My office is 401 Broadway, New York City, and 1700 Eye Street NW., Washington, D. C.

#### TESTIMONY OF FRANK COE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, O. JOHN ROGGE

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement I would appreciate giving if the committee will allow me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment, Mr. Coe. The committee will be glad to receive your statement, but we would like first to get you identified on the record.

Will you please state your full name and present address?

Mr. COE. My full name is Virginius Frank Coe, but for a number of years I have not used the first name. My address is 1918 North Roosevelt Street, Arlington, Va.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Coe?

Mr. COE. I was born in Richmond, Va., January 5, 1907.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. COE. Yes, sir; I was, several times.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that covered in your statement?

Mr. COE. No; it is not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you outline to the committee your Government service?

Mr. COE. I will be glad to. I was first employed in the Federal Government as a temporary consultant in the Treasury in 1934 for several months. Although I was offered employment then and subsequently in the Federal Government, I left it at that time and did

not return permanently until 1939 mainly for the reason that at that time I did not like the conditions of work.

In 1936 I was also a consultant for a brief time in the Treasury and again in 1939. Toward the end of 1939 I was appointed financial adviser to the Federal Security Administrator. I served in that position until the middle of 1940, when I accepted an assignment to form a fiscal staff in the National Defense Council or to help form such a staff.

After several months there I was offered the position of Assistant Director of the Division of Monetary Research in the Treasury. That would have been in the fall or late fall of 1940.

All of these dates are approximate. I served in the Treasury until the end of 1941. In the middle of that period of service I was sent to London and became a special assistant to the United States Ambassador in London, Winant.

I returned to the Treasury and after several months left it. Beginning in 1942 and through 1942, 1943, 1944, I served on the staff of the Board of Economic Warfare and its successor agencies, serving as assistant to the Executive Director of the Board and later as Assistant Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, which was formed by an amalgamation of several agencies.

In the beginning, I believe it was, of 1945 I was offered a position as Director of the Division of Monetary Research in the Treasury Department, in which position I served until I left the Federal Government in June 1946.

At that time I became secretary of the International Monetary Fund, which position I still hold.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have a statement, Mr. Coe?

Mr. COE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that he read his statement at this point if it is agreeable.

Mr. MUNDT. I think he should be permitted to read his statement.

Mr. COE. On August 5 I telegraphed your chairman asking to appear before the committee and testify under oath. I wish to say that the allegation which Miss Bentley apparently made to this committee about my being a member of a Communist espionage group is entirely false. I do not know Miss Bentley, and to the best of my knowledge I have never seen or talked with her. I have never been a member of such a group as she has described. I have never been a member of the Communist Party. I have not followed the line of that party nor, for that matter, the line of any political party or group. I have never given official information to any person known to me to be a member of the Communist Party or an agent of the Soviet Union. To the best of my knowledge I have never given official information to any unauthorized person.

One of the members of this committee has been reported as saying that these hearings would leave the decision to public opinion. If public opinion is to decide, surely the committee ought to hear witnesses on behalf of the accused. Such witnesses should be heard and cross-examined, and Miss Bentley should likewise be cross-examined. The public would not find such testimony as exciting as the original accusation, but at least all the facts would be available.



I understand that this committee has previously decided against using such procedures on the ground that, though they may be incumbent on a court, they are not desirable for a legislative committee. It seems to me, however, that this committee does in fact function as a criminal court. Before this committee there are accusers and accused, just as in a court. The accused are punished. The grave and sensational charges which are made here are given wide publicity, and that is a cruel punishment. It hurts the accused, his family, and his friends and associates.

The peculiarity of this court is that all who are accused before it are punished—the innocent and the guilty alike. Under the present methods of the committee, that result is inevitable. As the committee knows, these views are held by many people. I hope they will be given consideration.

I wish to thank the committee for allowing me to make this statement.

I am now prepared to answer any questions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Coe, do you know John Abt?

Mr. COE. John Abt was at the University of Chicago when I was a student there. I believe I met him at that time. I may have met him in Washington, but I do not believe so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. COE. Yes; I do. I met him at the Brookings Institution in 1933 or 1934. He worked with me in the Treasury and I have seen him from time to time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Norman Bursler?

Mr. COE. I may have met Norman Bursler when he did some work in the Justice Department, but I cannot recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. COE. Yes; I have known Lauchlin Currie. He and I were members of the same staff in the Treasury Department in 1933. I worked under him and I have seen him from time to time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. COE. I know Edward J. Fitzgerald. He worked on a staff which I supervised. I have seen little of him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harold Glasser?

Mr. COE. Yes. Harold Glasser was at the University of Chicago at the same time as I and I knew him in the Treasury Department.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Sonia Gold?

Mr. COE. Sonia Gold worked in the Division of Monetary Research. She was employed there when I came.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Bela Gold?

Mr. COE. Bela Gold was employed in an office which I supervised at the Foreign Economic Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Jacob N. Golos?

Mr. COE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Joseph B. Gregg?

Mr. COE. No; to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Michael Greenberg?

Mr. COE. Michael Greenberg was on the pay roll of the Board of Economic Warfare and I knew him at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well did you know him?

Mr. COE. Not very well. He was assigned from an office which I supervised to work with Mr. Currie. I saw little of him and after a time that arrangement was discontinued.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Maurice Halperin?

Mr. COE. I do not believe so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. COE. I have met Alger Hiss but know him only slightly.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times have you met him?

Mr. COE. I have never met him except to bump into him in some other company I should say two, three, not more than four or five times.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Julius J. Joseph?

Mr. COE. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Charles Kramer?

Mr. COE. Yes, I have met him. He called on me in the Treasury in 1945 one or twice in connection with some investigation, but I don't know him otherwise.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Irving Kaplan?

Mr. COE. Irving Kaplan I knew first in 1939, I believe. He was assigned by another agency to make a study of the wage records of the Federal Security Agency. I saw him from time to time and later in 1944, I believe it was, he was employed in the Foreign Economic Administration.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Duncan C. Lee?

Mr. COE. To the best of my knowledge, I have never met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Solomon A. Lischinsky?

Mr. COE. I met Solomon Lischinsky once or twice I believe at the time UNRRA was winding up. He came to the Foreign Economic Administration or the Treasury Department for that employment. Otherwise I don't know him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harry Magdoff?

Mr. COE. I have met Harry Magdoff once or twice only.

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert Miller, III?

Mr. COE. Robert Miller is a parent at the school where my children go and I have met him there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Willard Z. Park?

Mr. COE. To the best of my knowledge, no.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. COE. Yes; I knew Victor Perlo slightly as an economist in the Government and in 1945, I believe it would have been, he was employed in the Division of Monetary Research when I directed it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mildred Price?

Mr. COE. To the best of my knowledge, I have never met her.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William W. Remington?

Mr. COE. I don't believe I ever met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Allan Rosenberg?

Mr. COE. Allan Rosenberg was an attorney in the Foreign Economic Administration—in the Board of Economic Warfare and held other positions in the Foreign Economic Administration, and I knew him there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Abraham G. Silverman, George Silverman?

Mr. COE. Yes; I first met Silverman in 1943, I believe, at the Brookings Institution, knew him subsequently in Washington, and knew him socially.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. COE. Yes; I knew Nathan Gregory Silvermaster first, I think, in 1939. I believe I met him through Mr. Ullmann, who was at the Treasury when I was there. At that time, in 1939 and 1940 we knew each other socially and I have seen him from time to time since.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William H. Taylor?

Mr. COE. William H. Taylor was employed in the Division of Monetary Research at two times when I was there. He is presently a member of the International Monetary Fund.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Helen B. Tenney?

Mr. COE. I don't believe I ever met her.

Mr. STRIPLING. William L. Ullmann?

Mr. COE. William L. Ullmann was employed in the Treasury when I was there in 1939. I saw him then.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were the supervisor, were you not?

Mr. COE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you his supervisor?

Mr. COE. I may have been his supervisor. Not at that time, no, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever his supervisor?

Mr. COE. In 1945 I was his supervisor because I directed the division. In 1941 I was an assistant director of the division and certainly to some extent was his supervisor.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Donald N. Wheeler?

Mr. COE. Donald N. Wheeler, I believe, was at the Treasury in '39, '40, or '41 for a brief time and I saw something of him then.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you know Dr. Harry D. White?

Mr. COE. Yes. I entered the Government at the same time and worked with him at various other times.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I may say something about the question of knowing in the Government. A long list of names has been read to me, as it has been before, and I have previously testified under oath, waived immunity, and testified under oath concerning these things.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was that, Mr. Coe?

Mr. COE. That was before a grand jury. I would like to say first that any minor discrepancies in my statement on various occasions are unintentional. I am speaking now as to my best recollection. I cannot recall details about persons or dates about persons.

Mr. MUNDT. I take it that wouldn't hold for your printed statement?

Mr. COE. No, sir. I thought about that quite carefully. The second point I want to say especially, in view of the allegation that these people comprised a group, is that so far as I can see these were never a group in any shape or form. They never acted as a group. As the testimony before you shows, some knew each other and some did not. The nearest they ever came to being a group, to my knowledge, was in the playing of volley ball. They used to meet, or a number of these people used to go out Sundays and play volley ball. I personally

didn't do it because I didn't get up that early. On the one or two occasions I did go out, I saw some and not others. I could, if it were of any relevance—

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment, Mr. Coe. I would like to ask you: Are you thoroughly familiar in detail with the lives of these people? Can you testify as to whether or not they are a group?

Mr. COE. I am testifying as to my knowledge and experience of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. How complete is your knowledge and experience of them?

Mr. COE. I am willing to go into that with regard to any one of them. I am saying first, especially since I have been alleged—

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. How many times have you been to the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. COE. In 1939 or '40, I suppose I was there 10 or 12 times.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times was he at your home?

Mr. COE. Several times.

Mr. STRIPLING. And how many times were you at the home of John Abt?

Mr. COE. Never.

Mr. STRIPLING. Never there?

Mr. COE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he ever at your home?

Mr. COE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet him?

Mr. COE. At the University of Chicago.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times?

Mr. COE. That was twenty-some-odd years ago. I should think—

Mr. STRIPLING. You are not too familiar with his habits, then, are you?

Mr. COE. No, sir; I may say I am talking particularly—

Mr. STRIPLING. To continue, Solomon Adler—do you know him?

Mr. COE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times have you seen him?

Mr. COE. I must have seen him a hundred times.

Mr. STRIPLING. At your home?

Mr. COE. Sometimes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you been to his home?

Mr. COE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How about Norman Bursler?

Mr. COE. I have seen almost nothing of him.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are not familiar with him. You couldn't speak for Mr. Bursler whether he comprised a group or not?

Mr. COE. I can speak to this effect. This is the effect I am speaking to: So far as I can say from my acquaintance with these people—

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, these people—

Mr. ROGGE. I object to this interruption.

Mr. COE. As far as I can see, these people did not comprise a group.

Mr. MUNDT. Just a moment.

Mr. STRIPLING. I want to find out, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. MUNDT. You have indicated of your own volition that you knew a great deal about how these people acted, where they went, where they played, where they gathered together. I think counsel is perfectly within his rights to interrogate you specifically about them. You brought the matter up. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Lauchlin D. Currie?

Mr. COE. I have seen him in work capacity and socially.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times socially and during what period?

Mr. COE. I saw most of Lauchlin Currie in the period 1939 through 1947. I would see him for lunch from time to time and from time to time I would go to his house. At times he would come to mine.

Mr. STRIPLING. Edward J. Fitzgerald?

Mr. COE. Edward J. Fitzgerald I have seen little of.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harold Glasser?

Mr. COE. Harold Glasser I knew as a student at the University of Chicago. I knew him when I was employed at the Treasury Department in 1939 and at other times. I should say I have seen a good deal of Harold Glasser.

Mr. STRIPLING. Sonia Gold?

Mr. COE. Sonia Gold I knew only in 1945, I believe, when she worked in the Division of Monetary Research, and I saw her from time to time as a supervisor of her work.

Mr. STRIPLING. Michael Greenberg?

Mr. COE. Michael Greenberg I saw several times.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times?

Mr. COE. Perhaps six, perhaps a dozen.

Mr. STRIPLING. You said several. A dozen is quite—

Mr. COE. I must have seen Michael Greenberg—I can't remember the year when I saw him—he was employed in the Foreign Economic Administration or Board of Economic Warfare, one or the other.

Mr. STRIPLING. About when?

Mr. COE. I should think it was 1943 but I am not sure.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are not sure what year?

Mr. COE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. You only knew him this one particular year?

Mr. COE. That was the only time I knew him.

Mr. STRIPLING. How about Maurice Halperin?

Mr. MUNDT. Before we leave Mr. Greenberg, as I recall your earlier testimony about him, you said something about the relationship or the arrangements being terminated. I didn't know what that referred to. You were talking about Mr. Greenberg at that time?

Mr. COE. As I recall, he was assigned as an assistant from our agency to Mr. Currie, who was then at the White House on the staff. After some time that arrangement was terminated, I believe, by Mr. Currie because Mr. Currie found he did not need an assistant, or for some other reason, I don't recall. I believe that later in a rearrangement of the FEA or the BEW he was shifted, but I do not recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Alger Hiss?

Mr. COE. I have said only several times.

Mr. STRIPLING. Julius J. Joseph?

Mr. COE. To the best of my knowledge, not at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Charles Kramer?

Mr. COE. Once or twice in the the Treasury Department only, I believe.

Mr. STRIPLING. Once or twice?

(Mr. Coe nods head in the affirmative.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Irving Kaplan?

Mr. COE. Irving Kaplan, as I said, I first knew, I believe, in 1939 when he worked on some wage-and-hour figures of the Federal Security

Agency where I was employed. At that time I saw a fair amount of him. I read his report and had to deal with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Solomon Lischinsky?

Mr. COE. Solomon Lischinsky I met once or twice, and I believe he was in to me about employment the last time I saw him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry Magdoff?

Mr. COE. Very seldom.

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert T. Miller?

Mr. COE. Robert T. Miller, to the best of my knowledge, I knew first as a parent at the school where my children are.

Mr. STRIPLING. Victor Perlo?

Mr. COE. Victor Perlo I have met once or twice before I asked him to accept employment in the Division of Monetary Research. At that time I saw him as a supervisor whenever it was necessary.

Mr. STRIPLING. William W. Remington?

Mr. COE. I don't believe I have met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Allan R. Rosenberg?

Mr. COE. Allan R. Rosenberg was acting in the general counsel's office at the Board of Economic Warfare at the time I was employed there. I saw him then. He was also in various positions in the Foreign Economic Administration, and I saw him.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean after hours, after working hours. How often did you see these people?

Mr. COE. Ask me about each one, and I will be glad to tell you.

Mr. STRIPLING. In asking for information I am trying—

Mr. COE. I believe I seldom, if ever, saw Mr. Rosenberg after working hours.

Mr. STRIPLING. You didn't play volley ball during working hours; did you?

Mr. COE. As I have said, I was not a volley ball player.

Mr. STRIPLING. You brought up the fact that these people probably got together only to play volley ball.

Mr. COE. I said that the group—and I was speaking of the group about which Bentley made an allegation concerning me—

Mr. STRIPLING. Which group?

Mr. COE. That was the Silvermaster group.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. COE. I said that so far as I knew the only way in which it could be said that those people acted as a group was in the playing of volley ball and even there several of the people she mentioned were never, in my judgment, or rarely present, and I was one of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. How about George Silverman?

Mr. COE. George Silverman I know well; saw socially a good deal of.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. COE. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster I saw in 1939 and 1940 a good deal socially. Thereafter I saw him from time to time, but infrequently.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see any of the people mentioned on this list at Mr. Silvermaster's home?

Mr. COE. I may have; I don't recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't recall whether you ever met any of them or not?

Mr. COE. The time when I was at Mr. Silvermaster's home, Mr. Chairman, was about 9 years ago now. It would not surprise me if I had seen some of them.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you remember seeing Mr. Ullmann in Mr. Silvermaster's home?

Mr. COE. I should say I could be almost certain of that.

Mr. MUNDT. Certain that you did or did not?

Mr. COE. I cannot remember but I am almost certain that he was there at that time, since I certainly know now and knew then that he lived there.

Mr. STRIPLING. William H. Taylor?

Mr. COE. William H. Taylor I have not seen much of socially. During most of this period he has been abroad.

Mr. STRIPLING. Donald Wheeler?

Mr. COE. Donald Wheeler I saw, as I stated, very little about 9 years ago—8 or 9 years ago.

Mr. STRIPLING. Harry D. White?

Mr. COE. Harry D. White I worked for twice in permanent positions and kept in touch with and saw from time to time at lunches and to a certain extent socially.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would say that with 18 names on the list his acquaintanceship with them was very casual.

Now, do you want to continue your statement about the group, Mr. Coe?

Mr. COE. Yes, sir. I would like to say a couple of more things, if I may. I noticed that there was introduced here a telephone device for recording numbers, which indicated that my name was on a telephone device which Mr. Silvermaster used.

Following that I dug out or had my secretary dig out the same devices which were used in my office in 1945 and 1946. That is a time subsequent to Miss Bentley's apparent activity. I found on that list Silvermaster's name. I also found on one such device which was used in our office 266 names, on another 200.

The point I am making is that some of these people, according to my knowledge, were friendly to each other, some were not, some were thrown into juxtaposition by the nature of their work, some were not, and that inevitably in Washington, as everybody knows, you meet and know a great many people.

In saying that I do not wish to imply that in any way any of these people ever gave me any cause to doubt their loyalty to the United States Government.

Mr. MUNDT. You do, however, corroborate that portion of Miss Bentley's testimony which goes to the effect that a great number of these people associated with Mr. Silvermaster did know Mr. Silvermaster rather intimately, so well in fact that they did move around in groups on hiking trips and volley ball games; and it would certainly seem conceivable that people who liked each other so well that they played volley ball together on Saturdays and Sundays and holidays might conceivably know each other so well they would meet together socially in the evening also. But at least you have provided one very interesting corroborative piece of evidence heretofore lacking, and that

is that these people have been associating together in groups, volley ball groups, but nonetheless in groups.

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, may I say that each is, of course, entitled to his opinion on that, but the one person—on the few times I was out to play volley ball, the one that I did not see there was Silvermaster.

Mr. MUNDT. That is perfectly correct because the testimony was to the effect that these people associating together gave this material to Miss Bentley through Mr. Silvermaster.

Mr. HÉBERT. I think it might be well to point out to the witness—he has made a point of the telephone indicator which was introduced—it may be well to point out to the witness that it was quite necessary to introduce such a piece of evidence because with rare exceptions—and you are included among the rare exceptions—these men refused to talk on the ground that they might self-incriminate themselves.

Mr. COE. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I was not making my point for that purpose. I was making the point for the purpose of indicating that I, at least, and I believe most other people who worked in fairly high positions in Government, had very extensive acquaintances in Government.

Mr. HÉBERT. There is no doubt about that. These people were brought in here and refused to answer questions. And it became incumbent on the committee to get the evidence the best way we could.

Also your reference to the Silvermaster group—at no time was it ever indicated in the testimony that this group of people got together for social activity or volley ball as a group. One possibly couldn't have known the other, as a matter of fact, if you want to place it that way. It was known as the Silvermaster group to designate the certain number of people in the group over which Silvermaster presided and through which the group contacted Miss Bentley through Silvermaster.

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, I personally am unable to account for the behavior known to me of a number of these persons if they were members of a group in any such sense as alleged here. I know of differences between the men, I know of differences in the positions that they took on various crucial issues in the Government, which are non-explicable to me on the grounds such as have been brought forward here.

Mr. HÉBERT. It is amazing to us also, Mr. Coe.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Coe, I would like to ask you if you are acquainted with an individual by the name of Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. COE. No, sir. To the best of my knowledge I have never met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1935 or 1936 did you know an individual by the name of Henry Collins?

Mr. COE. To the best of my knowledge I have never met him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know an individual known to you only by the name of Carl, C-a-r-l?

Mr. COE. I have never known anyone simply as Carl.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have.

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. The committee may have some questions.

Mr. McDowell.



Mr. McDOWELL. Only one. Where did you play volley ball, Mr. Coe?

Mr. COE. It was one of the sports, Mr. Congressman, that I excused myself from because it was on Sunday mornings. It was played in a public park, usually, as far as I know.

Mr. McDOWELL. Not the same place all the time?

Mr. COE. I think it was generally the same place but, as I say, though often invited to the volley ball games, I usually did not get up even when Mr. White was my superior in the Government.

Mr. McDOWELL. Was it in a school yard somewhere or something of the kind?

Mr. COE. It was in a public park somewhere on Sixteenth Street, I believe.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. No.

Mr. MUNDT. I am a little bit puzzled, Mr. Coe, about the fact that you know so well and can remember so clearly the names of people who played volley ball together in the games at which you were seldom present, but your memory is so vague about the people who attended the Silvermaster home in the 10 or 20 times you said you were there.

Mr. COE. No, sir. I say I believe and I have heard that a great many of these people played volley ball often together. I could not say on any specific occasion or I could not even swear to the ones who did not play among this rather extensive group. Some of the people and some of the people who are better known to the people did play, and so far as I knew, that was the time that they got together. I certainly knew Mr. White at intervals at certain times when I don't believe that during the day—I can't account for all of his days—but I have the impression that he was not seeing certain of these persons. It was true of some others. There were some years when they might have been seeing each other according, I would say, to the fortunes of the bureaucracy as to whether they were crossed, as to whether during that time they felt like having lunch with one another or did not. So it appeared to me.

Mr. MUNDT. During the many times that you visited in the home of Mr. Silvermaster, were you ever in that very famous basement of his?

Mr. COE. No, sir; to my knowledge, I was not. However, if I had been invited, I certainly would have gone down there.

Mr. MUNDT. I wish you had gone. Maybe you could tell us what was in it. We are trying to find out.

Mr. COE. Lest there be a contradiction in testimony, Mr. Chairman, on the many times in the Silvermaster home, our relationship diminished mainly because I moved to Virginia. I would corroborate certain testimony which has been given here that they were pleasant people, friendly, I thought very human people. Mr. Silvermaster never impressed me as having any undue interest in anybody else's job or activities. In fact, he talked an awful lot about labor and the report, or whatever the current operation would be that he was engaged in, and about general matters. That is my impression of the Silvermasters.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. No questions.

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, I have a request to make.

If Miss Bentley is here, I would like to ask her some questions.

Mr. MUNDT. The position of this committee has been—and you explained it very clearly in your statement—that we are not functioning as a court, don't have the power, unfortunately, that a court does have, and so we have not made it a policy to cross-examine witnesses or to permit counsel to do so.

Had we the full authority of a court, certainly it would be easier to get down into the disputed evidence in this particular case. Since we do not have, we cannot adapt ourselves to part of the rules of the court without having the authority that goes with being a court. Unfortunately, we cannot accept your request.

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask you to reconsider that on these grounds? My name was brought into this by Miss Bentley. She made a very distinct allegation about me. Perhaps she was the reason why over several years not only myself but my friends have been interrogated, and now she is certainly the reason for the very harmful publicity which I have received.

It seems to me only fair, since I believe the committee can adopt any procedures, that you allow me to ask her a few simple questions bearing on what I may have done or what she knows I did relating to any of the groups that she asserts she handled.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that the extent of your renewed request?

Mr. COE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. The Chair will have to rule the same way due to the unfortunate fact that while we can adopt rules of procedure, we cannot arrogate to ourselves the power of the court, since we do not have the authority of the court, in order to get the proper decorum and the proper rules of evidence and rules of perjury and the rules of contempt which go with court procedure. Certainly, we cannot adopt part of the procedure without having the authority which is essential if we are going to do that.

The witness is excused.

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Go ahead.

Mr. COE. Might I state the questions and the answers?

Mr. MUNDT. No.

Mr. COE. Which I would have asked her.

Mr. MUNDT. No; because you couldn't state the answers.

How could you state the answers?

Mr. COE. The correct answers to the questions I would have asked her.

Mr. MUNDT. I don't know what answers she would give.

If you want to read a series of questions, I have no objection.

Mr. STRIPLING. I don't believe he should be permitted to answer those questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COE. I am not answering for the witness; I am answering for myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have been given ample opportunity to make a statement covering any grounds you want to in your statement.

Mr. MUNDT. Why didn't you put that in your statement?

Mr. COE. Because it seemed to me it would be preferable to put it as questions to the witness. If I can't put it as questions to the witness,

I would like to simply indicate the kind of questions. They are perfectly fair questions, in my judgment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I don't think this procedure has ever been followed before a congressional committee, and I see no purpose in permitting the witness to establish a precedent. If he has additional statements, I think he should submit that for the record. He has had ample opportunity to be heard. I don't think this is the time to introduce novel proceedings before committees of Congress.

Mr. COE. May I then, sir, make an additional statement?

Mr. McDOWELL. First, let me make a statement. I would like to point out, too, Mr. Chairman, that a subcommittee is now sitting. Any matter relating to a change in the procedure of this committee or any other committee of the House of Representatives should be before the full committee.

Mr. MUNDT. There is no question about that. There isn't any question also that we cannot, much as we would like to do that, get authority for ourselves of a court. It seems to me the witness' difficulty is, if he wants to make a statement, he should have made it when he had the opportunity.

Mr. COE. May I then, sir, make an additional statement in view of your ruling?

Mr. MUNDT. Does anybody have any objection to his additional statement?

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, may I repeat my request?

Mr. MUNDT. As soon as order is restored [referring to hurried exodus from the hearing room by a number of photographers].

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, may I repeat my request to add to my statement?

Mr. MUNDT. What is your request?

Mr. COE. That I be permitted to make an additional statement.

Mr. MUNDT. I think your additional statement should be made the same as your original statement, in writing; and if it is pertinent, you certainly can make it.

Mr. COE. I don't have it in writing. I am prepared to give it orally.

Mr. McDOWELL. We will be here for quite a while.

Mr. MUNDT. I suggest you prepare it and bring it in. If it is pertinent to the inquiry—we can't stay here for stump speeches by anybody.

Mr. COE. No, sir; it is a statement which I believe would add, and the statements I would have based upon that would have added, to the committee's knowledge of the facts in this case; also the allegations that have been made.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all right.

Mr. MUNDT. I suggest then that you prepare it, submit it in writing, and, if it is pertinent, we will permit you to make it. We will call you back when that time comes. The witness is excused.

Mr. ROGGE. May I ask a question?

Mr. MUNDT. No. We permit no questions by counsel. You may consult with your witness.

Mr. ROGGE. No; I was going to answer one of Congressman Hébert's questions, but if that is not permitted, all right.

Mr. MUNDT. It is not directed to you; it is directed to the witness.

Next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Donald Hiss.

MR. MUNDT. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. HISS. I do, sir.

MR. MUNDT. You may be seated.

### TESTIMONY OF DONALD HISS

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, will you please state your full name and present address?

MR. HISS. Donald Hiss. My residence is 3030 Q Street, Washington, D. C. My business address is 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

MR. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Hiss?

MR. HISS. I was born in Baltimore, Md., on December 15, 1906.

MR. STRIPLING. Are you the brother of Alger Hiss?

MR. HISS. Yes; I am, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Whittaker Chambers?

MR. HISS. I do not, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. In 1935 or 1936 did you know an individual known to you only as Carl?

MR. HISS. No, sir. I want to make it perfectly clear, sir, that I have never known any person by the name of Whittaker Chambers, by Carl, or any other name—the man who testified against me before this committee.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know Lee Pressman?

MR. HISS. I did know him, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know Victor Perlo?

MR. HISS. I do not, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know Charles Kramer?

MR. HISS. No, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know Nathan Witt?

MR. HISS. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, are you familiar with the testimony given by Whittaker Chambers before this committee on August 3?

MR. HISS. I am, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you have a statement prepared in answer to that testimony?

MR. HISS. I do, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. I suggest that the committee receive that statement at this time.

MR. MUNDT. Before reading the statement, the Chair would like to inquire of the witness whether this is his full statement or whether it is going to be submitted on the installment plan?

MR. HISS. No, sir; this is my full statement, Mr. Chairman.

MR. McDOWELL. Is this the statement you gave originally?

MR. HISS. Yes; this incorporates that statement and there is also an additional statement made.

MR. McDOWELL. Go ahead, Mr. Hiss.

MR. HISS. On August 3, 1948, upon reading the full transcript of the testimony of Mr. D. Whittaker Chambers given on that date before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I issued a statement

to the press denying the allegations that Mr. Chambers made with respect to me.

On August 5, I forwarded a sworn copy of this statement to the acting chairman of this committee and in the covering letter stated that I was—

available, willing, and anxious to appear before your committee and repeat these denials under oath and answer any questions which you or any other member of the committee may have.

In order that the record will be clear, I should like to repeat the statement which I issued to the press and forwarded to the committee. In the statement I said :

I have read the full transcript of the testimony of Mr. D. Whittaker Chambers given today before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among other things Mr. Chambers said that he knew me as a member of the Communist Party, as one of an elite Communist group which regularly met in a certain apartment in Washington, and as the leader of a local Communist cell. With the exception of the facts, which he also stated, that I have an older brother named Alger Hiss, that I have been employed in the Departments of Labor and State, and that, as an employee of a local law firm (other than the one he named), I assisted in rendering legal service to the Polish Supply Mission in connection with a loan granted in 1946 by the Export-Import Bank, I flatly deny every statement made by Mr. Chambers with respect to me.

I am not and never have been a member of the Communist Party or of any formal or informal organizations affiliated with or fronting in any manner whatsoever for the Communist Party. In fact, the only organizations and clubs to which I have belonged are the local YMCA, the Miles River Yacht Club of Maryland, the old Washington Racquet Club, the Harvard Law School Association, the American Society of International Law, and college fraternities and athletic clubs.

I have no recollection of ever having met any person by the name of D. Whittaker Chambers, nor do I recognize his photograph which I have seen in the public press. I am not and never have been in sympathy with the principles of the Communist Party. Any interested person could easily have discovered these facts by inquiry of any of the distinguished, respected, and unquestionably loyal Americans with whom I have been intimately associated.

I appreciate the opportunity to amplify this general statement of denial. Mr. Chambers testified that I met with him and other persons in the house or apartment of Mr. Henry Collins at St. Matthews Court in Washington in 1937 and apparently prior to 1937. Those other persons named by Mr. Chambers were: Mr. Collins, Mr. Witt, my brother Alger Hiss, Mr. Pressman, Mr. Kramer or Krevitsky, and Mr. Perlo.

I deny this categorically. I have never been in any apartment or home of Mr. Collins at St. Matthews Court or at any place else on any occasion in 1937 or at any other time. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, I have never met, have never known, and do not know any person by the name of Charles Kramer or Krevitsky, by the name of Victor Perlo, or by the name of D. Whittaker Chambers.

I met Mr. Collins a number of years ago probably in 1933 or 1934. I have seen him infrequently during this period and have known him only casually. I have never engaged in any political discussions with him, so far as I can remember.

Mr. Pressman and Mr. Abt I met when they were with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in 1933 or 1934, and Mr. Witt I have known since 1929 when we were classmates in our first year at the Harvard Law School. I saw Messrs. Pressman, Abt, and Witt

occasionally in 1933, 1934, and 1935, when they were working in the same division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration with my brother, Alger Hiss.

To the best of my knowledge I have never seen Mr. Abt or Mr. Witt since 1935. Since 1935 I have only seen Mr. Pressman a few times and then in passing him on the street except for one occasion in 1946 when I saw him and a number of other persons at the Polish Embassy at a social function. I attended this function because at that time I was working on some legal matters for the Polish Supply Mission.

With reference to my work with the Polish Supply Mission, it was performed in the capacity of an employee of my firm until January 1947, when I became a partner. It is my understanding that the firm was retained to render legal assistance to the mission some time in the last half of 1945. The senior partner of the firm, Mr. Edward B. Burling, and another partner, Mr. Charles Horsky, were in charge of the case. In the early part of 1946, it is my recollection, Mr. Burling assigned me to assist him due to the fact that Mr. Horsky was in Germany assisting the United States Government in prosecuting Nazi war criminals. Upon Mr. Horsky's return I continued to work on this case, as well as on a number of others. The major part of my time was spent on drafting and negotiating contracts and the working out of procedures for the clearance of such contracts with the Export-Import Bank. The work was completed in March 1947.

Most of this information with respect to the services rendered by my firm to the Polish Supply Mission, together with additional data, is set forth, I believe, in the reports Mr. Burling submitted to the Department of Justice in accordance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

As for the other persons mentioned by Mr. Chambers, to the best of my knowledge, I have never met, have never known, and do not know any person by the name of Harold Ware, by the name of Helen Ware, or by the name of J. Peters, Goldenweiss, or Goldberger. Harry D. White, also named by Mr. Chambers, I have seen only three times in my life so far as I can recall. In 1942 and in 1943 I saw him at official State and Treasury Department meetings in connection with the administration of Foreign Funds Control, and in the winter of 1946 I saw him at the social function mentioned above.

Finally, in conclusion, let me reiterate that I know that I have never carried on any conversation with D. Whittaker Chambers in the apartment or home of Mr. Collins. This fact I know for three reasons. In the first place, I am not and have never been a member of the Communist Party or of any formal or informal organizations affiliated with or fronting for the Communist Party. Secondly, I do not know and do not recall having ever met Mr. D. Whittaker Chambers, either under that name or judging from his photographs under any name whatever. Thirdly, I have never been in any apartment or home of Mr. Collins.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you have any further questions for the witness, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; they are all answered in the statement.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. McDowell, do you have any questions?

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Nixon, do you have any further questions?

MR. NIXON. Yes. I simply want to clarify a couple of matters which have been raised in the statement.

You have indicated, Mr. Hiss, that you have never been in the apartment of Mr. Collins.

MR. HISS. That is right, sir.

MR. NIXON. Never been a guest of Mr. Collins at any time?

MR. HISS. At no time, sir.

MR. NIXON. Have you ever been in an apartment in St. Matthews Court?

MR. HISS. I did not know the place, sir, until the other day after this story broke.

MR. NIXON. Never met Mr. Pressman or Mr. Witt at an apartment in St. Matthews Court?

MR. HISS. No, sir.

MR. NIXON. You have seen the pictures in the press of the man called Whittaker Chambers?

MR. HISS. I have, sir.

MR. NIXON. You, of course, are aware of the fact that Mr. Chambers was known by the name Carl during the period that he claims to have known you and your brother.

MR. HISS. Right, sir.

MR. NIXON. As I understand your statement, you have made an unqualified statement that you have never known a man by the name of Carl who resembled that man.

MR. HISS. I have never known that man by the name of Chambers, Carl, or any other name, sir.

MR. NIXON. You have never seen a man by the name of Carl in the apartment of your brother Alger?

MR. HISS. No, sir.

MR. NIXON. As far as you know—I realize you can't speak for your brother, but the question was not raised when he was before this committee—would you know whether or not your brother Alger during the period '35 to '37 ever knew a man by the name of Carl?

MR. HISS. Not to my knowledge, sir; but I don't think I am qualified to answer that.

MR. NIXON. Have you discussed that matter with him since these hearings?

MR. HISS. No, sir; I have not seen my brother since the evening of the day he testified. I have not talked to him since.

MR. NIXON. You have not discussed this new development of the name Chambers went under?

MR. HISS. I have not, sir.

MR. NIXON. I am not asking you to say for him, but I thought if you had discussed it you could save the committee.

MR. HISS. I have not talked to him since the day he testified.

MR. NIXON. Of course, we will have to ask your brother that question ourselves.

MR. HISS. Very good, sir.

MR. NIXON. That is all the questions I have.

MR. MUNDT. The Chair would like to make a brief statement. First, I would like to ask the witness whether you feel you have had a full and fair and free opportunity today to testify before this committee concerning the facts that you wanted to present.

MR. HISS. I have, sir. And I appreciate it.

Mr. MUNDT. It is obvious, of course, to people who have followed these hearings that constantly in connection with the testimony of Mr. Chambers as contrasted with the testimony of Miss Bentley, we have run into direct contradictory statements, and it is increasingly apparent that perjury is involved somewhere along the line.

Unfortunately, this committee is not a court of law. For that reason the Chair was compelled to rule a few minutes ago that we cannot permit counsel of witnesses to get up and testify because if you do that in a congressional hearing where the people who are conducting the meeting lack the authority to invoke the rules of perjury at once and throw a case into a grand jury, which we lack, if you permit that to occur under a situation where you have no authority to cite at once for contempt, an irresponsible counsel or irresponsible witness, you have opened up hearings to conditions which would approximate chaos.

Consequently, since a congressional committee lacks those authorities, it is impossible to conduct them as you would a test in a court case. That also places the committee under other handicaps. We have the responsibility and the task of trying to get down to the true facts in this case. A great many witnesses have refused dogmatically to answer questions under oath concerning their loyalty and their affiliations and the recognition or nonrecognition of Miss Bentley and the validity or invalidity of the direct charges she made against them.

We have heard today all of the witnesses who have asked of their own volition to be heard, with the exception of Mr. Alger Hiss, whom we have heard previously at his request.

We will not hold hearings tomorrow. There will be hearings held on Monday of a few witnesses if we can reach them with a subpoena and bring them in. The committee is going to continue to take under advisement what it can do as a legislative committee to arrive at the truth concerning the perjury situations which have arisen. We expect to continue to summon what witnesses are necessary to establish the guilt or innocence of the people involved in this espionage ring with the hope that through what action a legislative committee of Congress can take, the guilty will be brought to punishment and the innocent will be absolved of the suspicion attaching to them.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, in that connection, as the chairman is aware, I have been making a particular study of that phase of the case regarding the conflict in testimony between that submitted by Whittaker Chambers and that submitted by Alger Hiss. It is of course clear that perjury has been committed in this case. It is, of course, the duty of the committee not to reach a conclusion on this matter. That is a matter which will have to be decided in a court. But I think the statement should be made that not only do we have on the one side the very forthright statement of Mr. Hiss today and of his brother Alger Hiss the other day denying the charges of Mr. Chambers, factually and otherwise, but we also have the charges which Mr. Chambers made originally and which were made by him with knowledge of the fact that he was making those charges subject to the laws of perjury, which would bring a \$10,000 fine and 10 years in jail in the District of Columbia. It is not a situation where we have the charges made by an individual who has no standing whatever in the community, but it is a case in which charges have been made by an individual who, if those charges are false, has undoubtedly had a



motive which in effect would result in destroying his own career if it is proved that those charges were false.

In view of that fact, I feel that the committee in this case has a duty to proceed to hear further from the participants involved, not from Mr. Hiss, because he has commented on all the points at issue today, so that we can determine what facts to lay before the District of Columbia prosecuting authorities on this particular case.

I should also like to say that I have been informed by Mr. Chambers yesterday that he is willing and would like the opportunity to come before the committee again and reiterate the charges that he has made under oath.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to ask in that connection one other question of Mr. Hiss.

Mr. Hiss. Yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. If it develops that Mr. Chambers' testimony is false, then it must also follow, as Mr. Nixon has pointed out, that some highly impelling motive must have activated a man of such high responsibility, great standing, and who has made a significant success of his career, to launch such charges against people like you and your brother Alger. I want you to search your memory very carefully and tell the committee whether you can think of any conceivable motive that Mr. Chambers would have, or any other man who might resemble Mr. Chambers would have, to come before this committee of his own volition and in sworn testimony make the charges he has made against you? Is there some motive you can think of that would throw some light on this, for the benefit of the committee and for the benefit of helping to clear you and your brother Alger, if your statements are, in fact, true?

Mr. Hiss. I have given a lot of consideration to that, Mr. Chairman, and I cannot come to any answer.

Mr. MUNDT. You can think of no reason why he might have made the charges against your brother Alger?

Mr. Hiss. No, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Can you shed any light on this which will help us get to the true facts?

Mr. Hiss. None, sir; but I do not think I am exactly unbiased. It has been a personal attack on me; it has hurt my family, my mother who is 81 years old, and I feel it very bitterly, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Surely, but you are a very interested party in this and we are all trying to get this thing unraveled so that the public will say, "This is the truth," and everybody knows it.

Mr. Hiss. I will continue to think about it, sir, and if I can think of any motive I will certainly come back to the committee.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you have any suggestion whatsoever to make to the committee as to what procedure you think we should follow in helping to resolve this conflict of evidence?

We would be mighty happy to have your recommendation.

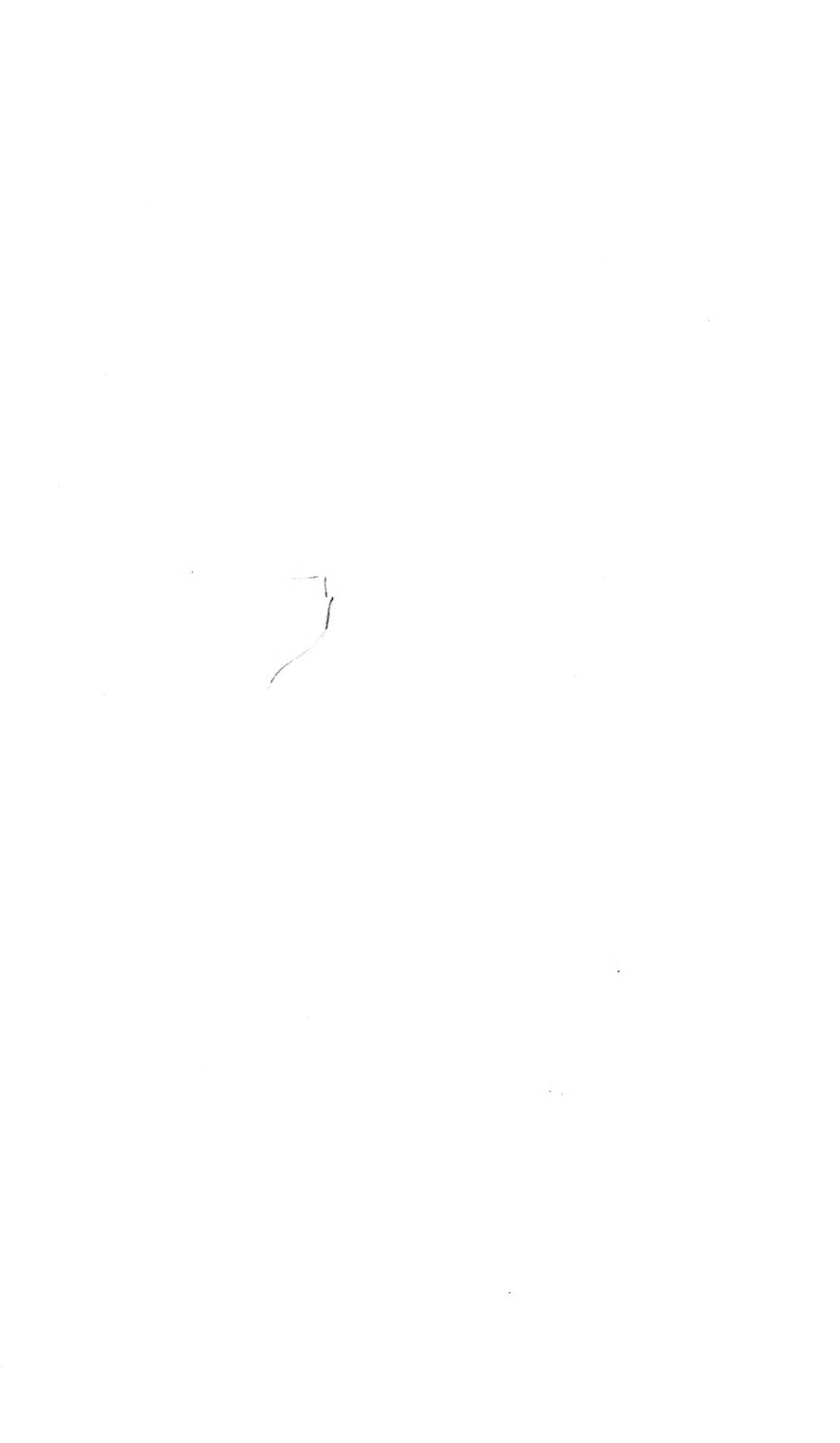
Mr. Hiss. I think Mr. Nixon's suggestion is proper; if I am lying I should go to jail and if Mr. Chambers is lying he should go to jail.

Mr. MUNDT. There is no question about that.

Thank you very much.

The committee will stand adjourned until Monday.

(Whereupon, at 4:10 p. m., an adjournment was taken until Monday, August 16, 1948.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>5</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2 p. m., in the hearing room of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas, John McDowell, Richard M. Nixon, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; A. S. Poore, editor; and L. E. Howard, member of the research staff, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. The record will show that a subcommittee is sitting consisting of Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas. A quorum of the subcommittee is present.

Mr. Stripling, the first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Alger Hiss.

The CHAIRMAN. Please stand and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HISS. So help me God, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, please. Mr. Stripling.

## TESTIMONY OF ALGER HISS

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, you have previously appeared before the committee in open session. You are here in response to a telegram which was sent you last Friday?

Mr. HISS. That is correct. May I make an inquiry?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. HISS. I would like to be advised what the arrangements are with respect to a transcript of this particular meeting of the subcommittee. Will I be entitled to receive a copy of the transcript of this meeting?

<sup>5</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and released during the public hearing, August 25, 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss, this is an executive session, and that speaks for itself that everything is supposed to be right within these four walls. Therefore, we do not naturally give out the testimony taken in executive session.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I think it should be said that in the event the transcript or portions of the transcript are made public, you will receive a copy in the event it is used, but in the event that it is kept confidential and not made public, the custom of the committee is not to furnish a transcript.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. HISS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like to identify everyone in the room to Mr. Hiss first. Mr. Hiss, this is the official reporter. He is with Ward & Paul, who does our official reporting.

This is Congressman Hébert; Chairman Thomas; Congressman McDowell; Congressman Nixon; Mrs. Howard, who is on the committee research staff; Mr. Mandel, who is director of research; Mr. Wheeler, who is an investigator; Donald Appell is an investigator; Mr. Russell is an investigator; Mrs. Poore is editor of the committee; and myself. Everybody here is either a member of the committee or attached to the staff of the committee.

Mr. HISS. Could I get the lady's name beside Congressman Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mrs. Howard, H-o-w-a-r-d.

Mr. HISS. Thank you.

Mr. NIXON. As of course, Mr. Hiss, you are aware, the committee has a very difficult problem in regard to the testimony which has been submitted to the committee by Mr. Chambers and by yourself.

The committee feels that it has the responsibility to resolve that problem as well as it can; and the purpose of this hearing and of the questions which the members of the committee will ask at this time is to assist the committee in resolving that particular problem.

We have come to the conclusion, a conclusion which incidentally I think had to be reached by the members of the committee under the circumstances, that the individual who has come before the committee and has given false testimony must, if possible, answer for that testimony.

For that reason we are going this afternoon to go into a number of items which I can assure you have a direct bearing on that problem. We appreciate the fact that you have come down to testify willingly, and I trust that you will bear with me if some of the questions that I may ask may seem to be lengthy or even going over ground previously covered because we want the record to be absolutely straight on the conflicts between testimony presented by Mr. Chambers and yourself, the points at variance, and the points, if any, of agreement.

Now, when did you first hear of Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. HISS. The first time I ever heard of Whittaker Chambers to the best of my knowledge was when two representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation called at my office at 700 Jackson Place, I think, in the month of May 1947, and among the list of names of people they asked me if I was acquainted with was the name Whittaker Chambers.

I remember the name distinctly because they first asked me if I knew someone named Chambers, and I replied that I did.

I identified a boyhood friend of mine, Robert Chambers, who lived near me in Baltimore, and who was an agent of the Bureau himself for a while. He is now with the Customs Bureau. They said they did not mean Bob Chambers.

They asked me if I had ever heard of the name Whittaker Chambers, and I remember the name stuck in my memory at the moment because it sounded like a distinctive and unusual name, and I said "No." His name was 1 of 15 or 20, I would guess, of whom I was asked, of whom I had never heard.

There were one or two others I was asked about at the time whose names I had never heard before, and their names also have remained in my memory.

Mr. NIXON. You testified when you were before the committee before that in 1936 Mr. Byrnes had—

Mr. Hiss. 1946.

Mr. NIXON. I am sorry—1946. Mr. Byrnes had asked you to talk to him concerning certain allegations made by Members of Congress concerning Communist affiliations, and at that time you saw Mr. Tamm, of the FBI.

Mr. Hiss. I think I talked to Mr. Tamm on the telephone to get the appointment, and I rather think it was Mr. Ladd rather than Mr. Tamm whom I actually saw, but that I wouldn't want to have to testify to under oath. That is my best recollection.

I called Mr. Hoover, and he was out of town, and I was told Mr. Tamm was second in command. I know Mr. Tamm personally because he was associated with the San Francisco Conference.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Tamm mention the name of Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. Hiss. To the best of my knowledge, no. If he did, it did not click.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Ladd mention the charges to which Mr. Byrnes had referred?

Mr. Hiss. No. Again, in testifying from recollection some years back, my recollection is that Mr. Ladd first said did I have any statement I wish to make? I told him that in the interval between my telephone call and the day when they were able to see me, which was at least 1 day later, I had been thinking of any possible basis for any such charge. I was trying to think of all the associations or the organizations that I might possibly have been connected with.

To the best of my recollection, I recited what I had been able to recall that might be of significance. I was asked very few questions. I do remember one or two names of individuals. I was asked if I knew Pressman.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name?

Mr. Hiss. Pressman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Lee Pressman.

Mr. Hiss. I told Mr. Ladd and someone who was with him in that interview what I have since said and what is the fact, the extent to which I have known Mr. Lee Pressman.

I was asked, I think, about one or two other names, and I just frankly don't recall who the others were, but if the name Chambers was asked of me, I have no recollection of it, and it didn't make any impression on me at the time.

Mr. NIXON. You definitely say you could not possibly have heard of the name Whittaker Chambers before that time?

Mr. HISS. I would say I couldn't before May 1947, because my recollection is so strong on it.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't hear the name Whittaker Chambers in 1939?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. As you have probably noted from press accounts of the hearings, Whittaker Chambers during the period that he alleges that he knew you was not known by the name of Whittaker Chambers. He has testified that he was known by the name of Carl. Do you recall having known an individual between the years 1934 and 1937 whose name was Carl?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall anyone by the name of Carl that could remotely be connected with the kind of testimony Mr. Chambers has given. I think I know two or three people named Carl, one of whom I certainly knew, I would think, as far back as 1937—Carl Spaith.

I don't at the moment think of anyone else by the name of Carl whom I knew as far back as that. I know another man named Carl whom I have known more recently.

Mr. NIXON. You knew them as well by their last names?

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony is then that you knew no person by the name of Carl between 1934 and 1937?

Mr. HISS. Merely by the name of Carl—absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony, then, is that you have never known an individual solely by the name of Carl?

Mr. HISS. That is correct, Mr. Nixon; that is my testimony.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know J. Peters?

Mr. HISS. I do not.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever known a man by the name of Peter?

Mr. HISS. I have never known anybody solely by the name of Peter. I have known some people by the name of Peter and people whose last name was Peters.

Mr. NIXON. Through the years 1934 to 1937, did you know anybody named Peter?

Mr. HISS. I would like to reply to that perhaps with clarity the same way I did with the question about the name Carl. Between the years 1934 and 1937 I knew no one who was known to me only by the name of Peter. I knew no one who was named J. Peter or J. Peters. The only people whose first names were Peter were personal friends with no possible connection. I have known some people whose first name was Peter.

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Hiss, there is some testimony in your previous record before the committee concerning your acquaintanceship with Henry Collins.

Mr. HISS. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. My question is now: do you recall ever having gone to the apartment of Henry Collins on St. Matthew's Court?

Mr. HISS. I certainly wouldn't want to say I had never been there because, as I testified before, I have known Mr. Collins since we were boys. I have visited in his place of abode, whether it happened to be an apartment or a house, and he in mine certainly since we again knew each other when I was in law school in 1929.

Where is St. Matthew's Court? Can somebody identify the place?

Mr. STRIPLING. Near Dupont Circle.

Mr. McDOWELL. I think it is a little north of the circle about a block.

Mrs. HOWARD. Between Longfellow Building and St. Matthew's Church.

Mr. HISS. I think Henry Collins had an apartment in that neighborhood and I think I have been in that apartment. I have no clear recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Those were social occasions?

Mr. HISS. Entirely.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall your brother being there at the same time?

Mr. HISS. No. My brother doesn't know him as well as I do, so far as I recall. He may not know him at all.

Mr. NIXON. You could have been in the apartment of Henry Collins at St. Matthew's Court?

Mr. HISS. That is a very fair way of stating it.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall whether on any occasion that you were in that apartment that Mr. Lee Pressman was there?

Mr. HISS. Again I don't want to say that that didn't occur because I knew Pressman while I was in the Department of Agriculture, as I had known him previously, and it might very well have been at any number of social occasions when he was present. I wouldn't want to testify that I wasn't at any particular one. I may very likely have been in this apartment of Mr. Collins. I may have been in that apartment at the time Mr. Pressman was also present, only on social occasions.

Mr. NIXON. Then there were occasions when Mr. Pressman and you were with Mr. Collins?

Mr. HISS. That I would not be able to testify to positively because I don't actually recall the conjunction because my friendship with Collins was a personal friendship and my friendship with Pressman was what I could properly describe as a business friendship. I had known him only as a lawyer.

Mr. NIXON. If there had been occasions, let us say, six or more occasions, on which Mr. Pressman and you were together in Henry Collins' apartment, would you remember for sure?

Mr. HISS. I think I would. What I really have in mind, to be absolutely explicit, is that if Mr. Collins had 15 or 20 people in for a drink or cocktails, or a larger number, and Mr. Pressman had been one of them, I would not be able to testify now positively yes; and if he wasn't there, I wouldn't be able to testify positively now that he wasn't.

It would not have struck me as unusual if he had been, because various officials of the Government who were here in the early days of the New Deal met at social parties all over the city of Washington quite frequently, and I certainly am sure that I have been to parties as well as official conferences where Mr. Pressman was present.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall Mr. Nathan Witt having been at the apartment of Henry Collins when you were there?

Mr. HISS. I have no recollection of it.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall Mr. John Abt having been at the apartment of Henry Collins when you were there?

Mr. HISS. I have no recollection of it, but again I would not want to deny ever having been on a social occasion in Mr. Collins' apartment when either of those men might have been present.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall Mr. Kramer ever having been there when you were there?

Mr. HISS. I have no recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall Mr. Perlo having been there?

Mr. HISS. I don't even think I know Mr. Perlo. I certainly don't recall him having been there.

Mr. NIXON, may I just interpose one thing?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that Henry Collins was living not in an apartment but in a house with four or five roommates, four or five young men in Government who took it together somewhere in the Dupont Circle region at the time when he first came down to Washington.

Mr. NIXON. During the period of approximately 1934-38 did you ever pay any money to Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. I don't recall ever having paid him any money for any purpose, even a personal transaction, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. I am now showing you two pictures of Mr. Whittaker Chambers, also known as Carl, who testified that he knew you between the years 1934-37, and that he saw you in 1939.

I ask you now, after looking at those pictures, if you can remember that person either as Whittaker Chambers or as Carl or as any other individual you have met.

Mr. HISS. May I recall to the committee the testimony I gave in the public session when I was shown another photograph of Mr. Whittaker Chambers, and I had prior to taking the stand tried to get as many newspapers that had photographs of Mr. Chambers as I could. I testified then that I could not swear that I had never seen the man whose picture was shown me. Actually the face has a certain familiarity. I think I also testified to that.

It is not according to the photograph a very distinctive or unusual face. I would like very much to see the individual face to face. I had hoped that would happen before. I still hope it will happen today.

I am not prepared to say that I have never seen the man whose pictures are now shown me. I said that when I was on the stand when a different picture was shown me. I cannot recall any person with distinctness and definiteness whose picture this is, but it is not completely unfamiliar.

Whether I am imagining that or not I don't know, but I certainly wouldn't want to testify without seeing the man, hearing him talk, getting some much more tangible basis for judging the person and the personality.

Mr. NIXON. Would your answer be any different if this individual were described to you as one who had stayed overnight in your house on several occasions?

Mr. HISS. I think, Mr. Nixon, let me say this: In the course of my service in Government from 1933 to 1947 and the previous year 1929-30, and as a lawyer I have had a great many people who have visited in my house.



I have tried to recall in the last week or so anyone who would know my house whom I wouldn't know very well. There are many people that have come to my house on social occasions or on semibusiness occasions whom I probably wouldn't recall at all.

As far as staying overnight in my house is concerned——

Mr. NIXON. On several occasions.

Mr. HISS. On several occasions?

Mr. NIXON. On several occasions.

Mr. HISS. I can't believe, Mr. Nixon, that anyone could have stayed in my house when I was there——

Mr. NIXON. When you were there.

Mr. HISS. —Overnight on several occasions without my being able to recall the individual; and if this is a picture of anyone, I would find it very difficult to believe that that individual could have stayed in my house when I was there on several occasions overnight and his face not be more familiar than it is.

Mr. Nixon——

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. HISS. I don't want to suggest any innovations in your procedure, but I do want to say specifically that I do hope I will have an opportunity actually to see the individual.

Mr. NIXON. It is going to be arranged. I might say that before arranging the meeting, we want to be certain that there is no question of mistaken identity, as well as possible, and also that we had a clear conflict on certain pieces of testimony that had been given by both sides, and that we are getting now.

Mr. HISS. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. I might say this, too: That Mr. Chambers, as you may be aware of newspaper accounts, appeared in executive session before us on Saturday.

Mr. HISS. Saturday a week ago, I think.

Mr. NIXON. Just 2 days after you appeared.

Mr. HISS. I saw newspaper accounts of that.

Mr. NIXON. At that time we went into the situation with him, showed him pictures of you, and he declared without question you were the man.

For that reason we wanted to be sure that you had the same opportunity before we went into open session. Obviously, as you can see, an open session will involve a considerable amount of publicity, and we were thinking that if that could be avoided, that it should be avoided. It is quite apparent now, even so far as we have gone, that eventually that is going to occur, but I wanted to go into a few more questions here first.

Now, you have never paid any money to Peters?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. Never paid any money to Carl?

Mr. HISS. Never paid any money to Carl.

Mr. NIXON. Never paid any money to Henry Collins that you can recall?

Mr. HISS. I can't recall it even on a personal basis.

Mr. NIXON. Never paid dues to the Communist Party?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony now is that you are not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Never been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HISS. Never been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Or of any underground organization connected with the Communist Party?

Mr. HISS. Not any underground organizations connected with the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any children, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. I have two children.

Mr. NIXON. You have two children. Could you give us their ages?

Mr. HISS. One will be 22—he is my stepson—will be 22 September 19 next. His name is Timothy Hobson. He has been my stepson since he was 3 years old. I was married in 1929.

I have one other son who is now 7. He was 7 the day when I testified publicly before this committee, August 5. He was born August 5, 1941. His name is Anthony Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. He was born after this period of 1934–37, which is in question.

Mr. HISS. He was born after the period you are talking about.

Mr. NIXON. Did you testify before what your wife's name was?

Mr. HISS. Her name was Priscilla Fansler, her maiden name. Her first marriage was to a Mr. Hobson, H-o-b-s-o-n.

Mr. NIXON. Where did she come from? What town?

Mr. HISS. She was born in Evanston, Ill., but spent most of her early life outside of Philadelphia.

Mr. NIXON. In Paoli?

Mr. HISS. Frazer.

Mr. NIXON. Is that near Paoli?

Mr. HISS. It is on the main line not far from there. She went to school there and she went to school actually, I think, in Bryn Mawr, as well as to college in Bryn Mawr.

Mr. McDOWELL. Frazer and Paoli are a few miles apart?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did she live there on a farm?

Mr. HISS. Her father was in the insurance business, and he acquired a small place—I suppose it could be called a farm—from which he commuted to his insurance business.

Mr. NIXON. Would it be possible, Mr. Hiss, for Mrs. Hiss to appear in executive session to corroborate your testimony?

Mr. HISS. It would be possible for her to appear in executive session. I believe she would corroborate my testimony.

Mr. NIXON. As you can see, the more corroboration we have for your story, the better it is going to be from your standpoint, and also from the standpoint of the committee. I will say that both you and Mr. Chambers are as convincing witnesses as I have ever seen. I have so stated publicly, but we would like to hear Mrs. Hiss, if that is possible.

Mr. HISS. That certainly is possible. It is her privilege.

Mr. NIXON. Is she in town?

Mr. HISS. She is in Peacham, Vt., where we spend our summers.

Mr. NIXON. Would it be possible to hear her tomorrow? I realize it is short notice.

Mr. HISS. She would have to catch the night train.

Mr. HÉBERT. I can't hear you.

Mr. HISS. Mrs. Hiss is now in Peacham, Vt., a town about 50 miles this side of the Canadian border in northern Vermont. It would be possible for her to take the night train down, which is the night train I came down on last night. I spent the week-end in Peacham. It has been our custom to spend the summers in Peacham for about 10 years. My family spends the summers there, and I try to spend week-ends with them when I can.

Mrs. Hiss would either have to bring 7-year-old Tony with her, or try to find someone to stay with him while she came down.

Mr. NIXON. I realize the difficulty involved and, as I say, we want to avoid, in fact, I would say, two things: We want to avoid a public session in this case and also we want to avoid any publicity on it, but we would like to hear Mrs. Hiss in executive session tomorrow afternoon, if possible.

Mr. HISS. I think the fair thing under the circumstances would be for me to try to reach her by telephone. We have no telephone in the house in Peacham. She would have to take the message in the general store.

Mr. NIXON. If you could do that—and, incidentally, we will make the phone available because we want to pay the charges ourselves—it would be greatly appreciated by the committee.

Mr. HISS. Would you like me to telephone her now, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. We could do this, Mr. Hiss. Mr. Stripling has just suggested that a subcommittee could meet Mrs. Hiss, for example, in New York if that would be more convenient.

Mr. HISS. The same train gets into New York at 8:10 when it is on time that gets in here at 1:10.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, we could hear her tomorrow morning if we were in New York.

Mr. HISS. That is correct, and tomorrow afternoon if you sit here.

Mr. NIXON. That would mean she wouldn't have to come clear to Washington with the youngster and also it would mean that there would be absolutely no publicity, which I must say we are very anxious about in this case. After the hearing, if you will make the call, we could arrange to meet her in New York.

Mr. HISS. Would you tell me where you would like to meet her, and I would like the privilege of calling her now because she is going to have to make arrangements. We are about 35 miles from the train. I am driven over by a taxi driver, and just what his engagements are I don't know. I imagine she would want someone to stay with Tony while she is away—one of her friends.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's not do that at this time. Let's proceed with the questioning and then go ahead with it.

Mr. NIXON. I don't think we will take too much longer, Mr. Hiss, possibly 30 minutes.

Now, is your son Timothy still living with you?

Mr. HISS. No; my son Timothy is now living on his own as an independent earning male.

Mr. NIXON. Where is he at the present time?

Mr. HISS. I think he is on his way back from California at the present time. He was expecting to return on the 16th, and I believe today is the 16th.

Mr. NIXON. Is he living in New York?

Mr. HISS. He is living in New York.

MR. NIXON. Could you give us the address of your son in New York?

MR. HISS. Mr. Nixon, you are asking me about a subject which is one of rather deep concern to me.

MR. NIXON. I understand.

MR. HISS. My son served in the Navy, V-12. He went in as a very young man. When he left the Navy, he did not wish to go on with college. I did wish him to go on. He had had some college while in the Navy V-12 program. He feels the need of independence of his parents at the present time. He is being what people in Vermont call not only independent, but "indegoddampendent." That is a Vermontism.

I have an address from my son which I am told is not his present address. He has not told me or his mother in the past few months what his present address is. I expect he will do so. This is not the first time in the last year when he has changed address and told me after the event instead of before. I believe he tried to reach me by telephone the night before I testified here, because a phone call came in for me at the hotel from Los Angeles and I couldn't figure who it was and didn't know he was in Los Angeles at the time. I have since learned he was in Los Angeles and I believe he was calling me.

I learned from the same person who knew he was in Los Angeles that he would be back in New York on the 16th. I don't know of my own knowledge. I can give you the address in New York. I don't think you can reach him there.

I wonder if you would mind if I gave you instead the address of his doctor, because he has been consulting a psychiatrist in the last couple of years.

MR. NIXON. Would the doctor know where he is?

MR. HISS. He will get in touch with the doctor as soon as he returns. The doctor has his other address, and I didn't think it appropriate to ask the doctor for his address. It is Dr. Abram Kardiner. You will understand why this is a very difficult subject to talk about because I love my stepson very deeply. Many people take an exaggerated view of what psychiatric assistance means.

MR. NIXON. You can be sure, Mr. Hiss, that there will be absolutely no statement whatever concerning these statements.

MR. HISS. Dr. Kardiner is now on his vacation, but would be glad to come to New York and would be glad to answer the telephone. I am sure as a physician any call to his office in New York—he lives at 1100 Park Avenue, which is the corner of Eighty-ninth Street and Park Avenue. I think I have his number in the country, but I am sure any call to his office they will immediately tell you how to reach him at his country place.

MR. STRIPLING. How do you spell his full name?

MR. HISS. A-b-r-a-m K-a-r-d-i-n-e-r.

MR. STRIPLING. 1100 Park Avenue?

MR. HISS. 1100 Park Avenue, New York.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, could you give the committee the name of any servants you had during the period 1934 to 1937?

MR. STRIPLING. May I interrupt? Does he go under the name of Timothy Hiss or Timothy Hobson?

MR. HISS. Timothy Hobson.

MR. NIXON, may I raise a question at this point?

MR. NIXON. Certainly.

Mr. HISS. I have been angered and hurt by one thing in the course of this committee testimony, and that was by the attitude which I think Mr. Mundt took when I was testifying publicly and which, it seems to me, you have been taking today, that you have a conflict of testimony between two witnesses—I restrained myself with some difficulty from commenting on this at the public hearing, and I would like to say it on this occasion, which isn't a public hearing.

Mr. NIXON. Say anything you like.

Mr. HISS. It seems there is no impropriety in saying it. You today and the acting chairman publicly have taken the attitude when you have two witnesses, one of whom is a confessed former Communist, the other is me, that you simply have two witnesses saying contradictory things as between whom you find it most difficult to decide on credibility.

Mr. NIXON, I do not know what Mr. Whittaker Chambers testified to your committee last Saturday. It is necessarily my opinion of him from what he has already said that I do know that he is not capable of telling the truth or does not desire to, and I honestly have the feeling that details of my personal life which I give honestly can be used to my disadvantage by Chambers then ex post facto knowing those facts.

I would request that I hear Mr. Chambers' story of his alleged knowledge of me. I have seen newspaper accounts, Mr. Nixon, that you spent the week end—whether correct or not, I do not know—at Mr. Chambers' farm in New Jersey.

Mr. NIXON. That is quite incorrect.

Mr. HISS. It is incorrect.

Mr. NIXON. Yes, sir. I can say, as you did a moment ago, that I have never spent the night with Mr. Chambers.

Mr. HISS. Now, I have been cudgeling my brains, particularly on the train coming down this morning, and I had 3 or 4 hours on the train between New York and Washington, as to who could have various details about my family. Many people could.

Mr. NIXON, I do not wish to make it easier for anyone who, for whatever motive I cannot understand, is apparently endeavoring to destroy me, to make that man's endeavors any easier. I think in common fairness to my own self-protection and that of my family and my family's good name and my own, I should not be asked to give details which somehow he may hear and then may be able to use as if he knew them before. I would like him to say all he knows about me now. What I have done is public record, where I have lived is public record. Let him tell you all he knows, let that be made public, and then let my record be checked against those facts instead of my being asked, Mr. Nixon, to tell you personal facts about myself which, if they come to his ears, could sound very persuasive to other people that he had known me at some prior time.

Mr. NIXON. The questions I have asked you to date, Mr. Hiss, if you will recall them, have all been facts that could be corroborated by third parties. Now, the question of whether or not, the question of who your servants were, I will tell you very frankly it is purely for the purpose of corroboration and it will be the intention of the committee, if possible, to find one of the servants to see whether or not they will corroborate the story.

Now you, of course, are under no compulsion to give the committee the names of the servants, but the purpose is that.

Now, the second point I wish to make is this: Of course, there is a very serious implication in your statement, and that is that the committee's purpose in questioning you today is to get information with which we can coach Mr. Chambers so that he can more or less build a web around you.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I meant no such implication.

Mr. NIXON. You can be very sure when I say this testimony is going to be in executive session, it will be. The same assurance was given to Mr. Chambers.

Mr. HISS. May I please, before that point gets cold—I meant no such implication. You have identified a number of people who are present in the room. A record is being kept. The people in this gentleman's office will process the record, a number of people that none of us here can be sure of now will see this record and will have the information which is contained in it. You are dealing with something, Mr. Nixon, which is very important to you as an official. You are dealing with something which is very important to me not only as a former official and one interested in the security of the United States, but you are also dealing with something which affronts me personally in a way which it does not affect the members of this committee personally.

Mr. STRIPLING. May I say something?

Mr. HISS, I can assure you that as far as the members of the committee I have talked to are concerned, they have a very open mind on this thing and I certainly do, but this testimony you speak of has already been turned over to the United States attorney, including the executive testimony.

Mr. HISS. Certainly.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers' testimony has.

Mr. STRIPLING. We just got this picture. I listened to his testimony in New York and I can assure you that there was no prearrangement or anything else with Mr. Chambers, but here is what he did. He sat there and testified for hours. He said he spent a week in your house and he just rattled off details like that. He has either made a study of your life in great detail or he knows you, one or the other, or he is incorrect.

Mr. HISS. Could I ask you to ask him some questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. Here is a larger picture. Let the record show this larger picture taken by the Associated Press photo on August 3, 1948, of Mr. Mundt and Mr. Whittaker Chambers and, as the record previously stated, Mr. Chambers is much heavier now than he was in 1937 or 1938.

Does this picture refresh your memory in any way, Mr. HISS?

Mr. HISS. It looks like the very same man I had seen in the other pictures of, and I see Mr. Mundt and him in the same picture. The face is definitely not an unfamiliar face. Whether I am imagining it, whether it is because he looks like a lot of other people, I don't know, but I have never known anyone who had the relationship with me that this man has testified to and that, I think, is the important thing here, gentlemen. This man may have known me, he may have been in my house. I have had literally hundreds of people in my house in the course of the time I lived in Washington.

The issue is not whether this man knew me and I don't remember him. The issue is whether he had a particular conversation that he has said he had with me and which I have denied and whether I am a member of the Communist Party or ever was, which he has said and which I have denied.

If I could see the man face to face, I would perhaps have some inkling as to whether he ever had known me personally.

I have met within the past week a man who said he worked on the same staff in a confidential relationship at San Francisco that I did who definitely knew me, and I have no recollection of ever having seen that man.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask a few questions?

Mr. NIXON. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. HISS, would you be able to recall a person if that person positively had been in your house three or four times, we will say, in the last 10 years?

Mr. HISS. I would say that if he had spent the night—

Mr. STRIPLING. Ten years?

Mr. NIXON. Fifteen years.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. HISS. I would say if he had spent the night—how many times did you say?

Mr. STRIPLING. He spent a week there.

Mr. HISS. A whole week at a time continuously?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. HISS. And I was there at the same time?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, I could not fail to recall such a man if he were now in my presence.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. You are positive then that if Mr. X spent a week in your house in the past 15 years you would recognize him today, assuming that Mr. X looks today something like what he looked then?

Mr. HISS. Exactly, if he hadn't had a face lifting.

The CHAIRMAN. No doubt in your mind?

Mr. HISS. I have no doubt whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, here is a man who says he spent a week in your house in the last 15 years. Do you recognize him?

Mr. HISS. I do not recognize him from that picture.

Mr. NIXON. Did that man spend a week in your house in the last 15 years?

Mr. HISS. I cannot say that man did, but I would like to see him.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you cannot believe, but I would like to have a little more definite answer if you could make it more definite. Would you say he did or did not spend a week in your house?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, I hope you will not think I am being unreasonable when I say I am not prepared to testify on the basis of a photograph. On the train coming down this morning I searched my recollection of any possible person that this man could be confused with or could have got information from about me.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are not prepared to testify on this subject from a photograph?

Mr. HISS. I am not prepared to testify on the basis of a photograph. I would want to hear the man's voice.

The CHAIRMAN. If the man himself came in here, you would be able to say yes or no?

Mr. HISS. I think I would, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You think you would.

Mr. HISS. I can't believe a man would have changed as much as that, and I am absolutely prepared to testify that nobody, that man or any other man, had any such conversation with me in my house or anywhere else as he has testified to.

Mr. STRIPLING. What conversations did he testify he had with you in your house?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chambers, according to the record that I read, he said that he came to my house and pled with me to break with the Communist Party, and that I refused, and that I had tears in my eyes, and that the reason I gave was something about the Communist Party line.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, let me explain this. Mr. Chambers, as indicated, did testify that he spent a week in your house. He also testified to other facts concerning his acquaintanceship with you—alleged facts, I should say—and I want to point out that the committee by getting answers to completely objective questions from you will be in a position to go certainly to third parties and to find out whether or not Mr. Chambers has committed perjury.

Now, on one point it is pretty clear that you have indicated that Mr. Chambers must have committed perjury because he said he spent a week in your house.

Now, these other matters to which Mr. Chambers has testified involve the same type of testimony. I want to say when Mr. Chambers appeared, he was instructed that every answer he gave to every question would be material and he was instructed off the record before that that a material question would subject him to perjury. So consequently, as you see, a matter of membership in the Communist Party is one thing because that is a matter which might be and probably would be concealed, but a matter of objective items concerning his relationship with you, his alleged relationship with you, can be confirmed in some cases by third parties and that, frankly, is the purpose of these questions.

Mr. HISS. May I say one thing for the record?

Mr. NIXON. Certainly.

Mr. HISS. I have written a name on this pad in front of me of a person whom I knew in 1933 and 1934 who not only spent some time in my house but sublet my apartment. That man certainly spent more than a week, not while I was in the same apartment. I do not recognize the photographs as possibly being this man. If I hadn't seen the morning papers with an account of statements that he knew the inside of my house, I don't think I would even have thought of this name. I want to see Chambers face to face and see if he can be this individual. I do not want and I don't think I ought to be asked to testify now that man's name and everything I can remember about him. I have written the name on this piece of paper. I have given the name to two friends of mine before I came in this hearing. I can only repeat, and perhaps I am being overanxious about the possibility of unauthorized disclosure of testimony, that I don't think in my present frame of mind that it is fair to my position, my own protection, that I be asked to put down here of record personal facts about myself which, if they came to the ears of someone who had for no



reason I can understand a desire to injure me, would assist him in that endeavor.

Mr. NIXON. This man who spent the time in 1933 and 1934 is still a man with whom you are acquainted?

Mr. HISS. He is not.

Mr. NIXON. And where were you living at that time?

Mr. HISS. He was not named Carl and not Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. NIXON. Where were you living at that time?

Mr. HISS. I have again written down here to the best of my recollection because I have not checked down with leases—this is something I did on the train coming down and the leases are in my house in New York—where I believed I lived from June of 1933 until September 1943.

Again, Mr. Nixon, if I give the details of where I was, it is going to be very easy if this information gets out for someone to say then ex post facto, "I saw Hiss in such and such a house." Actually, all he has to do is look it up in the telephone directory and find where it is.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman wants to say this: Questions will be asked and the committee will expect to get very detailed answers to the questions. Let's not ramble all around the lot here. You go ahead and ask questions and I want the witness to answer.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony is that this man you knew in 1933 and 1934 was in one of the houses you lived in?

Mr. HISS. I sublet my apartment to the man whose name I have written down.

Mr. NIXON. But you were not there at the same time?

Mr. HISS. I didn't spend a week in the same apartment with him. He did spend a day or two in my house when he moved in.

Mr. NIXON. This was the apartment you lived in between 1933 and 1934?

Mr. HISS. It is exactly that apartment—1934 and 1935.

Mr. NIXON. Between 1934 and 1935?

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. When you sublet your apartment? There was no other apartment and you can't testify as to what apartment that was?

Mr. HISS. I can testify to the best of my recollection. If this committee feels, in spite of what I have said—

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind feelings. You let Mr. Nixon ask the questions and you go ahead and answer it.

Mr. HISS. I want to be sure Mr. Nixon definitely wants me to answer responsibly in spite of my plea that I don't think he should ask me. But if he does—Mr. Nixon also asked me some questions in the public hearing that I didn't want to answer, and I took the same position that if Mr. Nixon insisted on an answer after he knew my position, I will answer. I will give every fact of where I lived.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let the record show, Mr. Hiss, you brought up this ex post facto business. Your testimony comes as ex post facto testimony to the testimony of Mr. Chambers. He is already on record, and I am not inferring that you might know what he testified to, but certainly the United States attorney's office has several copies.

Mr. HISS. I do not and made no attempt to find out.

Mr. NIXON. Not only does the United States attorney's office have copies of Mr. Chambers' testimony before us on the subject—and you

can confirm that by calling Mr. Morris Fay of that office, because he has two copies; he requested and received, and he will receive this testimony today. He will receive this testimony today, because I will tell you that he asked for it just 30 minutes before you walked into this room, and he will get it just as soon as we have completed this case.

Now, quite obviously, I think that you can see that we are not attempting at this time to have you testify to facts with which we are going to brief Mr. Chambers. What we are trying to do is test the credibility of Mr. Chambers, and you are the man who can do it, and you can help us out by answering these questions and, frankly, I must insist.

Mr. HISS. If you insist, I will, of course, answer. May I make one observation?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chambers, I believe, appeared in executive session before this committee before he testified publicly; is that correct?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

Mr. HISS. There was a press report to that effect. Did he not meet with you in executive session?

Mr. STRIPLING. You mean the morning of the session?

Mr. McDOWELL. The session lasted about 2 minutes. No testimony other than—

Mr. STRIPLING. The committee saw him—

Mr. McDOWELL. It was a matter of getting his name and where he worked.

Mr. HISS. Did you not know his testimony—that he was going to testify about me?

Mr. STRIPLING. No.

Mr. HISS. After the public testimony, this committee met further with Mr. Chambers, who was able as of that date, I assume, to add new testimony that you did not have before, which you will excuse me for saying, was *ex post facto* my testimony.

Mr. NIXON. Forty-eight hours after your testimony.

Mr. HISS. That is right, and my testimony was public testimony.

Mr. NIXON. That is correct.

Mr. HISS. He has now testified and I would assume that the United States attorney's office will want further testimony from him.

Mr. NIXON. And from you.

Mr. HISS. I certainly assume so and hope so. If what I testify to in this committee today through no fault of any official of this committee or any member of its staff comes to his attention, as my public testimony, of course, came to his attention, he will again be able to testify *ex post facto* to my testimony of today.

Now, I want that on the record. If you think, as I don't regard this body as an inquisitorial body determining crime, if you wish to ask me detailed questions and think it is your duty to ask me, it is my duty to answer, and I have said all I want to say. I am not evading the question.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Hiss, let me say this to you now—and this is removed of all technicalities, it is just a man-to-man impression of the whole situation. I think it is pertinent.

I don't surrender my place on this committee to any individual who has an open mind, particularly regarding you and Mr. Chambers. I

am not interested in who is lying except to the extent that it will only give us an insight to further the case and that we are about to find out whether espionage was in effect in this country to the detriment of the security of this country.

I do not take the stand and never have taken the stand in this committee that anything is involved other than to get to the facts. I have tried just as hard in the public hearings to impeach those witnesses who are assumed to be so-called committee witnesses as I have tried to impeach the other witnesses. I think the record will speak for that.

We did not know anything Mr. Chambers was going to say. I did not hear your name mentioned until it was mentioned in open hearing.

Mr. HISS. I didn't know that.

Mr. HÉBERT. As I say, I am not trying to be cagey or anything, but trying to put it on the line as certainly one member of this committee who has an open mind and up to this point don't know which one of the two is lying, but I will tell you right now and I will tell you exactly what I told Mr. Chambers so that will be a matter of record, too: Either you or Mr. Chambers is lying.

Mr. HISS. That is certainly true.

Mr. HÉBERT. And whichever one of you is lying is the greatest actor that America has ever produced. Now, I have not come to the conclusion yet which one of you is lying and I am trying to find the facts. Up to a few moments ago you have been very open, very cooperative. Now, you have hedged. You may be standing on what you consider your right and I am not objecting to that. I am not pressing you to identify a picture when you should be faced with the man. That is your right.

Now, as to this inquiry which you make much over, and not without cause, perhaps, we met Mr. Chambers 48 hours after you testified in open session. Mr. Chambers did not know or have any inclination of any indication as to the questions that we were going to ask him, and we probed him, as Mr. Stripling says, for hours and the committee, the three of us—Mr. Nixon, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Stripling, and myself—and we literally ran out of questions. There wasn't a thing that came to our minds that we didn't ask him about, these little details, to probe his own testimony or rather to test his own credibility.

There couldn't have been a possible inkling as to what we were going to say about minor details, and he could not have possibly by the farthest stretch of the imagination prepared himself to answer because he didn't know where the questions were coming from and neither did we because we questioned him progressively; so how he could have prepared himself to answer these details which we now, and Mr. Nixon has indicated, we are now checking and for the sake of corroboration—for my own part I can well appreciate the position you are in, but if I were in your position, I would do everything I humanly could to prove that Chambers is a liar instead of me.

Mr. HISS. I intend to.

Mr. HÉBERT. And that is all we are trying to do here. Further than that, I recognize the fact that this is not an inquisitorial body to the extent of determining where the crime lies. We are not setting forth to determine ourselves as to which one of you two has perjured yourself. That is the duty of the United States attorney for the District of Columbia. He is confronted with the fact that perjury has been

committed before this congressional committee, which is a crime. It is up to the United States district attorney and the Department of Justice to prosecute that crime and that is all we are trying to do.

Now, if we can get the help from you and, as I say, if I were in your position I certainly would give all the help I could because it is the most fantastic story of unfounded—what motive would Chambers have or what motive—one of you has to have a motive. You say you are in a bad position, but don't you think that Chambers himself destroys himself if he is proven a liar? What motive would he have to pitch a \$25,000 position as the respected senior editor of Time magazine out the window?

Mr. HISS. Apparently for Chambers to be a confessed former Communist and traitor to his country did not seem to him to be a blot on his record. He got his present job after he had told various agencies exactly that. I am sorry but I cannot but feel to such an extent that it is difficult for me to control myself that you can sit there, Mr. Hébert, and say to me casually that you have heard that man and you have heard me, and you just have no basis for judging which one is telling the truth. I don't think a judge determines the credibility of witnesses on that basis.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am trying to tell you that I absolutely have an open mind and am trying to give you as fair a hearing as I could possibly give Mr. Chambers or yourself. The fact that Mr. Chambers is a self-confessed traitor—and I admit he is—the fact that he is a self-confessed former member of the Communist Party—which I admit he is—has no bearing at all on whether the facts that he told—or, rather, the alleged facts that he told—

Mr. HISS. Has no bearing on his credibility?

Mr. HÉBERT. No; because, Mr. Hiss, I recognize the fact that maybe my background is a little different from yours, but I do know police methods and I know crime a great deal, and you show me a good police force and I will show you the stool pigeon who turned them in. Show me a police force with a poor record, and I will show you a police force without a stool pigeon. We have to have people like Chambers or Miss Bentley to come in and tell us. I am not giving Mr. Chambers any great credit for his previous life. I am trying to find out if he has reformed. Some of the greatest saints in history were pretty bad before they were saints. Are you going to take away their sainthood because of their previous lives? Are you not going to believe them after they have reformed?

I don't care who gives the facts to me, whether a confessed liar, thief, or murderer, if it is facts. That is all I am interested in.

Mr. HISS. You have made your position clear. I would like to raise a separate point. Today as I came down on the train I read a statement—I think it was in the New York News—that a member of this committee, an unidentified member of this committee had told the press man who wrote the article that this committee believed or had reason to believe from talking to Chambers that Chambers had personally known Hiss, not that Chambers had had the conversation which is the issue here, that Chambers had been in Hiss' house. That is not the issue before this committee. You are asking me to tell you all the facts that I know of people who have been in my house or who have known me whom I would not feel absolutely confident are people I know all about, personal friends, people I feel I know

through and through. I am not prepared to say on the basis of the photograph—

Mr. HÉBERT. We understand.

Mr. HISS. —That the man, that he is not the man whose name I have written down here. Were I to testify to that, what assurance have I that some member of this committee wouldn't say to the press that Hiss confessed knowing Chambers?

In the first place, I have testified and repeated that I have never known anybody by the name of Whittaker Chambers. I am not prepared to testify I have never seen that man.

Mr. HÉBERT. You have said that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen that one [indicating picture]?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the question?

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen the individual whose photograph appears there?

Mr. HISS. So far as I know; no.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have never seen that person?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. For the record, the issue is whether Chambers did have the conversation with you, that is admitted, but the only way we can establish the fact that Chambers had the occasion to have the conversation with you is we have to establish the fact that Hiss knew Chambers and Chambers knew Hiss, and this is very pertinent.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's go on with the question.

Mr. NIXON. If Chambers' credibility on the question of whether he knew you or not is destroyed, obviously you can see that this statement that he had a conversation with you and that you were a member of the Communist Party, which was made on the basis of knowledge, would also be destroyed; and that is exactly the basis upon which this questioning is being conducted, I can assure you, because those are personal matters; whether you are a member of the Communist Party and whether he had a conversation with you individually is something that no third party can corroborate one way or the other. But these other facts are matters which third parties can corroborate. They won't prove, obviously, even if there is agreement on all facts, that this man knew you, but if there is disagreement on these facts, they will prove that Chambers is a perjurer and that is what we are trying to find out. If we prove he is a perjurer on the basis of his testimony now, the necessity of going into the rest of the matter will be obviated.

Mr. HISS. But if he is able through my action to make a more plausible story of having known me or if he has in fact known me under circumstances very different from those he has testified to, I think in my own self-protection I should have a chance to see him. I think that for me to be asked details that may get back, through no fault of yours—I can only repeat if this committee asks me to go on with this specific line of inquiry, I will certainly do it. I do not feel comfortable about being in a position to protect my own reputation because I don't think knowledge of any individual is the issue here.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Now, I will say this in asking the question that started this discussion—who were your servants during 1934 to 1937—that the purpose of that question is to attempt to find an individual who could corroborate either your story or Mr. Chambers' story that

he did or did not spend time in your house between 1934 and 1937. If you will give us those names, we will appreciate it.

Mr. HISS. I am not sure how helpful I can be. The first maid we had when we were in Washington as far back as 1929, I think, was with us for a while when we returned in 1933. She was a Negro maid. Her name was Martha Pope.

Mr. NIXON. That was in 1933?

Mr. HISS. I think Martha returned to our service in 1933.

Mr. NIXON. She came back to you?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Started to work for you in 1933?

Mr. HISS. Yes. I am not positive she did and not positive how long she stayed with us, if she did come back.

Mr. NIXON. She was there for how long?

Mr. HISS. Some years previously.

Mr. NIXON. After 1933 do you recall how long she was with you?

Mr. HISS. No, I cannot; and I am not absolutely sure she came back.

Mr. NIXON. That was spelled P-o-p-e?

Mr. HISS. P-o-p-e.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall anybody else that you had?

Mr. HISS. We had a servant that we got through an agency, I think, when we lived on P Street, and I am afraid I cannot recall her name. She wasn't with us very long. She wasn't very satisfactory.

Mr. NIXON. When you lived on P Street?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall the name. What agency did you get her through?

Mr. HISS. I would have to ask my wife.

Mr. NIXON. We will ask your wife tomorrow. Do you recall any others?

Mr. HISS. I don't even recall that we had a servant when we lived on Thirtieth Street. No; I am afraid I cannot recall the names. I can recall more recent ones.

Mr. NIXON. That is, more recent than 1937?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. That wouldn't help us. The only name you recall is that of Martha Pope and you can't say whether or not she was with you after 1933?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. We don't have the names of any servants in the period in question.

Mr. HISS. I am afraid I can't.

Mr. NIXON. If you had taken one of these servants home, would you be able to tell us where she lived, for example, from time to time?

Mr. HISS. Yes. You mean if I had driven a servant to where she lived?

Mr. NIXON. Yes; that is common practice. I do it, for example, with the woman who works for us.

Mr. HISS. I have done that.

Mr. NIXON. Does that refresh your memory?

Mr. HISS. I remember the area where Martha Pope lived. She lived over near Howard University. I have been over there to ask

if she were available, if she were sick. I may have even taken her home. I don't remember.

Mr. NIXON. You don't remember the last time you had her, the last year?

Mr. HISS. No; I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you live in 1934?

Mr. HISS. According to the best of my memory, without checking the leases—and I jotted these down this morning—from June 1933 until, I think, about September 1934, I lived on O Street in Georgetown. This testimony is on the assumption that what I said made no difference to the committee and you wish to follow this line of inquiry.

Mr. NIXON. Let me say this: The testimony as to where you have lived is, of course, information that can be obtained by an investigator in any event by checking the leases.

Mr. HISS. It is in the telephone book and the leases are in the agencies.

Mr. STRIPLING. O Street was a house?

Mr. HISS. A house.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many rooms?

Mr. HISS. A garage downstairs, one went up to the floor above the street level for living quarters. It was a living room, immediately behind it a dining room, then off into a kitchen in an L. I am not sure that I can testify exactly as to the lay-out of the bedrooms, which were above that.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that since we have become involved in this rather lengthy discussion, that the committee recess for 5 minutes so that this telephone call can be made to Mrs. Hiss. It is very important that Mrs. Hiss appear before the committee.

Now, does the committee want to discuss that?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would add to that request for immediate executive session.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess. Mr. Hiss, will you please remain in the other room.

(At this point there was a short executive session off the record and with the witness out of the room.)

Mr. NIXON. The committee thought in the case of Mrs. Hiss that it would be an imposition to have her come on such short notice; and since there will be some members available for a week or so here in Washington, we thought we could arrange it at her and your convenience in the future.

Mr. HISS. That is kind of you.

The name of the man I brought in—and he may have no relation to this whole nightmare—is a man named George Crosley. I met him when I was working for the Nye committee. He was a writer. He hoped to sell articles to magazines about the munitions industry.

I saw him, as I say, in my office over in the Senate Office Building, dozens of representatives of the press, students, people writing books, research people. It was our job to give them appropriate information out of the record, show them what had been put in the record. This fellow was writing a series of articles, according to my best recollection, free lancing, which he hoped to sell to one of the magazines.

He was pretty obviously not successful in financial terms, but as far as I know, wasn't actually hard up.

Mr. STRIPLING. What color was his hair?

Mr. HISS. Rather blondish, blonder than any of us here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he married?

Mr. HISS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any children?

Mr. HISS. One little baby, as I remember it, and the way I know that was the subleasing point. After we had taken the house on P Street and had the apartment on our hands, he one day in the course of casual conversation said he was going to specialize all summer in getting his articles done here in Washington, didn't know what he was going to do, and was thinking of bringing his family.

I said, "You can have my apartment. It is not terribly cool, but it is up in the air near the Wardman Park." He said he had a wife and little baby. The apartment wasn't very expensive, and I think I let him have it at exact cost. My recollection is that he spent several nights in my house because his furniture van was delayed. We left several pieces of furniture behind.

The P Street house belonged to a naval officer overseas and was partly furnished, so we didn't need all our furniture, particularly during the summer months, and my recollection is that definitely, as one does with a tenant trying to make him agreeable and comfortable, we left several pieces of furniture behind until the fall, his van was delayed, wasn't going to bring all the furniture because he was going to be there just during the summer, and we put them up 2 or 3 nights in a row, his wife and little baby.

Mr. NIXON. His wife and he and little baby did spend several nights in the house with you?

Mr. HISS. This man Crosley; yes.

Mr. NIXON. Can you describe his wife?

Mr. HISS. Yes; she was a rather strikingly dark person, very strikingly dark. I don't know whether I would recognize her again because I didn't see very much of her.

Mr. NIXON. How tall was this man, approximately?

Mr. HISS. Shortish.

Mr. NIXON. Heavy?

Mr. HISS. Not noticeably. That is why I don't believe it has any direct, but it could have an indirect, bearing.

Mr. NIXON. How about his teeth?

Mr. HISS. Very bad teeth. That is one of the things I particularly want to see Chambers about. This man had very bad teeth, did not take care of his teeth.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he have most of his teeth or just weren't well cared for?

Mr. HISS. I don't think he had gapped teeth, but they were badly taken care of. They were stained and I would say obviously not attended to.

Mr. NIXON. Can you state again just when he first rented the apartment?

Mr. HISS. I think it was about June of 1935. My recollection is—and again I have not checked the records—that is, I went with the Nye munitions committee in the early winter of 1934. I don't even remember now when the resolution was passed. In any event, I am



confident I was living on Twenty-ninth Street from December 1934 to June 1935 and that coincided with my service with the Nye committee. I say that because one reason we took the apartment was to reduce our living costs, because after I had been on loan from the Department of Agriculture for some months, I thought it would only be a 2-month assignment or so, it became evident that I was to stay on longer if I should complete the job, and my deputy in the Department of Agriculture was doing all my work and not getting my salary and I did not feel it fair, so I resigned from the Department of Agriculture to go on with the Nye committee work at the Nye committee salary and contemplated that and talked it over with my deputy in the Department of Agriculture for some time before I did it. So I am sure, from my recollection, that the Twenty-ninth Street apartment is definitely linked in time with my service on the Nye committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of automobile did that fellow have?

Mr. HISS. No kind of automobile. I sold him an automobile. I had an old Ford that I threw in with the apartment and had been trying to trade it in and get rid of it. I had an old, old Ford we had kept for sentimental reasons. We got it just before we were married in 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it a model A or model T?

Mr. HISS. Early A model with a trunk on the back, a slightly collegiate model.

Mr. STRIPLING. What color?

Mr. HISS. Dark blue. It wasn't very fancy but it had a sassy little trunk on the back.

Mr. NIXON. You sold that car?

Mr. HISS. I threw it in. He wanted a way to get around and I said, "Fine, I want to get rid of it. I have another car, and we kept it for sentimental reasons, not worth a damn." I let him have it along with the rent.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you move from there?

Mr. HISS. Again my best recollection is that we stayed on P Street only 1 year because the whole heating plant broke down in the middle of the winter when I was quite ill, and I think that we moved from 2905 P Street to 1241 Thirtieth Street about September 1936. I recall that quite specifically though we can check it from the records, because I remember Mr. Sayre, who was my chief in the State Department, who had been my professor at law school, saying he wanted to drive by and see where I was living. I remember the little house on Thirtieth Street which we had just got, a new development, was the little house I drove him by, and it must have been September or October 1936, just after starting to work in the State Department.

Mr. NIXON. Going back to this man, do you know how many days approximately he stayed with you?

Mr. HISS. I don't think more than a couple of times. He may have come back. I can't remember when it was I finally decided it wasn't any use expecting to collect from him, that I had been a sucker and he was a sort of deadbeat; not a bad character, but I think he just was using me for a soft touch.

Mr. NIXON. You said before he moved in your apartment he stayed in your house with you and your wife about how many days?

Mr. HISS. I would say a couple of nights. I don't think it was longer than that.

Mr. NIXON. A couple of nights?

Mr. HISS. During the delay of the van arriving.

Mr. NIXON. Wouldn't that be longer than 2 nights?

Mr. HISS. I don't think so. I wouldn't swear that he didn't come back again some later time after the lease and say, "I can't find a hotel. Put me up overnight," or something of that sort. I wouldn't swear Crosley wasn't in my house maybe a total of 3 or 4 nights altogether.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall any subjects of conversation during that period?

Mr. HISS. We talked backwards and forwards about the Munitions Committee work. He told various stories that I recall of his escapades. He purported to be a cross between Jim Tully, the author, and Jack London. He had been everywhere. I remember he told me he had personally participated in laying down the tracks of the street cars in Washington, D. C. He had done that for local color, or something. He had worked right with the road gang laying tracks in Washington, D. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was his middle initial "L"?

Mr. HISS. That I wouldn't know. There may be a lease record, must be some record with the apartment house of who the person was who was my subtenant.

Mr. NIXON. With the apartment house?

Mr. HISS. I think H. L. Rust were the agents.

Mr. NIXON. You can't recall the names of any servants other than the one you mentioned?

Mr. HISS. While you were out of the room I thought of a woman I described as being unsatisfactory. She was rather sullen in personality, and I think her name was Ellen. I think we called her "Sullen Ellen." but I may be wrong on that. I think she was our servant when we lived on P Street.

Mr. NIXON. You gave this Ford car to Crosley?

Mr. HISS. Threw it in along with the apartment and charged the rent and threw the car in at the same time.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, added a little to the rent to cover the car?

Mr. HISS. No; I think I charged him exactly what I was paying for the rent and threw the car in in addition. I don't think I got any compensation.

Mr. STRIPLING. You just gave him the car?

Mr. HISS. I think the car just went right in with it. I don't remember whether we had settled on the terms of the rent before the car question came up, or whether it came up and then on the basis of the car and the apartment I said, "Well, you ought to pay the full rent."

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you hard of hearing in your left ear?

Mr. HISS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. I noticed you had your hand up to your ear.

Mr. HISS. If I have done that, it is only when I wanted to be sure I was hearing.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did that before the committee in open session and did then. If you are having difficulty, we can all move this way.

Mr. HISS. I am not aware of it and never heard any doctor say so.

Mr. NIXON. I have a few more of these questions, which I feel will help us a great deal if you are willing to answer them.

Mr. HISS. I am willing to answer any question you ask.

Mr. NIXON. I assure you, as I have before, that as far as the committee is concerned the cold record, Mr. Chambers' testimony, and your testimony are going to have to stand up together.

Mr. HISS. We won't go into that question again.

Mr. STRIPLING. May I ask another question?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you had this Ford car do you remember where you bought your gasoline?

Mr. HISS. No; I don't remember where we bought gas when we were living on Twenty-ninth Street. On O Street I am afraid I don't remember whether I had a regular place. I remember a regular place in recent years, and even earlier, but when we first came down I don't think we had a regular place.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of car did you get?

Mr. HISS. A Plymouth.

Mr. STRIPLING. A Plymouth?

Mr. HISS. Plymouth sedan.

Mr. STRIPLING. Four-door?

Mr. HISS. I think I have always had only two-door.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of a bill of sale did you give Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I think I just turned over—in the District you get a certificate of title, I think it is. I think I just simply turned it over to him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Handed it to him?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. No evidence of any transfer. Did he record the title?

Mr. HISS. That I haven't any idea. This is a car which had been sitting on the streets in snows for a year or two. I once got a parking fine because I forgot where it was parked. We were using the other car.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do those model Fords have windshield wipers?

Mr. HISS. You had to work them yourself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Hand operated?

Mr. HISS. I think that is the best I can recall.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall the voice of this fellow Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I was trying to recall that this morning. It was a low voice. He speaks with a low and rather dramatic roundness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you say it is a subdued voice?

Mr. HISS. No; I don't particularly think that is so. It is not very loud, but the main thing I have in mind would be a deepness, a lowness.

Mr. McDOWELL. A heavy voice?

Mr. HISS. Lower voice than I have.

Mr. NIXON. Was he a man pretty talkative about his accomplishments, et cetera?

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. There are matters which I wish to go into now to which Mr. Chambers has given categorical answers. I am going to put the questions objectively, as you can see. I am not going to try to lead you one way or the other. It will be very helpful as the two records look together to see how accurate he is in this case.

I want to say first of all, so that it won't come up, that I realize that the matters which are covered are matters which third parties could corroborate, and that is the reason we ask these particular questions. Again for the purpose of just checking the veracity of Mr. Chambers and your testimony. It will help us to check it again.

What were the nicknames you and your wife had?

Mr. HISS. My wife, I have always called her "Prossy."

Mr. NIXON. What does she call you?

Mr. HISS. Well, at one time she called me quite frequently "Hill," H-i-l-l.

Mr. NIXON. What other name?

Mr. HISS. "Hilly," with a "y."

Mr. NIXON. What other name did you call her?

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you say?

Mr. HISS. She called me "Hill" or "Hilly." I called her "Pross" or "Prossy" almost exclusively. I don't think any other nickname.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever call her "Dilly"?

Mr. HISS. No; never.

Mr. NIXON. Never to your knowledge in fun or otherwise?

Mr. HISS. Never.

Mr. NIXON. What did you call your son?

Mr. HISS. "Timmy."

Mr. NIXON. "Timmy"?

Mr. HISS. Yes; and in the family he is also known as "Moby," M-o-b-y.

Mr. NIXON. That is in the family now?

Mr. HISS. Yes; but he was "Tim" and "Timmy" most; in the family circle we called him "Moby."

Mr. NIXON. You testified you took your servants home?

Mr. HISS. I have on occasions.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall the age of this particular woman, Mrs. Pope, by any chance?

Mr. HISS. Martha, I would say she was probably in her 40's and very plump, very, very plump, large cheerful plump woman.

Mr. NIXON. Was she a cook or housekeeper?

Mr. HISS. Cook and waitress. We never had more than one maid at a time.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall any other servant after that as far as age is concerned?

Mr. HISS. This woman Ellen would be in her 50's, tall and dark. Ellen, I think, was older than Martha.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever take her home?

Mr. HISS. I don't think so.

Mr. NIXON. You did take Martha home?

Mr. HISS. Yes; Martha was practically a member of the family.

Mr. NIXON. Any other cook you took home?

Mr. HISS. We had a cook in recent years and I can't remember how far back it went. Certainly to the early 1940's. During the war she left us to take employment.

Mr. NIXON. If as much as possible we can limit our testimony to the years 1934 to 1937, it will be helpful because there is nothing else at issue.

Mr. HISS. On this business of maids it is hard. You don't hire people on an annual basis. They stay until something happens, and the

one I remember taking home best I doubt if she was in our employ as early as 1937.

One other maid, whose name was Drusilla, lived in Georgetown. I don't recall ever having taken her home. I think we may have had her as early as 1937; maybe it was 1938.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you spend your vacations during that period?

Mr. HISS. Normally, I think I didn't begin going to Peacham regularly until either 1937 or 1938; may have been 1937. My son went to a camp over on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. I am partly an Eastern Shore man myself. Part of my family came from there. When he was at camp we spent two summers, I think, during this period in Chestertown, Md.

Mr. NIXON. On the Eastern Shore?

Mr. HISS. On the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He went to a camp of friends of ours who lived just outside of Chestertown. For two summers we took a small apartment.

Mr. NIXON. Did you have pets?

Mr. HISS. We had a brown cocker spaniel we had before we came to Washington, was with us all during that period, and lived to be so old she died of old age.

Mr. NIXON. What did you do with the dog when you went on your vacations; do you recall?

Mr. HISS. I think we took Jenny over on the Eastern Shore. I think we took her on the Eastern Shore when we went there. She did spend some time in the kennels when we were away.

Mr. NIXON. You can't recall for sure?

Mr. HISS. We had a very good vet out near Rock Creek Park.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know his name?

Mr. HISS. No; but I could easily ascertain it.

Mr. NIXON. That is where you would have left the dog, boarded the dog?

Mr. HISS. Yes; at that time I think we left her there.

Mr. NIXON. Can you ascertain that before you leave?

Mr. HISS. I can tell you how you get there.

Mr. NIXON. How would you get there?

Mr. HISS. You go right out the road that runs west of Rock Creek Park in the Chevy Chase area, and he had a house and his kennels elevated from the road just before you get to the end of that road that runs parallel to Rock Creek Park and turns off in the middle of Rock Creek Park. His name might be Dr. Evans. I wouldn't be sure.

Mr. NIXON. What hobby, if any, do you have, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. Tennis and amateur ornithology.

Mr. NIXON. Is your wife interested in ornithology?

Mr. HISS. I also like to swim and also like to sail. My wife is interested in ornithology, as I am, through my interest. Maybe I am using too big a word to say an ornithologist because I am pretty amateur, but I have been interested in it since I was in Boston. I think anybody who knows me would know that.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you ever see a prothonotary warbler?

Mr. HISS. I have right here on the Potomac. Do you know that place?

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever seen one?

Mr. HISS. Did you see it in the same place?

Mr. McDOWELL. I saw one in Arlington.

Mr. HISS. They come back and nest in those swamps. Beautiful yellow head, a gorgeous bird.

Mr. Collins is an ornithologist, Henry Collins. He is a really good ornithologist, calling them by their Latin names.

Mr. NIXON. What schools do you recall your son attended in 1934 to 1937?

Mr. HISS. Tim was in the Friends School briefly here.

Mr. NIXON. Where did he go before that?

Mr. HISS. It is going to be hard to be sure. He went to a small school called the Cobb School, I think, in Chevy Chase.

Mr. NIXON. Is that called the Chevy Chase School also?

Mr. HISS. I don't think so. I think it was just called the Cobb School. Mr. Cobb ran it.

After Friends School he went to boarding school to George School in Pennsylvania near Doylestown, right near Newtown, Pa.

Mr. NIXON. Is the Friends School a rather expensive school, would you say, or moderate-priced school?

Mr. HISS. I would say moderate.

Mr. NIXON. And Cobb's School the same?

Mr. HISS. Yes. I might say Timmy's educational expenses were paid by his own father as part of the arrangement.

Mr. NIXON. Was the Cobb School, do you recall, more expensive than the Friends School?

Mr. HISS. I would guess it was probably less because it didn't carry through the grades thoroughly. It was a preschool and early primary grades.

Mr. NIXON. And you can't recall that there was a school in between that and Friends School?

Mr. HISS. I don't recall it, Mr. Nixon. He went to the Landon School here for a while.

Mr. NIXON. That is after Friends School?

Mr. HISS. That is after he had been at Friends and before he went to George School but not between Cobb and Friends. He went to Landon School, which is off Connecticut Avenue out when you get to Bradley Lane.

Mr. NIXON. Is that more expensive than the other?

Mr. HISS. That was a rather expensive school.

Mr. NIXON. More so than Friends School?

Mr. HISS. I think so.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall the school he went to immediately before Friends?

Mr. HISS. No; I don't.

Mr. NIXON. But you would say the Friends School was a moderate priced school?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then you put him in a more expensive school?

Mr. HISS. Landon was more expensive than Friends. He hadn't been getting along very well at Friends and we consulted friends and thought that Landon was better.

Mr. HÉBERT. You put him in a more expensive school?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Just one moment, Mr. Hiss. I want to avoid having to go into any more of these again.

As a boy, Mr. Hiss, did you have any particular business that you engaged in?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. What was your business?

Mr. HISS. I had two businesses. One of which I was most proud was the delivery of spring water in Baltimore. Baltimore people didn't think they had very good municipal water.

Mr. NIXON. You had the spring water on your own place?

Mr. HISS. We had to go out to the park.

Mr. NIXON. The park?

Mr. HISS. Druid Hill Park is a park in Baltimore where there were good springs and some of us had water routes and we carried water and delivered it to customers.

Mr. HÉBERT. As a child?

Mr. HISS. Twelve or so.

Mr. HÉBERT. I didn't know whether he was in the spring-water business.

Mr. NIXON. As a boy.

Mr. HISS. We sold spring water.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Druid Hill right in the middle of Baltimore?

Mr. NIXON. It is now.

Mr. HISS. It was at the edge of town then and from our house it was 10 or 15 blocks. I have always been very proud of that.

I also raised pigeons and sold squabs. I am afraid in both places mostly to friends of my family.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, I have no further questions at this time. I might say that as a result of the questions, when we see the cold record, it presents to the committee a difficult problem again, still a controversy between the two witnesses. It is one which is difficult to resolve on the basis of third-party evidence, and as it stands at the present time it is your word against that of Mr. Chambers.

I realize, incidentally, the feeling that you have, which I think is natural, that your word should be given greater weight than Mr. Chambers' word.

On the other hand, Mr. Chambers feels the same way because he feels he volunteered the information.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could I ask a few questions?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you finished with your statement?

Mr. STRIPLING. I want to ask some questions before he makes the statement.

Mr. NIXON. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. On this man George Crosley, you say you gave him this car?

Mr. HISS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever go riding with Crosley in this automobile?

Mr. HISS. I might very well have.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean did you go around with him quite a bit, take rides?

Mr. HISS. You mean after I gave it to him did he ever give me a ride?

Mr. STRIPLING. Before or after.

Mr. HISS. I think I drove him from the Hill to the apartment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever take any trips out of town with George Crosley?

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

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever take him to Pennsylvania?

Mr. HISS. No. I think I once drove him to New York City when I was going to make a trip to New York City anyway.

Mr. NIXON. Was Mrs. Hiss along?

Mr. HISS. That I wouldn't recall. She may have been. I think I may have given him a lift when I went to New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you go to Paoli?

Mr. HISS. If Mrs. Hiss was along; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Route No. 202?

Mr. HISS. Route 202 goes through that part of Pennsylvania, and that is the route we would take.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever drive to Baltimore with Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I don't recall it. I think he moved to Baltimore from here, as a matter of fact, but I don't recall that I ever drove him.

Mr. NIXON. How did you know that?

Mr. HISS. I think he told me when he was pulling out. He was in my apartment until the lease expired in September.

Mr. NIXON. What year?

Mr. HISS. I think it was September 1935 and I think I saw him several times after that, and I think he had told me he moved from here to Baltimore.

Mr. NIXON. Even though he didn't pay his rent you saw him several times?

Mr. HISS. He was about to pay it and was going to sell his articles. He gave me a payment on account once. He brought a rug over which he said some wealthy patron gave him. I have still got the damned thing.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever give him anything?

Mr. HISS. Never anything but a couple of loans; never got paid back.

Mr. NIXON. Never gave him anything else?

Mr. HISS. Not to my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Where is he now?

Mr. HISS. I have no idea. I don't think I have seen him since 1935.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever heard of him since 1935?

Mr. HISS. No; never thought of him again until this morning on the train.

Mr. STRIPLING. You wouldn't say positively George Crosley and this person are the same?

Mr. HISS. Not positively.

Mr. STRIPLING. You would not say positively?

Mr. HISS. I think they are not. That would be my best impression from the photographs.

In thinking this morning what I thought was that Crosley is the only person I know who has been in my house who knows the lay-out of any house or apartment I lived in.

Mr. NIXON. He knows the lay-out of only one house?



Mr. HISS. Only one house.

Mr. NIXON. In one house only?

Mr. HISS. To my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a collection of stuffed birds or anything?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Pictures of them?

Mr. HISS. I have bird books with pictures; photographs that I had taken; no.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just pictures of different birds not in books?

Mr. HISS. I have several Audubon prints hanging in my house, of birds.

The CHAIRMAN. They are the finest pictures of birds that have ever been made; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. I think so. The most artistic, anyway.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, of course, as I say, was very convincing in his testimony and you certainly are very convincing in yours.

Now, frankly, the committee has a difficult problem here and I wonder if under the circumstances for the assistance of the committee in this matter you would be willing to take a lie-detector test on this.

I might say before you answer, so you will have full knowledge of what the committee knows, Mr. Chambers was asked that question and said he would take a lie detector test.

Mr. HISS. Shall I answer now?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, several days after I testified two members of the press told me that there had been a report that the committee was considering asking various witnesses if they would take a lie detector test. When I was asked if I had any comment to make on that, I said I didn't think it was appropriate at the time to make any comment.

Since then I have talked about that to several friends who I think are knowledgeable. When I was practicing law actively, quite frankly we had very little confidence in the so-called lie detector tests. I would say that I would rather have you ask me formally if you think lie detector tests are valuable in terms of who would administer it, what expert it is, what type of test, because the people I have consulted—and I think I have consulted knowledgeable people—say there is no such thing; that it is an emotion recording test; that it is not scientific, and that nobody scientifically competent, including the Bureau, regards it as a scientific test.

Mr. NIXON. When you speak of asking you formally, what do you want us to do?

Mr. HISS. I would like to know who the administrator is, whether this is being done by someone in the Bureau who is an expert or an individual so-called expert, what kind of a test it is. In other words, I don't think I ought to, on the basis of the advice I have had, try to answer it out of hand until I know and you know.

I would be surprised if this committee would want to rely on something that isn't scientific.

Mr. NIXON. Certainly. In answer to your question, the committee has contacted Mr. Leonardo Keeler.

Mr. HISS. Is he the man from Chicago?

MR. NIXON. Probably the outstanding man in the country. The test Mr. Keeler has is the polygraph machine. It is the only one, I think, that has any broad acceptance at all.

I might say also that the polygraph machine is one whose accuracy is dependent to a great extent upon the type of operator. In questioning Mr. Keeler about this I said that if we did have the lie detector test, that he would have to operate it. He agreed. I might say we have made no arrangements with Mr. Keeler because it is rather an expensive proposition. When we do make arrangements we will, of course, have a number of witnesses concerning which contradictory testimony has come up. We are putting the question to you officially now and would like for you to give us your answer as soon as you can.

MR. HISS. Would it seem to you inappropriate for me to say that I would rather have a chance for further consultation before I gave you the answer? Actually, the people I have conferred with so far say that it all depends on who reads, that it shows emotion, not truth, and I am perfectly willing and prepared to say that I am not lacking in emotion about this business.

I have talked to people who have seen, I think, Dr. Keeler's own test and that the importance of a question registers more emotion than anything else. I certainly don't want to duck anything that has scientific or sound basis. I would like to consult further.

I would like to find out a little more about Dr. Keeler. As I told you, the people I have consulted said flatly there is no such thing, that it is not scientifically established.

MR. NIXON. When could you give a decision on that?

MR. HISS. I would hope to consult in part the same people I consulted last week and anyone they suggested.

MR. NIXON. When could you give a decision?

MR. HISS. When is it important to you to know? Would you like to know tomorrow?

MR. NIXON. Wednesday.

MR. HISS. I will try to let you know Wednesday.

MR. NIXON. Tomorrow might rush you. Could you know by Wednesday?

MR. HISS. I certainly ought to be able to make up my mind on the basis of the questions I ask.

MR. NIXON. If you do decide tomorrow and let us know, it would facilitate things, one way or the other. We have Mr. Keeler more or less standing by. I don't mean he is here, but he has promised to remain available for 3 or 4 days.

MR. HISS. To whom should my reply be addressed?

MR. NIXON. To the chairman of the committee. I might say also that the matter of emotion, of course, as you pointed out, enters into the test. One thing the members of the committee both remarked about is that Mr. Chambers is also a very emotional man.

MR. HISS. Have you ever had any experience with it yourself when you were practicing, Mr. Nixon?

MR. NIXON. No; I have not.

MR. HISS. But you do have confidence in it?

MR. NIXON. Frankly, I have made a study of it in the last week before I put the question. In fact, for the last 2 weeks I have been studying it and have been in correspondence with Mr. Keeler.

MR. HISS. You do have confidence in it as a device?

Mr. NIXON. I have. Let me say this: I have confidence that it is a factor which will be helpful in this case. I realize there is no factor which can be conclusive in this case, and I don't pretend that that is the case, but I do have confidence it would be helpful in this case to be weighed with the other facts in this matter.

Mr. HISS. I will take that into account.

Mr. NIXON. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Hiss, how many children—is it just your brother and yourself?

Mr. HISS. In my family there were five originally. Two are dead. I have another brother and sister, one surviving older sister and my brother.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where does your sister live?

Mr. HISS. She lives in Austin, Tex., department of physical education at the university.

Mr. HÉBERT. University of Texas?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where did she live before she went to the University of Texas?

Mr. HISS. In Baltimore.

Mr. HÉBERT. With whom?

Mr. HISS. With my mother.

Mr. HÉBERT. Just your mother and sister?

Mr. HISS. Yes. She went straight to Texas, I think, on graduation from physical training school, may have had one intermediate position.

Mr. HÉBERT. What year?

Mr. HISS. She is a good deal older than I am. I think she has been in Texas about 20 years.

Mr. HÉBERT. She has been in Texas about 20 years?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Would she have been living in Baltimore in the years in question with your mother?

Mr. HISS. No, definitely no. She was in Texas at that time.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, there is something I have been very anxious to get on the record, and since this is an executive session I think it is proper.

Do you recall, Mr. Hiss, calling on me last spring?

Mr. HISS. I do, indeed.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would you tell the committee why you called?

Mr. HISS. The then president or director of the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, the Institute of Technology, sent word to us in New York that a derogatory report about a Carnegie Foundation had been received by this committee, that he thought the appropriate person for us to talk to if we had anything to say would be Congressman McDowell, who was investigating so-called Fascist activities.

I don't recall whether the substance of the charge came to me at that time, Mr. McDowell, or only when I talked to you and you very frankly told me all about it.

In any event, the facts, as I recall them, were that a charge had been made that a Carnegie Foundation had made a grant of money

to one Gerald K. Smith on his own allegation. He had told that to intimates. He said he didn't need to worry about money, he had Carnegie backing or a Carnegie grant; that a priest who was not quite unfrocked but was disciplined for his associations with Gerald L. K. Smith, had become penitent under discipline, as a result of discipline, and had entered, I think, a monastery in Florida, and it was he who said that Gerald L. K. Smith had told him or had heard it said in his presence that he received financial backing from a Carnegie Foundation.

I came immediately to see you to see if we could get to the bottom of it and offered you and the committee full access to all the Carnegie files. I said I had checked my associates in the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which is a related agency which makes grants; the Carnegie Corp., which is the largest granting body; had been through all our own records, though I had only come into the position in the endowment in 1947; and was absolutely sure that there had never been any grants by any Carnegie agency to Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you very much. I wanted that on the record.

Mr. HISS. I appreciate very much the courtesy and the completeness of the information you gave me.

Mr. NIXON. I was going to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that I think the arrangements should be made now, if possible, for a hearing at which Mr. Hiss can resolve his own mind as to whether he has seen Mr. Chambers. I think that is essential because Mr. Hiss has indicated in his testimony today he is not satisfied from the pictures.

The CHAIRMAN. On that point I think we all agree. I believe though we ought to go into executive session right now and discuss it a little bit and have Mr. Hiss wait outside for us.

Mr. HÉBERT. Before you do that, may I ask one more question?

Mr. HISS, since this matter has come to public attention and since you have become cognizant of it, have you made any attempt to check Mr. Chambers to find out who he is and where he possibly knew you?

Mr. HISS. I did consult people in New York to see if there is any way to find out. The advice I received is that it is not appropriate, desirable, or very feasible for an individual solely for such a personal reason to attempt, or attempt to have conducted, an investigation; and so I have not persevered.

Mr. HÉBERT. By that answer you mean you went to a detective agency?

Mr. HISS. I went to lawyers, counsel.

Mr. HÉBERT. You went to counsel for that?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. You let the matter drop there?

Mr. HISS. Yes; on receiving their advice.

Mr. HÉBERT. Can you, searching through your mind, recall or suggest any reason why a man named Whittaker Chambers should give such testimony involving you, any motive?

Mr. HISS. I cannot, sir, and I would like to say that this is one of the things I have puzzled and puzzled with.

Mr. HÉBERT. Through your connection and association with people on Time or Life, as you undoubtedly have, did you inquire of Chambers?

Mr. HISS. On the way down to the public hearing I ran into an editor of Fortune whom I know only slightly, but the man I was with knew him very well, and I asked him because I hadn't found anybody who knew him. I had asked various press people who were asking me for statements if they knew him, and they did not. I have asked various friends who knew people on Time if they could find out more about his personality and what he is like. I haven't heard any reply. This man on Fortune gave an off-hand reaction.

Mr. HÉBERT. You just didn't toss it off without trying to find out about Chambers.

Mr. NIXON. Was Mr. Crosley a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HISS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. Never discussed it?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. You feel he might be Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. HISS. I find it difficult to believe. I can't identify him from the pictures and can't see any motive.

Mr. NIXON. You haven't the slightest idea what became of him?

Mr. HISS. No; haven't seen him since 1935.

Mr. NIXON. Where was he working at the time you knew him?

Mr. HISS. I was working in Washington in the Senate and he was here to get information in order to write articles.

Mr. NIXON. For whom did he work? Who was his employer?

Mr. HISS. He told me he was a free-lance writer preparing a series of articles which he had no doubt he would be able to market; that he had written for various magazines.

Mr. NIXON. What magazines had he written for?

Mr. HISS. He told me he had written for American magazine; I think he told me he had written for Cosmopolitan.

Mr. NIXON. You are sure about his telling you about writing for American?

Mr. HISS. Yes; I am sure of that.

Mr. NIXON. Never indicated where he worked or who he worked for?

Mr. HISS. He was a free-lance writer.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you ever see his name attached to an article?

Mr. HISS. He never sold one of the articles.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you ever see his name attached to an article?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. Never saw anything he wrote?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. Did he pay any rent all the time he was in your house?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is he paid \$15 or \$20, and he gave me a rug, which I have still got.

Mr. NIXON. You had hard words when he left?

Mr. HISS. Yes, in the sense that I said, "Let's not talk any more about your ever paying back. I don't think you ever intend to, and I would rather forget all of this, and I think you have simply welshed from the beginning."

Mr. NIXON. In other words, this wasn't sufficient motive—

Mr. HISS. I didn't ask him to leave the house, but I practically did, and haven't seen him since. I made it plain I wouldn't be a sucker.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know his middle initial?

Mr. HISS. No; if I did I don't remember.

Mr. NIXON. Would you say this would be sufficient motive to do what Whittaker Chambers has done?

Mr. HISS. No. That is why I say I can't believe it was the same man. I can't imagine a normal man holding a grudge because somebody had stopped being a sucker.

Mr. STRIPLING. I want to ask you something. This is executive session and don't be insulted at any of these questions.

You claim that you are a very close friend of Henry Collins.

Mr. HISS. I think it is fair to say I regard Henry Collins as a close friend.

Mr. STRIPLING. I don't recall whether I asked you exactly this question, but I think I asked you if Henry Collins was a Communist.

Mr. HISS. I don't recall exactly what I replied if you did ask it, but I feel sure I would have replied and I now reply, Not so far as I know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. HISS, Mr. Collins before the committee the other day refused to answer the question whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party on the ground that he might incriminate himself, and I happen to know pretty conclusively that not only is Mr. Collins a Communist but he has been a Communist for many years.

In fact; when he used to work in the AAA he was notorious, notorious for sitting around talking about communism.

Mr. HISS. I don't think I ever worked in AAA.

Mr. STRIPLING. And extolling the Russian system. You claim you know Lee Pressman. Lee Pressman has been accused of being an outright card-holding member of the Communist Party in the public press time and time again and refuses to deny it. The same is true of John Abt. You know John Abt.

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. And yet you would give us the belief that none of these people is a Communist. There is no question about John Abt and Lee Pressman, and in my mind, on Henry Collins.

You are an intelligent person and not naive enough that you wouldn't know a Communist if you saw one. Furthermore, I read a lot of Government files from time to time—and I don't say this disparagingly—but I have seen your name for years in Government files as a person suspected of Communist activity.

Now, there has to be some basis for the thing. Why would Charles Kramer refuse to say whether he knew you on the ground of self-incrimination? Why would Henry Collins answer that way? Why would all these people say that?

Mr. HISS. Are you finished?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. HISS. Do you think those are relevant questions to this inquiry?

Mr. STRIPLING. I am trying to determine why a man would come in before a committee of Congress under the penalties of perjury and just out of the blue make up a story and then have that story check almost in every minute detail, according to check, and then have people come in whom we know are Communists and then ask do they know you, and they refuse to answer. From your testimony and your appearance I would certainly be given the impression that you were as far removed from communism and knew no one who could even be suspected of being a Communist, just absolutely—just never heard of the word.

Now, we are just trying to get the facts.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Stripling, that had about 15 questions in it. One question that I think I distinctly understood was that you asked me to testify as to why certain witnesses refused to answer certain questions. I do not see how I could possibly be expected to be able to testify on that. I haven't any idea.

Mr. STRIPLING. Skip that one.

Mr. HISS. You also asked me why my name appeared in various Government files. I thought that was the implication.

I do not know what was the context in which my name appeared. The only other occasion except the May 1947 visit to the FBI agents, the information Mr. Byrnes gave me in March or April of 1946, was sometime back in, I think, 1938 or 1939—it may have been as late as 1940—I was asked to come to the field office of the Bureau in Washington on K Street.

The interrogator prefaced his questions with the statement that he was proceeding under an act of Congress—I do not remember the citation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Hatch Act.

Mr. HISS. Which provided that the names of all people appearing in the Dies committee files should be investigated by the FBI and that an appropriation was made for that purpose, that he was proceeding under that act.

He asked me a series of questions including whether I had ever been a member of an organization which, as near as I can recall, he described as the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. As far as I knew, that was the first time I had ever heard of that organization. I testified then and I testify now I was never a member, as far as I know I was not even on their mailing list.

When you receive a lot of stuff in the mail unsolicited and have to throw it in the wastebasket, if it comes regularly enough, you are apt to remember. I don't recall having heard the name.

I also was told that an individual in the Department of Agriculture back in the early thirties, an old-line civil servant who is now not living, had accused a whole lot of people over there of being Reds, radicals, and so on. I do know that the whole atmosphere of a lot of new brash people coming into an old-line agency caused a great deal of friction. I know the particular person I am now referring to. I would not have accepted that person's judgment as being a very rational judgment. If that person made a statement about me and others, it could have been made way back there—this has only come to my attention quite recently—I have no other way of knowing why or how my name appeared in any files.

I can say that I have never had the slightest indication from my superiors that they gave any credence to what you appear to be giving credence to.

Mr. STRIPLING. Don't misunderstand me. I didn't say I gave credence to that. I said I had seen. I would just as soon have this off the record, if you like.

Mr. HISS. It can stay on.

Mr. STRIPLING. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

(A short executive session was taken off the record during which Mr. Hiss was out of the room.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss, the committee has unanimously decided to hold a public hearing on Wednesday, August 25, at 10:30 a. m. in the caucus room on the third floor of the Old House Office Building, at which time you and Whittaker Chambers will be the witnesses and you will be asked questions in order to determine which one is telling the truth, and you will have an opportunity to confront one another.

Mr. HISS. I will be very glad of the chance to confront Mr. Chambers.

Mr. NIXON. Would you prefer to have it done informally?

Mr. HISS. My desire is to see the man face to face.

Mr. STRIPLING. Executive or open?

Mr. HISS. It doesn't matter.

Mr. NIXON. Where does it serve your best purpose? You just want to see the guy?

Mr. HISS. It seems to me appropriate that it be done under committee auspices under the circumstances.

Mr. NIXON. We are honestly trying to get the right way. If you have a public session, it is a show. Say it will be a meeting on the 25th in this room.

Mr. HISS. You want me here in this room at 10:30 a. m.?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am sympathetic to your feelings about not wanting a big show, but the other witnesses have wanted to confront accusers in public.

Mr. HISS. I had not expressed a preference.

Mr. HÉBERT. I wanted to clear that up. Unless you express a preference I want it public. Is a public meeting all right with you?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. I want to be fair with everybody.

The CHAIRMAN. You be here at 10:15 on that day and we will first go into executive session with the idea of determining after having the executive session whether or not we will go into a public hearing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can I be heard?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. I think the committee's concern is to determine who is telling the truth, and a public session—this is a kind of unprecedented proposition, and if you say it is going to be a public session, you know it will be ballyhooed into a circus.

From everybody's standpoint, I think it would be better—

Mr. HISS. May I speak?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. The committee could exercise much better judgment by bringing them in in executive session. If each wants counsel, bring them in. Let's arrive at the facts. The committee could announce whatever action it wants, but I don't think a public session would add anything.

Mr. HISS. I want to be clear that I am not asking for an executive session as opposed to public. As far as consideration to me after what has been done to my feelings and my reputation, I think it would be like sinking the Swiss Navy. No public show could embarrass me now. I am asking to see this man.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a preference?

Mr. HISS. I think it is for the committee to decide.

Mr. NIXON. Do you care?

Mr. HISS. I think I prefer a public session.



Mr. HÉBERT. That is the reverse.

Mr. HISS. I don't think I said that.

The CHAIRMAN. Which do you want?

Mr. NIXON. Let him think it over.

Mr. HISS. May I try to give it—

Mr. NIXON. We will also give Mr. Chambers an opportunity.

Mr. HISS. Further consideration?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Just say that it will be arranged at that time, that no decision has been made as to the type of hearing.

Mr. HISS. In any event, you want me here at 10:15 a. m. in this room.

May I ask a question about the press?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I want to tell you something. Every person in this room with the exception of yourself has stood up and raised his right hand and taken an oath that he will not divulge one single word of testimony given here this afternoon, questions asked, so I am going to ask you to take the same oath.

Mr. NIXON. No; that is up to him.

Mr. HÉBERT. He can do what he wants to do.

Mr. HISS. I have thought of this problem and wanted to raise it specifically. I wanted to ask the committee's views as to what they preferred. I will be guided as far as I think I honestly can in terms of my own self-protection by what I take now to be the committee's views that this is executive.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not going to divulge anything.

Mr. NIXON. There is one thing I think should be done in this case, and I see no reason why it shouldn't be done. I think Mr. Hiss should be given a copy of the testimony for his own use.

Mr. HISS. I would like to have it.

Mr. HÉBERT. I agree.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. NIXON. Also I made a suggestion before that only two copies of this testimony be made, one for Mr. Hiss and one to be delivered to the committee clerk. Mr. Hiss can have it and use it any way you like for your purposes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Supplementing that, the reporter has been instructed that he personally is to transcribe this testimony taken here today, that nobody else is to see it, not his office or anybody else like that, and only one copy to you and one to us. We have sworn ourselves to secrecy. You are on your own.

Mr. NIXON. You would have to be.

Mr. HISS. I would like to say that I have no intention of making any public statement in terms of self-protection. I don't want to make a commitment that I won't because stories have appeared in the press.

Mr. NIXON. You might have discussed it with your counsel, for example. What arrangements can be made for the appearance of Mrs. Hiss? Would any time be convenient between now and next Wednesday?

Mr. HISS. I think I should try to reach her on the telephone.

Mr. NIXON. No hurry, but we would like to do that before the public session on Wednesday.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can't we arrange it somewhere in the East?

Mr. NIXON. New York?

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that all right?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Absolutely no publicity.

Mr. NIXON. We don't want it here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that agreeable?

Mr. HISS. Certainly.

Mr. STRIPLING. That Mrs. Hiss be heard in absolutely executive session.

Mr. HISS. Certainly. Thank you very much for your courtesies.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for coming, and we will see you August 25.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p. m., the executive session was concluded.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New York, N. Y.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>6</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 5:35 p. m., in room 1400 Hotel Commodore, New York City, Hon. John McDowell presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John McDowell, J. Parnell Thomas (chairman of the full committee), and Richard M. Nixon.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; William A. Wheeler, Louis J. Russell, Donald T. Appell, investigators; and Benjamin Mandel, director of research for the committee.

Mr. McDOWELL. The record will show that this is a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities sitting now in the city of New York in the Hotel Commodore. Those present are Mr. Nixon and Mr. McDowell.

The first witness will be Mr. Alger Hiss.

Mr. Hiss, will you please take the oath.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you shall give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Hiss. I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you, sir. You may smoke and be comfortable.

## TESTIMONY OF ALGER HISS (ACCOMPANIED BY CHARLES DOLLARD, IN CAPACITY OF A FRIEND)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Nixon, before you begin questioning—

Mr. Hiss, would you have your friend or your counsel identify himself?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Charles Dollard, who is a friend of mine. He is not a lawyer. He is of the Carnegie Corp. with offices at 552 Fifth Avenue, where I also have mine.

Mr. STRIPLING. The purpose of the meeting is for the committee to continue to determine the truth or falsity of the testimony which has

<sup>6</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and released during the public hearing, August 25, 1948.

been given by Mr. Whittaker Chambers. Do you want to proceed, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Yes. It is quite apparent at this state in the testimony, as you indicated yesterday, that the case is dependent upon the question of identity. We have attempted to establish the identity through photographs of Mr. Chambers and that has been inadequate for that purpose. Today, we thought that since you had in your testimony raised the possibility of a third party who might be involved in this case in some way and had described him at some length to the committee that it would be well to, at the earliest possible time, determine whether the third party is different from the two parties or the same one, and so consequently we have asked Mr. Chambers to be in New York at the same time so that you can have the opportunity to see him and make up your own mind on that point.

Mr. HISS. May I interrupt at this point, because I take it this will take more than 10 or 15 minutes. Would it be possible for one of the members of the committee to call the Harvard Club and leave word that I won't be there for a 6 o'clock appointment?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would suggest it won't take much more time than that, but you certainly may.

Mr. NIXON. The purpose of this hearing is for the purpose of identification only, and then if there is any question of identification, to go into additional questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. There is a telephone, I believe, in the room here. Anytime you want to call, you may.

Mr. DOLLARD. I can make the call.

Mr. HISS. May I also make a statement before you begin?

Mr. McDOWELL. Certainly.

Mr. HISS. I would like the record to show that on my way downtown from my uptown office, I learned from the press of the death of Harry White, which came as a great shock to me, and I am not sure that I feel in the best possible mood for testimony. I do not for a moment want to miss the opportunity of seeing Mr. Chambers. I merely wanted the record to show that.

I would like to make one further comment. Yesterday, I think I witnessed—in any event, I was told that those in the room were going to take an oath of secrecy. I made some comments before I answered certain questions of Mr. Nixon which I had not intended as a reflection on the committee, but which some members of the committee thought implied that. I was referring merely to the possibility of leakage of information. I would like this record to show at this stage that the first thing I saw in the morning paper, the Herald Tribune, was a statement that the committee yesterday had asked me if I would submit to a lie-detector test.

I would also like the record to show at this point that on my way down from my uptown office to keep this appointment after I got Mr. McDowell's telegram, I read in the papers that it was understood that in the course of my testimony yesterday the committee asked me, the subcommittee asked me, if I could arrange to have Mrs. Hiss be examined privately. You will recall, and I hope the record will show, that Mr. Nixon assured me with great consideration that you desired to talk to Mrs. Hiss without any publicity. This was less than 24 hours after you had been so considerate.

There were other statements in the press which I read coming down which referred to other bits of my testimony which could only have come from the committee. They did not come from me.

I would like the record to show that is why I asked if I could bring Mr. Dollard, a personal friend, to be with me at this particular time.

Mr. NIXON. In that connection, Mr. Hiss, I might suggest that in order to satisfy your own mind as to how that information may have gotten into the press that you get in touch with Mr. Carl Levin, the correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune, who wrote the story.

Mr. HISS. I have no reason to get in touch with Mr. Carl Levin. The assurances I had came from the committee.

Mr. NIXON. I suggest you do so, because I think you will find that Mr. Levin's information is that he obtained the information from sources outside the committee and outside the committee staff, and I can assure you that no member of this committee or no member of the staff discussed the matter with Mr. Levin at all. That was the only source of this information.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I didn't say anybody discussed it with Mr. Levin. I said someone must have given information. How Mr. Levin got it, I do not know. I said it did not come from me as a source, either directly or indirectly. I don't want to say any more about it, but like the record to show.

Mr. McDOWELL. The Chair would like to say something. I, too, was greatly disturbed when I read the morning paper. Obviously, there was a leak, because the story that appeared in the various papers I read was part of the activities of yesterday afternoon. I have no idea how this story got out. In my own case, I very carefully guarded myself last night, saw and talked to no one except my wife in Pittsburgh. It is regrettable and unfortunate.

Further than that, I don't know what else to say other than if it was an employee of the committee, and I should discover it, he will no longer be an employee of the committee. As a Member of Congress, there is nothing I can do about that. It is a regrettable thing, and I join you in feeling rather rotten about the whole thing.

Mr. HISS. I didn't mean to make any charges but meant to state certain facts which have occurred which I think have a bearing on the reason I made the statements I made to the committee yesterday before I went on with certain parts of my testimony.

Mr. McDOWELL. I want to assure Mr. Dollard he is very welcome.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Russell, will you bring Mr. Chambers in?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

(Mr. Russell leaves room and returns accompanied by Mr. Chambers.)

Mr. NIXON. Sit over here, Mr. Chambers.

Mr. Chambers, will you please stand?

And will you please stand, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS, the man standing here is Mr. Whittaker Chambers. I ask you now if you have ever known that man before.

Mr. HISS. May I ask him to speak?

Will you ask him to say something?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. Chambers, will you tell us your name and your business?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My name is Whittaker Chambers.

(At this point, Mr. Hiss walked in the direction of Mr. Chambers.)

Mr. HISS. Would you mind opening your mouth wider?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My name is Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. HISS. I said, would you open your mouth?

You know what I am referring to, Mr. Nixon.

Will you go on talking?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am senior editor of Time magazine.

Mr. HISS. May I ask whether his voice, when he testified before, was comparable to this?

Mr. NIXON. His voice?

Mr. HISS. Or did he talk a little more in a lower key?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would say it is about the same now as we have heard.

Mr. HISS. Would you ask him to talk a little more?

Mr. NIXON. Read something, Mr. Chambers. I will let you read from—

Mr. HISS. I think he is George Crosley, but I would like to hear him talk a little longer.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chambers, if you would be more comfortable, you may sit down.

Mr. HISS. Are you George Crosley?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not to my knowledge. You are Alger Hiss, I believe.

Mr. HISS. I certainly am.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That was my recollection. (Reading:)

Since June—

Mr. NIXON (interposing). Just one moment. Since some repartee goes on between these two people, I think Mr. Chambers should be sworn.

Mr. HISS. That is a good idea.

Mr. McDOWELL. You do solemnly swear, sir, that the testimony you shall give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, may I say something? I suggested that he be sworn, and when I say something like that I want no interruptions from you.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, in view of what happened yesterday, I think there is no occasion for you to use that tone of voice in speaking to me, and I hope the record will show what I have just said.

Mr. NIXON. The record shows everything that is being said here today.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were going to read.

Mr. CHAMBERS (reading from Newsweek magazine):

Tobin for Labor. Since June, Harry S. Truman had been peddling the labor secretaryship left vacant by Lewis B. Schwelienbach's death in hope of gaining the maximum political advantage from the appointment.

Mr. HISS. May I interrupt?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. HISS. The voice sounds a little less resonant than the voice that I recall of the man I knew as George Crosley. The teeth look to me

as though either they have been improved upon or that there has been considerable dental work done since I knew George Crosley, which was some years ago.

I believe I am not prepared without further checking to take an absolute oath that he must be George Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. May I ask a question of Mr. Chambers?

Mr. HISS. I would like to ask Mr. Chambers, if I may.

Mr. NIXON. I will ask the questions at this time.

Mr. Chambers, have you had any dental work since 1934 of a substantial nature?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I have.

Mr. NIXON. What type of dental work?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have had some extractions and a plate.

Mr. NIXON. Have you had any dental work in the front of your mouth?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. What is the nature of that work?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is a plate in place of some of the upper dentures.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. HISS. Could you ask him the name of the dentist that performed these things? Is that appropriate?

Mr. NIXON. Yes. What is the name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Dr. Hitchcock, Westminster, Md.

Mr. HISS. That testimony of Mr. Chambers, if it can be believed, would tend to substantiate my feeling that he represented himself to me in 1934 or 1935 or thereabout as George Crosley, a free lance writer of articles for magazines.

I would like to find out from Dr. Hitchcock if what he has just said is true, because I am relying partly, one of my main recollections of Crosley was the poor condition of his teeth.

Mr. NIXON. Can you describe the condition of your teeth in 1934?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. They were in very bad shape.

Mr. NIXON. The front teeth were?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I think so.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIXON. Excuse me. Before we leave the teeth, Mr. HISS, do you feel that you would have to have the dentist tell you just what he did to the teeth before you could tell anything about this man?

Mr. HISS. I would like a few more questions asked.

I didn't intend to say anything about this, because I feel very strongly that he is Crosley, but he looks very different in girth and in other appearances—hair, forehead, and so on, particularly the jowls.

Mr. NIXON. What was Crosley's wife's name?

Mr. HISS. I don't think I recall.

Mr. NIXON. You did testify that she on several occasions was in your home overnight.

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And that you have ridden with her in a car as well as with him.

Mr. HISS. I don't recall testifying to that.

Mr. NIXON. Do you testify she didn't?

Mr. HISS. I don't recall.

Mr. NIXON. But she did stay overnight in your home on several occasions?

Mr. HISS. She did. I don't think I said several occasions.

Mr. NIXON. How many times did you say?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that at the time George Crosley sub-rented my apartment on Twenty-ninth Street his wife and he and infant spent two or three or four consecutive nights in my house because the van had not come with their furniture, and we left only certain pieces of furniture behind to accommodate them.

Mr. NIXON. In regard to the rental agreement that was entered into with Mr. Crosley, do you recall approximately the rental that was charged and agreed to?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that I said I would be glad to let him have the apartment for the cost to me. It was a rather moderate rental.

Mr. NIXON. Could you say within certain limits?

Mr. HISS. My recollection—I can't remember just what I paid for the apartment that far back—my recollection is it was under \$75 a month. It was a very reasonable rental. That is one of the reasons I had taken it.

Mr. NIXON. For how long was this rental agreement?

Mr. HISS. I think I went into this yesterday in the testimony. Sometime in the spring, according to my recollection, of 1934.

Mr. NIXON. Or did you say 1935?

Mr. HISS. I am looking at notes I made, trying to remember the dates. Sometime in the spring of 1935 I leased the house on P Street. Having both a house and an apartment on my hands, I was looking for a way of disposing of the apartment on sublease, and the occasion of one of the talks I had with Crosley, he said he was planning to spend the summer in Washington carrying on the researches he had been doing in the field of the Munitions Committee investigations.

I asked him if he would like to sublet my apartment during that period of time, that it was not too cool, but that it was up on a hill and had a very decent location as Washington goes, that I would let him have it for the cost to me. In the course of the negotiation he referred to the fact that he also wanted an automobile.

Mr. NIXON. How many months, Mr. HISS, approximately, was that?

Mr. HISS. Just the summer months.

Mr. NIXON. Three months?

Mr. HISS. I don't remember how long the lease ran. I think to September. Maybe it ran to October. I think this conversation probably took place in June.

Mr. NIXON. When did your lease on this apartment run out?

Mr. HISS. I think in the fall, September or October, and I had several months still to go after the time I had taken the other place.

Mr. NIXON. You think this lease on the apartment ran out in the fall?

Mr. HISS. That is my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. You are testifying, as I understand, that the lease to Mr. Crosley was for the three summer months approximately.

Mr. HISS. As long as he wanted to stay during the summer period while I still had the use of that apartment.

Mr. NIXON. It was beyond the month of July? Did it include the month of July, do you know?



Mr. HISS. I think it included July and August.

Mr. NIXON. You say it did include July and August?

Mr. HISS. Yes. We are talking about something that occurred 13 years ago. It is my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. I understand. Was it a lease for longer than 2 months?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I have testified that I think it took the summer months. It might have been June, July, August, and September. It depends on how long I had the disposition of the apartment.

Mr. NIXON. Then the total rental value for the period was, if it were for 2 months, it would have been approximately \$150; 3 months, approximately \$225.

Mr. HISS. It was contingent upon the number of months he would occupy the remaining unexpired term under my lease.

Mr. NIXON. How long did he stay there?

Mr. HISS. As far as I know, he stayed there all summer. He certainly never said he didn't.

Mr. NIXON. Your lease did not run out after the end of the summer?

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. He didn't stay there after that?

Mr. HISS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. Did he ever pay any rent at all?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that he paid no cash, that he once paid in kind.

Mr. NIXON. No cash at all?

Mr. HISS. He also borrowed some cash in addition.

Mr. NIXON. How much did he borrow, approximately?

Mr. HISS. I don't think it got over \$35 or \$40 in different transactions, not at all at once. I hope it didn't.

Mr. NIXON. Did you enter into a written contract?

Mr. HISS. I think it was oral. It wasn't easy to sublet an apartment during the summer in those days in Washington.

Mr. NIXON. How did you first meet Mr. Crosley?

Mr. HISS. My best recollection—I was thinking over this yesterday morning on the way down to the committee hearing—is that Mr. Crosley came into my office in the Senate Office Building, where I was serving as legal assistant to the Senate Munitions Committee, as a pressman making inquiries about the investigation, as many dozens of other press people, authors, students, researchers did.

Mr. NIXON. That is the first time you had ever seen him in your life?

Mr. HISS. The first time I had ever seen him.

Mr. NIXON. Did you immediately discuss this rental contract?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. The agreement that you were entering into?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. When did that first come into the conversation?

Mr. HISS. I think that came into the conversation in the spring of 1935 after I knew that I was going to have a house as well as an apartment.

Mr. NIXON. How long had you known Mr. Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I don't remember which stage of the Munitions Committee investigation I first met Mr. Crosley and haven't even had time to check when I actually went to the Hill. I think it was in the fall of 1934, but I am not sure.

Mr. NIXON. You had known Mr. Crosley, your testimony is, for about 8 months before you entered into this agreement?

Mr. HISS. Five or six months.

Mr. NIXON. Then you had had several conversations with him during that period?

Mr. HISS. I think I must have seen him as often as I did any other newspaperman who was particularly interested. I think I saw him 10 or 11 times.

Mr. NIXON. Never saw him socially during that period?

Mr. HISS. Never saw him socially.

Mr. NIXON. Only in the course of your business?

Mr. HISS. Only in the course of my business.

Mr. NIXON. Then in 1935, the spring of 1935, Mr. Crosley discussed this matter of getting your apartment for the summer with you?

Mr. HISS. Would you like me to state how I think it originated?

Mr. NIXON. Certainly.

Mr. HISS. It originated by his saying he was planning to spend the summer months in Washington to complete his research and investigation of the series of articles which he had been engaged upon at the time I first met him.

Mr. NIXON. Would you refresh me on where this apartment was?

Mr. HISS. This was on Twenty-ninth Street.

Mr. NIXON. This is the Twenty-ninth Street apartment?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And from that apartment you had moved to P Street?

Mr. HISS. 2905 P Street.

Mr. NIXON. House?

Mr. HISS. House.

Mr. NIXON. That was a house?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Go ahead with your recollection.

Mr. HISS. You asked me how it originated.

Mr. NIXON. I understand.

Mr. HISS. That I described. What else did you want?

Mr. NIXON. That completes—

Mr. HISS. As to how it originated. He mentioned he was planning to spend the summer months consistently in Washington. My understanding had been before that he came down to Washington from New York for various hearings of the committee, for talking to the staff, for getting material, and he said he intended to spend the summer in Washington completing his researches and was looking for a place to live, and I said I happened to have a place I would be very glad to get rid of.

Mr. NIXON. So you agreed with him that he could move into your apartment for 3 months approximately?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Which would be for a consideration of, say, \$225, roughly?

Mr. HISS. Whatever the actual cost to me was.

Mr. NIXON. And then there was some conversation about a car. What was that?

Mr. HISS. There was. Mr. Crosley said that while he was in Washington he wondered if he could get a rented car or something, because he would like to have it while his family were with him, get out week

ends, something like that. I said, "You came to just the right place. I would be very glad to throw a car in because I have been trying to get rid of an old car which we have kept solely for sentimental reasons which we couldn't get anything on for trade-in or sale." I would be very glad to let him have the car because we wanted somebody to make real use of it. We had had it sitting on the city streets because we had a new one.

Mr. NIXON. It was a '29 Ford?

Mr. HISS. One of the first model A Fords.

Mr. NIXON. The year of this transaction would be 1935?

Mr. HISS. That would be my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. A 6-year-old Ford?

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. You just gave him the car with this \$225 rental?

Mr. HISS. As part of the total contract. That is my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. The rent was simply the going rate, as you indicated?

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And you just threw in this 6-year-old car with it?

Mr. HISS. That is my best recollection. I don't think it figured as a financial element in the transaction.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know the Blue Book value of a 1929 Ford in 1935?

Mr. HISS. I certainly don't. I know what the going rate was with sellers of new cars. I think the most I had ever been offered for it was \$25 or \$30 at that time, a few months before that.

Mr. NIXON. So you gave him this car.

Mr. HISS. As part of the whole transaction.

Mr. NIXON. Then before he moved into the apartment I understand that you allowed him and his wife to stay with you in your home?

Mr. HISS. My recollection of that—and this is repetitious——

Mr. NIXON. We are repeating it for his benefit as well as to see if he can recall this incident.

Mr. HISS. I am glad he has no other way of finding out about it. Mr. Nixon.

My recollection on that point is that Mr. Crosley said since he was only coming down for the summer, he didn't want to bring very many things. I said since we had rented a furnished house, we had more furniture than we really needed. In fact, one of the rooms in 2905 P Street was perpetually used as a storeroom for furniture while we were there.

We left several pieces of furniture in the apartment for several weeks or months, I don't remember how long, and I don't remember which pieces, but there was a bed and a bureau and a table and a couple of chairs.

When the day came when Mr. Crosley was supposed to move in, his moving van hadn't arrived but his wife and baby had. We put them up the way one would be apt to try to be helpful to people you were subletting. You develop a kind of pseudo-friendliness over a transaction of that kind.

Mr. Crosley, his wife, and infant were put up in my house for 2 or 3 days while the moving van was coming; it may have been 4, may have been 2. It was more than one night. I imagine my wife would testify it seemed even longer than that.

Mr. NIXON. Were those the only two apartments in which Mr. Crosley saw you?

Mr. HISS. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

Mr. NIXON. When did you see him after that period of the rental agreement?

Mr. HISS. I saw him several times in the fall of 1935, as I recall it.

Mr. NIXON. What were the occasions of those visits?

Mr. HISS. Some occasions—he would call—no; I think he came to my house once or twice after that because of this establishment of a personal relationship. I remember on one occasion he came and brought me a rug which was part payment. He hadn't yet sold his articles, he was hard up, he was going to make payment. My recollection is I never got paid a single red cent in currency.

Mr. NIXON. What kind of a rug was it?

Mr. HISS. It was about the color of this rug [indicating rug on floor]. I still have it. A fairly sizable rug. My recollection is Mr. Crosley said some wealthy patron had bestowed it upon him as a gift. It was not a very useful rug. It had been used in the nursery. It is in my youngest son's room now, he still being almost of nursery age. He was 7 on the day I testified publicly before your committee.

Mr. NIXON. On these other occasions on which Mr. Crosley stayed with you; did he ever stay overnight?

Mr. HISS. I wouldn't be sure of my recollection. It is quite possible he may have said that he couldn't get a reservation. Mr. Crosley was apparently in the habit of having difficulties. He may very well have said that he couldn't get a hotel reservation, could I put him up. Mr. Crosley, not being someone who paid his debts, may very well have added to his obligations in that way. That I wouldn't be sure of.

Mr. NIXON. You testified on one occasion you took him on a trip, as I understand it, ferried him to New York.

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that on one occasion when my wife and I were going to drive to New York in any event, Mr. Crosley asked for a ride. I may have mentioned when I was talking to him that I was going to New York, or he may have said he was going to New York, and I said so was I.

My recollection is I drove him to New York on one occasion. Whether my wife was present or not, I am not sure. I rather think she may have been. I would have to ask her and I haven't asked her.

Mr. NIXON. Was that after the time of this rental agreement?

Mr. HISS. I am afraid I can't recall.

Mr. NIXON. No further questions of Mr. Hiss at this time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, you say that person you knew as George Crosley, the one feature which you must have to check on to identify him is the dentures.

Mr. HISS. May I answer that my own way rather than just "Yes" or "No"?

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, now, I would like to preface whatever you are going to say by what I say first.

I certainly gathered the impression when Mr. Chambers walked in this room and you walked over and examined him and asked him to open his mouth, that you were basing your identification purely on what his upper teeth might have looked like.

Now, here is a person that you knew for several months at least. You knew him so well that he was a guest in your home.

Mr. HISS. Would you—

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to complete my statement—that he was a guest in your home, that you gave him an old Ford automobile, and permitted him to use, or you leased him your apartment and in this, a very important confrontation, the only thing that you have to check on is this denture; is that correct?

There is nothing else about this man's features which you could definitely say, "This is the man I knew as George Crosley," that you have to rely entirely on this denture; is that your position?

Mr. HISS. Is your preface through? My answer to the question you have asked is this:

From the time on Wednesday, August 4, 1948, when I was able to get hold of newspapers containing photographs of one Whittaker Chambers, I was struck by a certain familiarity in features. When I testified on August 5 and was shown a photograph by you, Mr. Stripling, there was again some familiarity features. I could not be sure that I had never seen the person whose photograph you showed me. I said I would want to see the person.

The photographs are rather good photographs of Whittaker Chambers as I see Whittaker Chambers today. I am not given on important occasions to snap judgments or simple, easy statements. I am confident that George Crosley had notably bad teeth. I would not call George Crosley a guest in my house. I have explained the circumstances. If you choose to call him a guest, that is your affair.

Mr. STRIPLING. I am willing to strike the word "guest." He was in your house.

Mr. HISS. I saw him at the time I was seeing hundreds of people. Since then I have seen thousands of people. He meant nothing to me except as one I saw under the circumstances I have described.

My recollection of George Crosley, if this man had said he was George Crosley, I would have no difficulty in identification. He denied it right here.

I would like and asked earlier in this hearing if I could ask some further questions to help in identification. I was denied that.

Mr. STRIPLING. I think you should be permitted—

Mr. HISS. I was denied that right. I am not, therefore, able to take an oath that this man is George Crosley. I have been testifying about George Crosley. Whether he and this man are the same or whether he has means of getting information from George Crosley about my house, I do not know. He may have had his face lifted.

Mr. STRIPLING. The witness says he was denied the right to ask this witness questions. I believe the record will show you stated "at this time." I think he should be permitted to ask the witness questions now or any other motion should be granted which will permit him to determine whether or not this is the individual to whom he is referring.

Mr. HISS. Right. I would be very happy if I could pursue that. Do I have the Chair's permission?

Mr. McDOWELL. The Chair will agree to that.

Mr. HISS. Do I have Mr. Nixon's permission.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Here is a very difficult situation.

Mr. NIXON. The only suggestion I would make in fairness to Mr. Chambers is that he should also be given the opportunity to ask Mr. Hiss any questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Of course.

Mr. HISS. I will welcome that.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, do you have any objection?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HISS. Did you ever go under the name of George Crosley?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. HISS. Did you ever sublet an apartment on Twenty-ninth Street from me?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I did not.

Mr. HISS. You did not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HISS. Did you ever spend any time with your wife and child in an apartment on Twenty-ninth Street in Washington when I was not there because I and my family were living on P Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I most certainly did.

Mr. HISS. You did or did not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did.

Mr. HISS. Would you tell me how you reconcile your negative answers with this affirmative answer?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Very easily, Alger. I was a Communist and you were a Communist.

Mr. HISS. Would you be responsive and continue with your answer?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do not think it is needed.

Mr. HISS. That is the answer.

Mr. NIXON. I will help you with the answer, Mr. Hiss. The question, Mr. Chambers, is, as I understand it, that Mr. Hiss cannot understand how you would deny that you were George Crosley and yet admit that you spent time in his apartment. Now would you explain the circumstances? I don't want to put that until Mr. Hiss agrees that is one of his questions.

Mr. HISS. You have the privilege of asking any questions you want. I think that is an accurate phrasing.

Mr. NIXON. Go ahead.

Mr. CHAMBERS. As I have testified before, I came to Washington as a Communist functionary, a functionary of the American Communist Party. I was connected with the underground group of which Mr. Hiss was a member. Mr. Hiss and I became friends. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Hiss himself suggested that I go there, and I accepted gratefully.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIXON. Just a moment. How long did you stay there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My recollection was about 3 weeks. It may have been longer. I brought no furniture, I might add.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, I don't need to ask Mr. Whittaker Chambers any more questions. I am now perfectly prepared to identify this man as George Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. Would you spell that name?

Mr. HISS. C-r-o-s-l-e-y.

Mr. NIXON. You are sure of one "s"?

Mr. HISS. That is my recollection. I have a rather good visual memory, and my recollection of his spelling of his name is C-r-o-s-l-e-y. I don't think that would change as much as his appearance.

Mr. STRIPLING. You will identify him positively now?

Mr. HISS. I will on the basis of what he has just said positively identify him without further questioning as George Crosley.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you produce for the committee three people who will testify that they knew him as George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I will if it is possible. Why is that a question to ask me? I will see what is possible. This occurred in 1935. The only people that I can think of who would have known him as George Crosley with certainty would have been the people who were associated with me in the Nye committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you name three people whom we can subpoena who can identify him as George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I am afraid I will have to confer with the individual members. The people, as I recall them, who were on that staff—and they were in and out of Washington constantly—were Mr. Raushenbush. I would like to consult Steve Raushenbush. I don't know whether Crosley ever called on him.

Mr. NIXON. Where is he now, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is in Washington.

Mr. HISS. Robert Wohlford was one of the investigators.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know where he is?

Mr. STRIPLING. Department of Justice.

Mr. HISS. I don't remember the name of the very efficient secretary to Mr. Raushenbush. Miss Elsie Gullender. I think her name was. Do you know the whereabouts of Miss Elsie Gullender? If his first call was at the central office and he was referred to me, Miss Gullender might remember him. She saw many, many people. If his first call was directly to me, as the press had a perfect right to come to any of us, directly and individually, and as the legal assistant, as the counsel, I shared seeing the press with Mr. Raushenbush; and on the particular matters where I was the investigator and counsel presenting the case, I saw practically all the press. In the cases he was handling, he saw practically all the press.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, another point that I want to be clear on. Mr. Chambers said he was a Communist and that you were a Communist.

Mr. HISS. I heard him.

Mr. NIXON. Will you tell the committee whether or not during this period of time that you knew him, which included periods of 3 nights, or 2 or 3 nights, in which he stayed overnight and one trip to New York, from any conversation you ever had any idea that he might be a Communist?

Mr. HISS. I certainly didn't.

Mr. NIXON. You never discussed politics?

Mr. HISS. Oh, as far as I recall his conversations—and I may be confusing them with a lot of other conversations that went on in 1934 and 1935—politics were discussed quite frequently.

May I just state for the record that it was not the habit in Washington in those days, when particularly if a member of the press called on

you, to ask him before you had further conversation whether or not he was a Communist. It was a quite different atmosphere in Washington then than today. I had no reason to suspect George Crosley of being a Communist. It never occurred to me that he might be or whether that was of any significance to me if he was. He was a press representative and it was my duty to give him information, as I did any other member of the press.

It was to the interest of the committee investigating the munitions industry, as its members and we of its staff saw it, to furnish guidance and information to people who were popularizing and writing about its work.

I would like to say that to come here and discover that the ass under the lion's skin is Crosley, I don't know why your committee didn't pursue this careful method of interrogation at an earlier date before all the publicity. You told me yesterday you didn't know he was going to mention my name, although a lot of people now tell me that the press did know it in advance. They were apparently more effective in getting information than the committee itself. That is all I have to say now.

Mr. McDOWELL. Well, now, Mr. Hiss, you positively identify—

Mr. HISS. Positively on the basis of his own statement that he was in my apartment at the time when I say he was there. I have no further question at all. If he had lost both eyes and taken his nose off, I would be sure.

Mr. McDOWELL. Then, your identification of George Crosley is complete?

Mr. HISS. Yes, as far as I am concerned, on his own testimony.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chambers, is this the man, Alger Hiss, who was also a member of the Communist Party at whose home you stayed?

Mr. NIXON. According to your testimony.

Mr. McDOWELL. You make the identification positive?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Positive identification.

(At this point, Mr. Hiss arose and walked in the direction of Mr. Chambers.)

Mr. HISS. May I say for the record at this point, that I would like to invite Mr. Whittaker Chambers to make those same statements out of the presence of this committee without their being privileged for suit for libel. I challenge you to do it, and I hope you will do it damned quickly.

I am not going to touch him [addressing Mr. Russell]. You are touching me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Please sit down, Mr. Hiss.

Mr. HISS. I will sit down when the chairman asks me.

Mr. Russell, when the chairman asks me to sit down—

Mr. RUSSELL. I want no disturbance.

Mr. HISS. I don't—

Mr. McDOWELL. Sit down, please.

Mr. HISS. You know who started this.

Mr. McDOWELL. We will suspend testimony here for a minute or two, until I return.

(Short recess.)

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, would you be good enough to ask Mr. Chambers for the record his response to the challenge that I have just made to him?



Mr. McDOWELL. That has nothing to do with the pertinency of the matter that the committee is investigating, and I don't feel I should.

Mr. HISS. I thought the committee was interested in ascertaining truth.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the challenge?

Mr. McDOWELL. That he, Mr. Chambers, would make those statements he has made before the committee in public where they would not be privileged under congressional immunity. That I would take it would be strictly a matter up to Mr. Chambers and Mr. Hiss, but I don't feel the committee has any proper or parliamentary right to ask such a question.

Mr. STRIPLING. I don't think it is necessary that he do so. He has made those statements many times to the Government, and that is not privileged.

Mr. HISS. I am advised by counsel that they were probably privileged. Are you a lawyer?

Mr. STRIPLING. After a fashion.

Mr. NIXON. I am a lawyer.

Mr. HISS. It is your opinion they are not privileged?

Mr. NIXON. It is my opinion if a statement is made to an investigative officer not under subpoena, but voluntarily, voluntarily by the witness, that the statement would not be privileged. If the statement is made in this hearing, of course, it is privileged.

If we subpoena Mr. Chambers, it is privileged, but if Mr. Chambers goes to somebody in the Government, we will say, on his own, and makes certain charges concerning you, I don't think you certainly would claim they are privileged.

Mr. HISS. How do I obtain the evidence of exactly what he told any Government officials?

Mr. NIXON. The evidence is then Mr. Chambers' public testimony before this committee in the first instance. You will recall that he testified that he did make these statements to Mr. Berle in 1939 concerning you, and he testified also that he made them to Mr. Levine. Those statements, both to Mr. Levine and Mr. Berle, would not be privileged.

Mr. HISS. But the fact, as stated to your committee, that he made those statements, is it self-privileged?

Unless it is possible to get the actual statement he made under unprivileged circumstances—

Mr. NIXON. Have you asked Mr. Levine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. May I make a point?

Mr. STRIPLING. I am concerned with the statement you made before the committee of Congress in the presence of quite a few hundred people that you didn't even know this person. You led the public and press to believe you didn't know such a person.

Mr. HISS. Will you show me where that is?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. HISS. How long will it take?

I was told yesterday, I would have a copy of this. Have you typed the transcript up [addressing reporter]?

The REPORTER. Approximately half of the transcript has been finished and two copies have been delivered to Mr. Nixon.

Mr. McDOWELL. Let's proceed in the regular order.

Mr. NIXON. You may ask him about the transcript off the record, please.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I hadn't made that statement to Mr. Levine. I made that statement to Mr. Berle in Mr. Levine's presence.

Mr. HISS. I might say where it is made to Government officials, our counsel says there is doubt and considerable difficulty as to getting the Government witness to testify to what was said to him or getting documents, if any, which were the record.

Mr. NIXON. As you recall, Mr. Hiss, we instructed the reporter to type this testimony himself and that has, of course, delayed the preparation of the transcript.

Mr. STRIPLING. Reading here from your statement, I have just started in on it, but here is one sentence:

"So far as I know, I have never laid eyes on him, and I should like to have the opportunity to do so."

Mr. HISS. That is correct. I did not say that I have never seen this man. I said, so far as I know I have never seen Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Never laid eyes on him.

Mr. HISS. I wouldn't have been able to identify him for certain today without his own assistance.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are willing to waive the deutures?

Mr. HISS. I am, on the basis of his own testimony. That is good enough for me.

Mr. STRIPLING. His testimony?

Mr. HISS. On that point. You are still looking for the statement you said was in there?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; go right ahead with the hearing. It is not particularly important.

Mr. HISS. I am glad you don't think it is important.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are fully aware that the public was led to believe that you had never seen, heard, or laid eyes upon an individual who is this individual, and now you do know him.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Stripling, you are stating your impression of public impression.

Mr. STRIPLING. Absolutely.

Mr. HISS. And you may have helped the public impression if it is anywhere near what you describe it as.

Mr. NIXON. May I ask a question on that point, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. You may.

Mr. NIXON. Has any member of the press ever asked you whether you had known Mr. Whittaker Chambers under this or any other name, and, if so, what was your answer?

Mr. HISS. I was asked if I had ever known an individual named Carl. My answer was "No."

Mr. NIXON. Were you ever asked the question as to whether or not you knew Whittaker Chambers by that or any other name?

Mr. HISS. Not to my knowledge. I was asked whether any such incident as Whittaker Chambers had testified to had occurred with Whittaker Chambers or any other individual, and I said, "Absolutely no."

Mr. NIXON. No member of the press then did ask you the question, did you know Mr. Whittaker Chambers under that or any other name?

Mr. HISS. Not to my recollection. I have no recollection of any such question ever being asked by any member of the press.

Mr. NIXON. Did any individual other than an individual with the press ask you such a question?

Mr. HISS. Not to my recollection. If it was asked in the course of testimony, I can only be confident that I answered I could not identify the individual whose picture was shown to me, that I had never heard the name Whittaker Chambers until May of 1947.

Mr. NIXON. I am not speaking of the testimony before the committee. I am speaking of whether or not an individual outside the committee other than a member of the press has asked you whether or not you knew this man under any other name.

Mr. HISS. No; so far as I have any recollection.

Mr. NIXON. And you have never given any answer to that question to any individual you know?

Mr. HISS. Not so far as I know.

Mr. NIXON. You have not been asked that question by any member of the press or any individual outside this committee?

Mr. HISS. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. The only question you have been asked is whether or not you have known an individual by the name of Carl?

Mr. HISS. I was asked that by the press apparently after another secret session of this committee. The press understood that he had been known by the name of Carl.

Mr. NIXON. You never knew this man under the name of Carl?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. NIXON. You never paid this man any money for Communist Party dues?

Mr. HISS. I certainly did not.

Mr. NIXON. This is the man you gave the car to?

Mr. HISS. The car?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. HISS. C-a-r—yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. May I ask a question?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Did you ever pay dues to J. Peters?

Mr. HISS. I certainly did not.

Mr. CHAMBERS. To Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. I certainly did not; not even for the Audubon Society did I pay dues to Henry Collins.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever discuss your hobby, ornithology, with this man?

Mr. HISS. I may very likely have. My house has pictures very similar to that [indicating picture on wall]. This is an appropriate hearing room.

Mr. McDOWELL. It was a complete coincidence.

Mr. HISS. Anyone who had ever been in my house would remark that I had an interest in birds.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know if this man you knew as Crosley was an ornithologist?

Mr. HISS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. You have never given Crosley anything you recall besides the car?

Mr. HISS. I have no such recollection. I don't consider I gave him the car, but threw it in with the whole transaction.

Mr. NIXON. You had a lease for \$225 for the lease?

Mr. HISS. It wasn't a signed lease.

Mr. NIXON. I understand you had it sublet for \$225 and gave him the car.

Mr. HISS. May I say I resent the implication of the statement. I take it it was not a question.

Mr. NIXON. That is all. Mr. McDowell?

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Hiss, did you ever have a dinner or a meal with George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I think we fed him when he was in the house for a couple of days. That is my custom with people staying under my roof.

Mr. McDOWELL. You are not sure?

Mr. HISS. I know I have had lunch with him, because it was my practice, and still is, that if someone wants to talk to me about a matter that requires relatively lengthy discussion, a luncheon discussion has a termination. If they come to see you in your office, it is not quite so easy to terminate it at your own convenience.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did this fellow have any characteristics or habits that you can recall now?

Mr. HISS. No; not of significance, except his bad teeth.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would you know whether—aside from his bad teeth, would you know whether he was a heavy drinker or modest drinker, or nondrinker?

Mr. HISS. I have no information about that.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you ever take a walk with him?

Mr. HISS. That I couldn't be sure. I certainly must have walked to lunch if we went to lunch from the Senate Office Building. You had to walk quite a distance to get to any restaurant from the Senate Office Building.

Mr. McDOWELL. It would appear to me, Mr. Hiss, of all the newspaper men that you were in contact in your highly important jobs with the Nye committee that you must have formed some sort of an affection for this man to go through all of the things that you did to try to occupy your home, take over your lease, and give him an automobile.

The record will note that the chairman of the full committee, Chairman Thomas, has arrived.

I would like to bring the chairman up to date as to what has just happened with all of you present.

We have been having considerable discussion here, Mr. Chairman, and Mr. Hiss maintains that Mr. Chambers was the man known as George Crosley to him. He rented his home, took over a lease, an informal affair, nothing signed, if I recall.

Mr. Hiss insists that he paid no rent, he gave him a rug as part payment on the house, and Mr. Hiss included in this transaction the gift of a 6- or 7-year-old car, a cheap car, a Ford.

He, in the beginning, examined Mr. Crosley, asking particularly about his teeth. That was finally resolved and finally Mr. Hiss has positively, if I am correct—positively identified Mr. Chambers as being the George Crosley referred to.

Outside of some minor things, that is about the gist of the testimony up to the present time. I was just questioning Mr. Hiss if he had ever taken a walk with Mr. Chambers, and he said that he has, and he said that he thinks it likely that Mr. Chambers has eaten in his home, as that was the custom in the Hiss family for guests.

Now, Mr. Stripling, have you any further questions?

Mr. HISS. Have you found the testimony, Mr. Stripling, you were referring to?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have several references here, Mr. Hiss, but, as you stated, it is purely in my opinion based upon these. For example, when I showed you the picture and you replied:

I would much rather see the individual. I have looked at all the pictures I was able to get hold of in, I think it was, yesterday's paper which had the pictures. If this is a picture of Mr. Chambers, he is not particularly unusual looking. He looks like a lot of people. I might even mistake him for the chairman of this committee.

Mr. HISS. Still might, the record might show.

Mr. STRIPLING. But I still say this man looks exactly like the pictures.

Mr. NIXON. You so testified.

Mr. HISS. I said the resemblance is not bad, particularly the picture in Life.

Mr. NIXON. We showed you that one.

Mr. HISS. I saw it earlier than your showing it to me. I saw it yesterday morning on the train.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, I understood you to say that from the pictures you had gathered—did I understand you correctly, and your testimony, of course, will speak to this point—that from the pictures you had the impression that there was something familiar?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. But you couldn't detect it?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't indicate that to the committee when you first testified.

Mr. HISS. I don't recall. I did to several friends.

Mr. NIXON. You were asked that question, you will recall, when you came before the committee in public session.

Mr. HISS. I said I could not identify this person.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't indicate any familiarity at all.

Mr. HISS. I don't recall.

Mr. NIXON. Will you read his answer on that? I want to refresh his memory.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is the way it reads:

Mr. HISS. I would much rather see the individual. I have looked at all the pictures I was able to get hold of in, I think it was, yesterday's paper which had the pictures. If this is a picture of Mr. Chambers, he is not particularly unusual looking. He looks like a lot of people. I might even mistake him for the chairman of this committee.

Mr. MUNDT. I hope you are wrong in that.

Mr. HISS. I didn't mean to be facetious but very seriously. I would not want to take oath that I have never seen that man. I would like to see him and then I think I would be better able to tell whether I had ever seen him. Is he here today?

Mr. MUNDT. Not to my knowledge.

Did you ask the witness whether or not George Crosley ever wrote an article for American Magazine?

Mr. NIXON. Yes. He testified to that yesterday that it was your understanding that one of the magazines for which he wrote was American. Am I correct in that?

Mr. HISS. Yes; that was my understanding from him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see any article which appeared in American Magazine?

Mr. HISS. I never did. I noticed Mr. Crosley was not marketing his articles with the success he had expected.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, did you ever write for American Magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, I never did.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never had any articles published in American Magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever represent yourself as a free-lance writer writing articles for American Magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, I never did.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. HISS, might I say it is my custom—I too have almost constant contact with newspapermen and writers and students as you described a good bit ago—it has been my custom, although not the rule or law, that I always find out who they are writing for, who they represent, who they work for, if they are free-lance writers whether they have written anything.

Can you recall ever finding out any particular thing that Mr. Chambers or Mr. Crosley had written?

Mr. HISS. No; I didn't, Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Or where his things had been published other than American Magazine?

Mr. HISS. I believe you are a newspaperman yourself.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. HISS. You might have a better basis for applying such a rule. I think it is a very good rule, and I certainly should want to apply it in the future.

Mr. McDOWELL. It is like one plumber asking another plumber whether he has his tools.

Mr. HISS. I am not a plumber or a writer, and so I didn't check any newspaper people about that.

Mr. McDOWELL. You testified you have never read anything he wrote?

Mr. HISS. I never saw anything he produced. He was a singularly unproductive writer.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would you know, Mr. HISS, if Mr. Crosley was in any fashion bookish? Was he given to reading books or discussing books or magazine articles or anything of the kind?

Mr. HISS. He was given to talking in quite a cultivated manner, according to my recollection, about a variety of subjects, as I think I testified yesterday.

Mr. RUSSELL. I would like to clear the record up on one point.

Mr. McDOWELL. One more question.

Mr. HISS. I was in the middle——

Mr. McDOWELL. Go right ahead.

Mr. HISS. You were asking me whether he was bookish.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. HISS. As I testified yesterday, my impression of him was a sort of combination Jim Tulley-Jack London writer.

Mr. McDOWELL. I recall that.

Mr. HISS. He had been many places. He could cap any story with a story of his own.

One story I remember and I think it is the only one I do recall. He told me seriously—and I remember it because I think my deciding that he was a four-flusher began about that time—that he had participated in laying the rails of the first Washington street railway.

Mr. McDOWELL. I recall that.

Mr. HISS. May I ask or would you ask him if that was ever mentioned in conversation?

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chambers, you have heard—

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would be happy to testify that that is the truth, and the company I worked for was the Engel & Hevenor Co.

Mr. HISS. This is important.

Mr. McDOWELL. It appears to be. This is important as dates can be checked as to when the streetcar rails were laid, the firm who did the laying, and I would presume—can you recall, Mr. Chambers, in those days, in your left-wing days, it might be that you used a different name, would you recall the name that you worked under with this company other than your right name? Could it have been some other name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It could very well have been. I don't recall, but I recall perfectly well the company, and it is even possible I still have the badge which I wore to work.

Mr. McDOWELL. It would be very helpful.

Mr. HISS. Could we ask him the approximate date when the first street railway was laid in Washington?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Excuse me. I never told him the first street railway.

Mr. HISS. A street railway?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. As a matter of fact, I think it was the W. B. & A. Lines.

Mr. HISS. Not in Washington?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In Washington.

Mr. HISS. The one that runs to Baltimore and Annapolis?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think it came down New York Avenue.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. HISS, did you ever loan Mr. Crosley any books?

Mr. HISS. Not to my recollection.

Mr. McDOWELL. Were any books missing after he was in your home?

Mr. HISS. I am afraid I wouldn't be able to testify to that.

Mr. McDOWELL. You can't recall whether anything was missing of the possession you left there?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. You testified you did leave some furniture there?

Mr. HISS. Yes; and the furniture wasn't missing.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. HISS, a moment ago when you arose and started toward Mr. Chambers, you made a remark that I had touched you, which I believe is probably in the record. Will you now tell the chairman and the committee how hard I touched you?

Mr. HISS. You didn't touch me hard. The question of physical contact is not always a matter of the force of the contact.

Mr. RUSSELL. I used no force whatever.

Mr. HISS. I didn't say you did. I said it wasn't necessary to touch me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Dollard, did you observe me when I touched Mr. HISS?

Mr. DOLLARD. Yes.

MR. RUSSELL. Did I use any force?

MR. DOLLARD. No.

MR. HISS. There is no dispute. I don't like being touched.

MR. McDOWELL. It was merely a touch.

MR. HISS. I think I used the word "touch."

MR. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon.

MR. NIXON. This apartment was on Twenty-eighth Street?

MR. HISS. Twenty-ninth Street, Mr. Nixon, to the best of my recollection.

MR. NIXON. I see, Twenty-ninth Street.

MR. HISS. Twenty-ninth Street.

MR. NIXON and MR. CHAIRMAN, may I ask how much longer you think this is now going on, because I have another appointment? I missed one already, thinking it would be 15 or 20 minutes.

MR. McDOWELL. You are about finished.

MR. HISS. I will be glad to stay as long as you want, but would like the privilege of calling and saying that I won't get to dinner.

MR. STRIPLING. I don't think it is necessary at this time to continue.

MR. NIXON. I suggest we take the matter up in executive session.

MR. HISS. I was not notified by Mr. McDowell by wire or when he telephoned me that this would be the occasion of my having a chance to meet Mr. Chambers.

MR. McDOWELL. That is correct.

MR. HISS. I had been told yesterday that the meeting would be in Washington on the 25th and that my opinion as to whether it should be public or not was of some interest to the committee, whether it would be a public confrontation.

MR. McDOWELL. That is correct. That is all part of the record.

MR. NIXON. Do you have anything to say for the record?

MR. CHAMBERS. I don't think so.

MR. HISS. I wouldn't think so. I am not surprised.

MR. CHAMBERS. If you want to question me, I would be glad to answer any questions.

MR. NIXON. I suggest we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN. I want to say one thing. I think you knew yesterday when you began to tell about George Crosley that there was a very striking resemblance and you would probably be called in at a very early date.

MR. HISS. That is a statement of your opinion for the record.

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes; naturally, for the record. You made your statement for the record.

MR. HISS. Would you like me to say what my impression actually was?

THE CHAIRMAN. I am not interested in your impression. I am asking you if you didn't believe that you would be called much earlier than the 25th when you built up this Mr. Crosley?

MR. HISS. I certainly did not. We talked about the 25th, Mr. Chairman, at the very conclusion of our meeting yesterday, and I think the record will so show.

THE CHAIRMAN. Before that time you talked about Mr. Crosley.

MR. HISS. Well, before that time. That is the whole point.

MR. NIXON. You did want a confrontation at the earliest possible time.



Mr. HISS. I did.

Mr. NIXON. You asked for a confrontation.

Mr. HISS. I did not ask for a confrontation at the earliest possible time in connection with the committee informing me that they wanted me to appear in Washington on the 25th. That is not correct, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Then you object to having had a confrontation? That is what you want the record to show?

Mr. HISS. I want the record to show the nature of the preliminary to this particular meeting. That is all.

Mr. NIXON. The record shows it.

Mr. McDOWELL. The record is clear.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. HISS, now that you have identified this individual who is sitting here and who is Whittaker Chambers, I ask you, did you ever meet this individual in the apartment of Henry Collins at St. Matthews Court?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet this individual in the company of Lee Pressman?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet this individual in the company of John Abt?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet him in the presence of Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet him in the presence of your brother, Donald Hiss?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever pay him any Communist Party dues?

Mr. HISS. I have already answered the question. To him I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't object to answering the question?

Mr. HISS. Isn't it rather——

Mr. STRIPLING. I asked you did you ever pay him——

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let me ask the question.

Mr. HISS. I thought you had asked it.

Mr. STRIPLING. I will ask it again.

Mr. HISS. I will answer it again.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever pay any Communist Party dues to Mr. Whittaker Chambers, whom you now have identified as George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I did not and I did not pay Communist Party dues to anybody, not being a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CHAMBERS. May I ask a question?

Mr. NIXON. You may.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Did you ever meet me in the company of Harold Ware?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Or J. Peters?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask the witness a question. In fact, I would like for the chairman to ask this question.

Mr. HISS. Which question?

Mr. STRIPLING. The ones the witness just asked.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you ever meet this man in the presence of Harold Ware?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. McDOWELL. Or J. Peters?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Also known as Isidor Boorstein.

Mr. McDOWELL. Or Isidor Boorstein?

Mr. HISS. I did not. I have never heard of Isidor Boorstein.

Mr. McDOWELL. Or Alexander Stevens?

Mr. HISS. I did not, never heard the name of Alexander Stevens before.

Mr. McDOWELL. Any further questions, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. HISS. May I ask one question?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. HISS. The same question that came up yesterday before adjournment. What is the committee's present intention about publicity with respect to this afternoon's session? I know what your intention was with respect to yesterday's session.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. HISS. I can only answer for one member of the committee, the chairman of the subcommittee, that I don't know, I don't know.

Mr. HISS. Are you going to decide any time soon, because I am interested in my own protection?

Mr. McDOWELL. Of course. We appreciate that, sir. I would judge in view of the presence of the chairman of the full committee here, that we will have an executive session shortly after this one is over.

Mr. HISS. Is there anyone I can telephone to to find out the nature of your decision promptly?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, we are going to have the executive session now, so we can tell these two witnesses when to come back. That was my understanding. So you will know the decision before you leave. It won't take us more than, I should say, 5 minutes.

Mr. HISS. Fine.

Mr. McDOWELL. The committee will rise and you gentlemen make yourselves comfortable.

(Short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. In executive session of the subcommittee, consisting of Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, and Mr. Thomas, it was unanimously determined at this meeting that from the testimony received here today Mr. Alger Hiss definitely recognized Whittaker Chambers as the person whom he knew as George Crosley during the period of the fall of 1934 to the fall of 1935.

As a result of this testimony the committee has decided to bring about a meeting of the full committee in public session Wednesday, August 25, at 10:30 in the caucus room of the Old House Office Building, at which time both Mr. Hiss and Mr. Chambers, whom Mr. Hiss identified as the person whom he knew as Mr. Crosley, will appear as witnesses.

Can you gentlemen add anything to that statement?

Mr. McDOWELL. I have nothing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you going to give the witnesses subpoenas? Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. Completing my statement, I instruct the chief investigator to serve a subpoena on both Mr. Hiss and Mr. Chambers to appear on that date.

Mr. HISS. May I make a statement at this point for the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Mr. HISS. Oh, yes.

(There was a short pause.)

Mr. HISS. Has the minute passed yet, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Make it 2 minutes, then. Wait until we get through, please.

Mr. HISS. I have been waiting some time. I was told this would take 15 minutes. You now want me to take 2 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything further?

Mr. STRIPLING. I just want to make the subpoena out.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. HISS. I would like to say that the service of a subpoena is quite unnecessary on me. I would be very happy to appear and I told the committee yesterday if they asked me to appear without talking about subpoenas, I, of course, would be there. I was asked yesterday also by the committee—and since the committee seems to change its mind so quickly and frequently, I would like to get it clear—I was asked yesterday to make arrangements for Mrs. Hiss to come down from Vermont to meet in executive session with a subcommittee.

As I mentioned earlier, I was told it would be without publicity. That was volunteered by the committee, although I read about it in the papers this morning. Does the committee still desire to hear Mrs. Hiss in executive session or have you changed your mind?

The CHAIRMAN. There is no decision on that.

Mr. HISS. Yes; there was a decision. I have asked her to start down from Vermont.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you asked her to start down from Vermont.

Mr. HISS. At your request.

The CHAIRMAN. Believing that she would appear on what date?

Mr. HISS. As early as possible was the request you made of me, considering her own convenience and whether she could get somebody to stay with our child.

The CHAIRMAN. Is she on the way from Vermont?

Mr. HISS. I hope she is on her way by now.

The CHAIRMAN. If she is on her way now, I think the subcommittee would be glad to hear her.

Mr. Hiss has brought up a point, Mr. Nixon, which I discussed with him yesterday, and that is the question of Mrs. Hiss' appearance before a subcommittee. Mr. Hiss says he hopes that Mrs. Hiss is on the way down now to appear before the subcommittee.

Mr. HISS. That is what I want to know—whether you have changed your mind again. I asked the chairman, and he said it was under consideration.

Mr. NIXON. You mean the appearance? The only matter is the time.

Mr. HISS. I am merely quoting the chairman. He said the question was under consideration.

Mr. NIXON. Could she be here tomorrow?

Mr. HISS. I would do my best. I don't know. Where will you be tomorrow?

Mr. NIXON. I will stay here and see her, or would you rather do it in Washington?

Mr. HISS. You said——

Mr. McDOWELL. It was my impression yesterday that we finally agreed we would notify Mr. HISS.

Mr. HISS. I don't think the record will show that. I was asked to get in touch as soon as possible, let Mr. Appell know as soon as I could make arrangements.

Mr. NIXON. What are the arrangements?

Mr. HISS. I got in touch with her immediately by telephone last night, told her to get somebody to take care of the boy and come down as soon as she could.

Mr. NIXON. When?

Mr. HISS. I hope she will get down tonight.

Mr. NIXON. Just as soon as you tell us when, we will be here.

Mr. HISS. If she gets down tonight, it will be 2 or 3 in the morning.

Mr. NIXON. We will do it tomorrow then.

Mr. HISS. What is your convenience and what is your location?

Mr. NIXON. Can you stay over, Mr. McDowell, tonight?

Mr. McDOWELL. Of course, if Mrs. HISS is on her way down here.

Mr. HISS. I am not asking her to testify. This is up to you. I asked her at your request. It is no favor to me.

Mr. NIXON. It is purely a case where we want to be here when she is.

Mr. HISS. I am merely asking for information.

Mr. NIXON. We will be here tomorrow.

Mr. HISS. Where would you like to have it?

Mr. NIXON. Right here.

Mr. HISS. This room?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. HISS. What would be the most convenient hour for you?

Mr. NIXON. Ten o'clock in the morning.

Mr. McDOWELL. If she is on her way.

Mr. HISS. I cannot be sure she is on her way.

Mr. NIXON. If you could tell us she is going to be here, we would be willing to stay over.

Mr. HISS. I cannot guarantee it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can she be in Washington on Monday morning?

Mr. HISS. God, she just made arrangements, if she succeeded at all, to get somebody to stay with the kid 2 or 3 nights.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know whether she has made arrangements or not?

Mr. HISS. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know; you just believe so.

Mr. NIXON. I will stay over tonight. There is no objection to this. Just let us know. I don't want to stay a week.

Mr. HISS. I don't want her to stay a week. Where can I reach you tonight?

Mr. NIXON. You can reach me at this hotel; and if you will simply let me know if she will be here any time tomorrow, I am perfectly willing to be here.

Mr. Hiss. Vermont trains are unpredictable. May I ask if she is privileged to have anybody with her?

Mr. NIXON. Absolutely.

Mr. Hiss. May I come with her?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. Hiss. Thank you. Am I dismissed?

Is the proceeding over?

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions to ask of Mr. Hiss?

Mr. NIXON. I have nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. Thank you very much.

Mr. Hiss. *I don't reciprocate.*

The CHAIRMAN. Italicize that in the record.

Mr. Hiss. I wish you would.

(Whereupon, at 7:15 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New York, N. Y.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>7</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m., in room 1400, Hotel Commodore, New York, N. Y., Hon. Richard M. Nixon presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Richard M. Nixon.

Staff members present: Donald T. Appell, investigator for the committee.

Mr. NIXON. The record will show that this is a meeting of the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, held in the Commodore Hotel, New York City, on August 18, at 10:30 a. m.

Those present are Mr. Nixon and Mr. Appell, committee investigator.

The first witness will be Mr. Nelson Frank.

Will you please stand, Mr. Frank?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FRANK. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF NELSON FRANK

Mr. NIXON. State your name.

Mr. FRANK. Nelson Frank.

Mr. NIXON. And your occupation?

Mr. FRANK. Reporter, New York World-Telegram.

Mr. NIXON. And your business address?

Mr. FRANK. 125 Barclay Street.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Frank, do you know Mr. Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. FRANK. I do.

Mr. NIXON. How long have you known Mr. Chambers?

Mr. FRANK. I first met him in 1928.

Mr. NIXON. What was the occasion for that meeting?

Mr. FRANK. He was the city editor of the Daily Worker, and I used to see him up there fairly regularly.

Mr. NIXON. What was your occupation at that time?

<sup>7</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and released during the public hearing, August 25, 1948.

Mr. FRANK. I was a part-time reporter on the Daily Worker.

Mr. NIXON. At that time?

Mr. FRANK. At that time; yes.

Mr. NIXON. Now, how long did you know him at that period?

Mr. FRANK. I knew him up until about 1932. I saw him no great number of times after 1928, but I saw him occasionally in the office of the New Masses, the monthly Communist magazine, of which he was one of the editors, in 1931, and I think 1932.

Mr. NIXON. Was Mr. Chambers, to your knowledge, a member of the party at that time?

Mr. FRANK. Oh, yes; very openly.

Mr. NIXON. He wrote for the New Masses as well as for the Daily Worker?

Mr. FRANK. He had left the Daily Worker and I think was doing free-lance translating.

Mr. NIXON. When?

Mr. FRANK. After 1929. Chambers was doing work as a free-lance translator and then writing for the New Masses. He wrote a number of quite outstanding short stories which became very well known. One of them was produced as a one-act play, I believe, or a short play, and was shown all over the country. I think it was published as a pamphlet.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any photographs of Mr. Chambers at that time?

Mr. FRANK. No. I don't recall seeing any, although the New Masses may have published a picture of him at that time.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Frank, as a service to the committee in this investigation, which I am sure you would like to help us resolve one way or the other—

Mr. FRANK. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. I would appreciate it if you would do everything you possibly can to find a photograph of Mr. Chambers either at that time or sometime between 1930 and 1940, if possible. Would you do that for us?

Mr. FRANK. I will try. I have a vague recollection that the New Masses at that time was publishing photographs as well as brief biographical data on its writers, and I think maybe something on Chambers appeared at that time.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you. When is the last time you saw him at that period; in 1932?

Mr. FRANK. I think it was certainly not after 1932.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Now, when did you see him again?

Mr. FRANK. I saw him again either at the end of November or early December 1944.

Mr. NIXON. What was the occasion of that meeting?

Mr. FRANK. I called him up and said I wanted to talk with him and wanted to ask him some things. He was at Time magazine, and he agreed to see me, and I went to his office. It was on the twenty-ninth floor of the Time-Life Building, Rockefeller Center.

Mr. NIXON. Could you recognize him when you saw him?

Mr. FRANK. Oh, yes. The face was very definitely the same. I was quite surprised at the amount of weight he had put on around the body, but I have put on quite a bit myself, so I wasn't too shocked.



Mr. NIXON. There was no question about your being able to recognize him?

Mr. FRANK. I would say his basic appearance, certainly of his face, was very much the same. His teeth had always been noticeably bad, and my recollection is when I first went to see him, he either had none or very few teeth in, and later at a subsequent time, this first visit in 1944, he got himself a nice set of teeth.

Mr. NIXON. Did you have to see his plate before you could say for sure that it was the same man?

Mr. FRANK. No. His face had changed. He had a very noticeable face, and it was very much the same. He was older and more mature in his actions and slower speaking, I believe, than when I originally had known him, more careful in placing each word, but otherwise there was no doubt in my mind.

Mr. NIXON. What about his hair? Had that changed?

Mr. FRANK. I have no recollection of his hair at all. I do remember I walked into the room and the face was certainly the face I had known very well or that I remembered very well.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't have to have somebody point him out?

Mr. FRANK. No. As soon as I looked at the face, I knew him; but I was surprised at the amount of weight he had put on, and I immediately said something to him, and he said, "Well, you have put on a little yourself," and we laughed at that, and that was all.

Mr. NIXON. Well, that is all, Mr. Frank. Thank you very much for your testimony.

(Recess: 11:10 to 11:45 a. m.)

Mr. NIXON. The next witness will be Mr. Isaac Don Levine.

Mr. Levine, please stand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEVINE. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Be seated, please.

### TESTIMONY OF ISAAC DON LEVINE

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Levine, will you please state for the record what your present occupation and address is?

Mr. LEVINE. Editor of Plain Talk, Norwalk, Conn.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Levine, do you know Mr. Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. LEVINE. I do.

Mr. NIXON. How long have you known him?

Mr. LEVINE. Since May or June 1939.

Mr. NIXON. What was the occasion of your first meeting? Do you recall your first meeting with him?

Mr. LEVINE. I certainly do.

Mr. NIXON. Will you describe that for the record.

Mr. LEVINE. In consequence of the exposures by Gen. Walter Krivitsky, formerly chief of the Soviet military espionage in western Europe, exposures which were published in the Saturday Evening Post with my collaboration, various ex-Communists contacted me.

The editor of a monthly magazine told me of Mr. Whittaker Chambers who had a manuscript of his experiences and his exposures. I agreed to see him and indicated an interest in his story. Mr. Chambers, when he first came to me, was an exceptionally suspicious and

fear-ridden man. He looked around the corners, he was afraid to go to any restaurant that I suggested, he limped at the time, and I somehow received the impression, although the "i's" were never dotted, that he had broken a leg while escaping from some man hunters on Long Island.

He told me he had a wife and two children, that he slept with a rifle at his side, behind drawn curtains, to protect them; that he had broken with the Communist underground a year or two before, and that he had a manuscript which he thought I might be able to place with a big and reputable magazine like the *Saturday Evening Post*, for he was in very bad need of money.

It turned out that the manuscript was well written but contained a lot of round-about information, and description, dates, and names were carefully avoided. Mr. Chambers was afraid to tell his full story, and it was obvious that it took him considerable time to acquire confidence in me so that he opened up and answered questions.

I kept in touch with Mr. Chambers subsequently, as he had been impressed by the Krivitsky revelations. I thought perhaps I could do something with his manuscript, but there seemed little chance of enticing him at that time to tell his full story in print. When I suggested to him that he meet with Krivitsky, he at first recoiled because he feared that this might be a trap by me. After a while, however, he consented.

Krivitsky, too, at first, feared meeting Whittaker Chambers. Krivitsky, too, finally agreed to this arrangement proposed by me. The meeting took place in my home, and I was present during the first several hours. It was astonishing to discover that two men from completely opposite and remote corners of the world or perhaps of the Soviet underworld had so many things in common.

Krivitsky knew considerable about the Soviet espionage operations in the United States. Some of the Soviet agents sent here in the late 1920's or early 1930's were intimate collaborators of Krivitsky's. It turned out that Mr. Chambers recognized some of these characters, could fill in certain bits for Krivitsky, and Krivitsky could fill in the same for Mr. Chambers.

Particularly noteworthy in my memory, because both men were extremely excited over their mutual discovery, was the case of a Soviet operative sent here by Molotov, the present Prime Minister, who went under the name of Oscar, but whose real name Krivitsky knew in Russia. This man Oscar had been beaten to death in New York in a so-called speakeasy brawl. Moscow never believed that the crime was not political.

The two men, Krivitsky and Whittaker Chambers, went into a long and detailed examination of this and of other items. When I retired for the night, they were still talking and exchanging information. When I woke up in the morning and walked into the front room, the lights were on and the two men were still talking.

I, myself, got a tremendous education into the Soviet espionage workings everywhere as well as in the United States, and I was a very much worried person in the next few months. I could not talk about it even to my most intimate friends, because they would have regarded me as a neurotic or as one who saw things under the bed.

Now, when Stalin and Hitler signed their pact on August 23, 1939, I looked up Chambers in an effort to induce him to tell his story to

the highest authorities in Washington. He was tremendously shaken by the Stalin-Hitler pact, the way I was and everybody else. He now had a job on Time.

I told him that I would try to reach President Roosevelt and have him tell his story direct to the President. He was willing to do that. He jotted down on a memorandum slip of Time his Long Island telephone number, which was a great secret at the time. I preserved that memorandum, and if it is needed, you can have it.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you.

Mr. LEVINE. When I contacted Marvin McIntyre, in the White House, President Roosevelt's secretary, with whom I had a passing friendly acquaintance, the way a writer or newspaperman would have, and told him without mentioning the name that I had an editor of Time who had an extraordinary story to tell to the President about Stalin agents in this country who, in all probability, would be acting as Hitler's agents, McIntyre replied that he did not think that he could get me to the President with this man, get this man to the President, but he asked me if I knew Adolf Berle in the State Department, and I said, "Yes; quite well." I said, "What has Berle got to do with this?" He said, "Didn't you know that Berle was in charge of liaison between the State Department and the various intelligence and investigative agencies of the Government?" I said I did not. Mr. McIntyre then offered to telephone Berle and arrange for this meeting. I said it was completely unnecessary since I knew Mr. Berle well enough.

I walked over to Mr. Berle's office in the State Department in the old building, and had a talk with him. I told Mr. Berle that since Whittaker Chambers had had contacts with the State Department, it would not be safe to bring him to his office and asked him if this meeting could be arranged outside. Mr. Berle made a dinner date for Mr. Chambers and myself at his home, the Woodley House, the estate of the future Secretary Stimson, which he was then occupying.

I got in touch with Mr. Chambers and told him of the dinner date. Both of us showed up at Woodley House. I am almost certain that it was the night of September 3, the day on which Great Britain declared war after Hitler's invasion of Poland.

Present at the dinner in addition to Mr. Berle and Mr. Chambers and myself was Mrs. Berle. She acted the part of a hostess and knew nothing about the purpose of the visit. The conversation at the table was general chit-chat and talk about the war.

After dinner the three of us retired to Mr. Berle's study. It was a warm evening. We spent some time on the lawn talking. We returned back to the study, and Mr. Berle was making notes.

I think probably between a half dozen and 10 sheets of notes were made by Mr. Berle while Mr. Chambers was opening up the insides of the State Department and various other departments in Washington where he had underground contacts who supplied him with documentary and confidential information for transmission to the Soviet Government.

The picture which emerged by midnight was quite appalling to me, and I think Mr. Berle was very much shaken by the various names of the Soviet agents that Mr. Chambers disclosed. Mr. Chambers furnished, in addition to the names, descriptions and characterizations of the various persons which served to provide a background

and give an authentic and authenticating character both to his narrative and to the answers to the questions which Mr. Berle then propounded.

I think it was sometime between midnight and 1 o'clock when we left Woodley House. When I got to my hotel, after I took leave from Mr. Chambers, tired as I was, I jotted all the names that I could recall on a sheet of hotel stationery.

Mr. NIXON. Can you tell us whether the name of Alger Hiss was mentioned in that conversation with Mr. Berle?

Mr. LEVINE. Both Hiss brothers were mentioned. The name of Alger Hiss and the name of the other Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. There is no question that those names were mentioned?

Mr. LEVINE. There isn't any question, because I made a record at the time, and I am looking at it now and I see that in my own handwriting and in ink the name of Alger Hiss was entered by me. The brother I could not apparently recall his first name, and I have above the name "Alger Hiss" the name "Hiss" alone.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Levine, did you convey this information that Mr. Chambers had given to Mr. Berle to any other persons in the Government?

Mr. LEVINE. Yes, sir; I did. I conveyed it some 3 months later to former Ambassador Bullitt, a friend of the President's, at breakfast with him in his Hotel Anchorage apartment.

I also conveyed it to other officials.

Mr. NIXON. In the case of Mr. Bullitt, did you mention the name of Alger Hiss to him; do you recall?

Mr. LEVINE. I believe I did.

Mr. NIXON. You can't recall for sure?

Mr. LEVINE. I would not be too sure of it.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you conveyed this information also to other officials in the Government?

Mr. LEVINE. I am certain that I mentioned both names to Mr. Lloyd Henderson, at that time in charge of the Russian Section of the State Department, in a confidential way only, not in an official way.

Mr. NIXON. Did you at any time hear of any action any of these persons had taken as a result of these disclosures?

Mr. LEVINE. I believe that Mr. Berle acted upon the information. I believe that he passed it on to the proper authorities. I also urged Mr. Bullitt to take it up with the President. I gave Mr. Bullitt some very special additional information about what went on in the United States Embassy in Moscow when he was Ambassador, and Mr. Bullitt was sufficiently aroused to indicate that he would take it up with President Roosevelt as soon as he had an opportunity to see him.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any information as to what action President Roosevelt took as a result of this action by Mr. Bullitt?

Mr. LEVINE. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You, of course, are acquainted with Mr. Chambers today, are you not?

Mr. LEVINE. Yes, indeed. I have been in touch with Mr. Chambers on and off; I have watched his career; I have come to hold him in the highest respect; I regard him as a crystal honest person, dependable, sound, patriotic, intelligent, without malice toward anyone, with a high sense of justice and fair play.

Mr. NIXON. Has he ever, to your knowledge, since you have known him, been in a mental sanitarium?

Mr. LEVINE. No.

Mr. NIXON. What are his habits, so far as being a heavy drinker; are you familiar with that?

Mr. LEVINE. I am familiar with it, because I had dinner with him and with some other people last winter, and I should think that he is a singularly abstemious and moderate person in all his habits.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall his appearance in 1939?

I want to ask you now whether or not you would be able to recognize him today as being the same person that you knew in 1939 if you had not seen him through the intervening years?

Mr. LEVINE. I would be able to recognize him without the slightest difficulty, for Mr. Chambers has an uncommon face and he is the type whom I could recognize 25 years after having seen him as much as I had seen him.

Mr. NIXON. You have seen the pictures that have been carried in Time magazine, News Week magazine, and in the press, some of which I am showing you now?

Mr. LEVINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Are those pictures good likenesses of Mr. Chambers, and could you recognize him from those pictures?

Mr. LEVINE. Without the slightest difficulty. They are fair to excellent in likeness.

Mr. NIXON. Could you recognize him from those pictures if you had not seen him since 1939?

Mr. LEVINE. Yes, sir; without any difficulty.

Mr. NIXON. That concludes the hearing, Mr. Levine.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New York City, N. Y.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>8</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 11:10 a. m., in room 1400, Hotel Commodore, New York City, N. Y., Hon. Richard M. Nixon presiding.

Committee members present: Representative Richard M. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show that this is a meeting of the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, in the Commodore Hotel, on the 18th of August 1948. The member present is Mr. Nixon.

The witness will be Mrs. Alger Hiss.

Mrs. Hiss, will you be sworn, please?

Mrs. HISS. Must I swear?

Mr. NIXON. No; you can affirm, if you like.

Mr. HISS. Please stand.

Mr. NIXON. Whichever you prefer.

Mrs. HISS. I much prefer to affirm.

Mr. NIXON. Either one is standard practice.

Do you affirm that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mrs. HISS. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. ALGER HISS, ACCOMPANIED BY ALGER HISS AND CHARLES DOLLARD

Mr. NIXON. Mrs. Hiss, you are the wife of Alger Hiss?

Mrs. HISS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And you were living with Mr. Hiss in Washington, D. C., during the years 1934 to 1937?

Mrs. HISS. Yes; earlier than that.

Mr. NIXON. I understand that. These are the years we are interested in.

Now, at any time during the period 1934 to 1937 did you become acquainted with a person known to you by the name of George Crosley?

Mrs. HISS. I did.

<sup>8</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and released during the public hearing, August 25, 1948.

Mr. NIXON. Will you describe in your own words as well as you can recollect how you first became acquainted with the man, your recollection of the acquaintanceship?

Mrs. HISS. Well, I don't think I became acquainted with him—

Mr. NIXON. I am only interested in what you know yourself.

Mrs. HISS. My husband did, and through a business relationship I think it would be fair to call it. I don't think I can really be said to have been acquainted with him at all.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

When did you first meet him?

Mrs. HISS. I have no idea. I don't remember. I am sorry.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall whether it was the year 1934 or 1935?

Mrs. HISS. If I could just remember where I lived which year.

Mr. NIXON. That would possibly be a help. Could you recall where you were living at the time you first met this man?

Mrs. HISS. I don't remember first meeting him, so that isn't any help. What I was trying to remember was where I lived which year. I think it must have been in 1934.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall at what time of the year it was—summer, winter, spring, or fall?

Mrs. HISS. No; I don't.

Mr. NIXON. I wouldn't ask you to remember the month, because it was a long time ago.

Mrs. HISS. I am sorry, I just don't. I just haven't the vaguest—

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember the occasion of the meeting? Was it in your home that you met him for the first time?

Mrs. HISS. No; I am sorry; I don't remember that. I think it may have been.

Mr. NIXON. Well, have you ever seen this man in your home?

Mrs. HISS. Yes; I have seen him in my home.

Mr. NIXON. Well, can you recall the occasions of those meetings?

Mrs. HISS. I have a vague recollection of this man and his wife looking at the apartment which we sublet to them, and I have a very distinct memory of their spending 2 or 3 days in our house before they moved into the sublet apartment.

Mr. NIXON. And do you recall when those 2 or 3 days were spent approximately?

Mrs. HISS. Well, they must have been in the summer of 1935.

Mr. NIXON. And after they had spent the 2 or 3 days with you they moved into this sublet apartment?

Mrs. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And do you recall approximately how long they stayed in your apartment?

Mrs. HISS. Well, several months.

Mr. NIXON. Several months during the summer?

Mrs. HISS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Of 1935?

Mrs. HISS. I think so. As I recall. It all seems very long ago and vague.

Mr. NIXON. Of course. Can you describe this man for us as well as you remember him?

Mrs. HISS. I have a very dim impression of a small person, very smiling person—a little too smiley, perhaps. I don't recollect the face, but a short person.



Mr. NIXON. Do you recall taking a trip from Washington to New York with him and Mr. Hiss?

Mrs. HISS. I don't really recall it. My husband spoke to me about that, and I don't recall it.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall the last time you saw this man?

Mrs. HISS. No; I don't recall it at all. I am afraid the only impression I have was of being perhaps a little put out.

Mr. NIXON. Put out about what?

Mrs. HISS. Well, I think the polite word for it is probably I think he was a sponger.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, he stayed at your house, you mean, and—

Mrs. HISS. I don't know whether you have ever had guests, unwelcomed guests, guests that weren't guests, you know.

Mr. NIXON. He stayed at your house—you are speaking of the 3-day period that he stayed there?

Mrs. HISS. I am not sure it was 3 days. It certainly feels like more, but I don't know. It was a short while.

Mr. NIXON. But the impression from that 3-day period was that he was a sponger; is that what you mean?

Mrs. HISS. I suppose I was busy and tired and it seemed a bother and inconvenience.

Mr. NIXON. That completes the testimony. I have no further questions.

Mrs. HISS. Well, I am glad of that, and I have been very glad to come.

Mr. NIXON. I appreciate your coming.

Mrs. HISS. I am glad it has been so quiet, because that was really what I had a strong distaste for. I would like to thank you for our just being together.

Mr. HISS. I greatly appreciate your courtesy, Mr. Nixon.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a. m., a recess was taken until 11:45 a. m., at which time the subcommittee reconvened for further proceedings, the transcript of which will be found in another volume as of this date and place.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>9</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:10 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Richard M. Nixon presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Richard M. Nixon.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

Mr. NIXON. The meeting will come to order.

The record will show that this is a meeting of the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, appointed by the chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, to take testimony in the matter involving the controversy between Mr. Whittaker Chambers and Mr. Alger Hiss.

The record will show that Mr. Nixon, a member of the committee, is present, and that the following members of the staff are present: Mr. Stripling, chief investigator; Mr. Russell, investigator; and Mrs. Poore, editor.

Mr. Abt, will you stand and be sworn?

Mr. Abt, we desire to take a statement from you.

Will you please raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ABT. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Be seated, please.

## TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. ABT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HAROLD CAMMER

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have counsel present with you, Mr. Abt?

Mr. ABT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will counsel please identify himself?

Mr. CAMMER. My name is Harold Cammer and my office address is 9 East Fortieth Street, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please state your full name, please, Mr. Abt?

<sup>9</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and released during the public hearing, August 25, 1948.

Mr. ABT. John J. Abt.

Mr. STRIPLING. And your present address?

Mr. ABT. Home address?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. ABT. 444 Central Park West, New York City?

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Abt?

Mr. ABT. I was born in Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1904.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. ABT. I am general counsel to the Progressive Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. ABT. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state what positions you have had in the Government?

Mr. ABT. I entered the Government service in 1933 as an attorney for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. In 1935 I became assistant general counsel of the Works Progress Administration. In 1936 I was assigned by the Works Progress Administration as a special counsel to the Securities and Exchange Commission to prepare the case against the Electric Bond & Share Co., under the Public Utilities Holding Company Act.

Subsequently, in 1936, I became chief counsel to the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor under the chairmanship of Senator La Follette, investigating violations of civil liberties and the rights of labor.

In 1937 I became a special assistant to the Attorney General, in charge of the Trial Section of the Antitrust Division. I left the Government service in the summer of 1938.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you go, Mr. Abt, when you left the Government service?

Mr. ABT. I became general counsel of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did you remain there?

Mr. ABT. I remained there until January 1948.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your educational background, Mr. Abt?

Mr. ABT. I attended primary and high school in Chicago, took my bachelor's degree and law degree at the University of Chicago.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Abt, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMMER. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Counsel, let me say this before you make your objection. The procedure of this committee is that the witness has the right to have counsel. The witness, when he is asked a question, may at anytime consult with counsel, and counsel may advise him as to whether or not there are constitutional objections to the question which is being phrased. The witness may state the objection in refusing to answer the question or in qualifying his answer in any way; but the procedure of the committee does not allow for counsel to interpose objections to questions during the course of a hearing, or to present answers to questions or to make arguments.

The witness has a perfect right to consult counsel on every question if he wishes, but the witness must take the initiative in that respect.

Now, you put the question again.

Mr. CAMMER. Mr. NIXON, may I state this? I do not propose to make any answers, nor do I propose to engage in any argument. I should like very briefly and without argument to note an objection for the record. I do not propose to become involved in any discussion. I just would like to note a very brief objection.

Mr. NIXON. I understand, Mr. Counsel. The objection in that case should be made by the witness. The witness can make it after consultation with you as to what kind of objections he should make.

We are taking testimony from the witness, and if you wish to advise the witness that he should object to a particular answer you may do so at this time.

Mr. CAMMER. Mr. NIXON, I think the witness will make his own objections, but there is one objection which I should like very briefly to state for the record, which I think is appropriate for counsel to make, and then you may require, if you so wish, that the witness state his own objection. But I should like, as counsel, to state one objection.

Mr. NIXON. Well, Mr. Counsel, the point at issue, as I see it, is that the committee has not requested testimony from you. You are here at the request of the witness, to represent him, so that he can consult with you; and if the witness wishes to interpose objections to any questions, he may.

Mr. CAMMER. I do not propose to testify, Mr. NIXON. I made that very clear. The witness will do his own testifying.

I would like to state the objection, as counsel, and then, if you wish, you may require the witness to state the objection himself.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long would it require you to state your objection?

Mr. CAMMER. Not long at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your general objection?

Mr. CAMMER. I would like to state my objection. I would like to state simply the objection, and I will not argue it except with the permission of the chairman.

I object to the question on the ground, first, that Mr. Abt's associations, views, opinions, affiliations, and the like are outside the scope of any inquiry under the first amendment to the Constitution.

The second objection is that this investigation, or the subject matter of this investigation as stated by Mr. Nixon, is outside the scope of any congressional inquiry, and is an intrusion upon the judicial function which is invested exclusively in the judiciary by article III of the Constitution.

The third objection, or the third basis of objection, is that this committee, and the subcommittee conducting this hearing under the aegis of this committee, is unlawfully constituted by reason of the membership thereon of one John Rankin, who holds an alleged seat in Congress unlawfully, and in violation of the provisions of the fourteenth amendment, so that this committee may not interrogate for that reason.

Mr. NIXON. Does that complete your objection?

Mr. CAMMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Your objections run to the question that Mr. Strippling put as well as to the entire proceedings being conducted?

Mr. CAMMER. They do, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Do you join in that objection, Mr. Abt?

Mr. ABT. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. We will proceed now with the hearing, and you may raise objection, as you like.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before we proceed, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Abt if he is here before the committee in response to a subpoena which was served on him on August 18 by Stephen W. Birmingham, calling for his appearance at 10 a. m., in the rooms of the committee here this morning. Is that correct, Mr. Abt?

Mr. ABT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Abt, I will ask you: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ABT. Do I understand, Mr. Chairman, that you have overruled the objection made by my counsel?

Mr. STRIPLING. You have got to state some other reason, other than an objection; you have to refuse to answer the question or answer the question, one or the other.

Mr. NIXON. The chief investigator has stated the case correctly. The witness may, when each question is put to him, determine whether or not he has constitutional grounds upon which to object to answering any question, and he may state those grounds if he wishes to refuse, or he may answer the question.

Will you put the question again, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Abt, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ABT. Mr. Stripling, on the grounds of objections stated by my counsel and, in addition, in the exercise of the privilege extended to me under the fifth amendment of the Constitution against self-incrimination, I decline to answer that question.

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

Mr. CAMMER. Same objection, Mr. Chairman. I am not repeating it; I am simply saying "same objection."

Mr. NIXON. I understand that. Now, let me say simply this: We recognize counsel's position here, but if counsel will allow the witness in each case to state the objection—and I want to instruct the witness when you do answer each question, to state the objection as you have. If it is the fifth amendment in each case, state, "I object to answering the question on the grounds of self-incrimination under the fifth amendment," as you stated previously; but please do not interrupt him, Mr. Counsel, during this period, because, as you can see, it will delay the proceeding if we have both counsel and the witness objecting to each question. I think your position is very clear.

Mr. CAMMER. I would like permission to say "same objection" to each question. Let me make my record in those two words.

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show that counsel is raising the objection to each question that the witness is raising, so that counsel's position will be absolutely clear.

Now, Mr. Stripling, will you please restate the question.

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

Mr. ABT. On the grounds of objection stated to the previous question by my counsel, and in the exercise of my constitutional privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Abt, do you know an individual by the name of Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ABT. On the ground of objection, Mr. Stripling, stated at the outset of this hearing by my counsel and in the exercise of my privilege under the fifth amendment against self-incrimination, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show that the witness is conferring with counsel.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Abt, on August 3, Whittaker Chambers testified in open session before this committee that there was an underground apparatus of Communist Party members functioning within the Government during the period 1934, 1935, 1936. He testified:

The head of the underground group at the time I knew it was Nathan Witt, an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board. Later John Abt became the leader.

Were you ever the leader of an underground apparatus in the Communist movement operating within the Government in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds of objections stated by my counsel, under the first amendment to the Constitution, and on the grounds that the subject matter of that question is a matter of judicial rather than congressional inquiry, and on the grounds stated by my counsel of the improper and unlawful composition of this committee, and, in addition, in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Abt, are you acquainted with Alger Hiss?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds of objections stated by my counsel on the first amendment to the Constitution, and by virtue of the prior objections that the subject matter of this inquiry is a matter of judicial rather than congressional investigation—

Mr. CAMMER. Article III of the Constitution.

Mr. ABT. Under article III of the Constitution, and on the ground of the unlawful and improper composition of this committee under the fourteenth amendment, and in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Abt, I show you two pictures, one of which is from the New Masses of July 1931, of Whittaker Chambers, appearing on page 23 of New Masses. The other is a picture taken on August 3, 1948, by the Associated Press, of Mr. Chambers when he appeared in Washington. I show you these two pictures, and I ask you if you recognize this individual [showing pictures to the witness].

Mr. ABT. Mr. Chairman, on the grounds of the previous objections under the first amendment to the Constitution, the third amendment to the Constitution—

Mr. CAMMER. Article III of the Constitution, and in the exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment to the Constitution, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. NIXON. Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

Mr. NIXON. On the record.

Mr. CAMMER. May the record show, Mr. Chairman, that in every case where the objection is made, Mr. Abt also objects on the ground

that he has a right to trial by judicial process under the sixth amendment.

Mr. NIXON. And in the future, it is my understanding that when the witness says, "The same grounds," he is referring to the grounds which have been raised by counsel and the ground of self-incrimination which the witness has raised, and on the ground of trial by jury under the Constitution, which counsel has just now stated. That is what the term "same grounds" will mean when used in this hearing.

Mr. CAMMER. Very good, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Unless otherwise stated by the witness.

Mr. CAMMER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. All right. You may now proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Abt, I show you the pictures which have just been identified, the two photographs, and I ask you if you know this individual under the name of Carl, C-a-r-l?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds already stated, I decline to answer the question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of George Crosley, C-r-o-s-l-e-y?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds already stated, I decline to answer the question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of J. Peters, alias Alexander Stevens, alias Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds that I have already stated, I decline to answer the question.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a photograph of J. Peters. Can you identify this photograph as the person you know as J. Peters [showing the witness a photograph]?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds already stated, I decline to answer the question.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were in the Works Progress Administration, Mr. Abt, who was your immediate superior?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds I have already stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you worked for the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, who was your superior?

Mr. ABT. Senator Robert M. La Follette.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with Charles Kramer?

Mr. ABT. On the grounds I have already stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever visited the Soviet Union?

Mr. ABT. Yes; I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year did you get to the Soviet Union?

Mr. ABT. 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you married, Mr. Abt?

Mr. ABT. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your wife's maiden name?

Mr. ABT. Jessica Smith.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is she the editor of a magazine known as Soviet Russia Today?

Mr. ABT. She is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you contribute a number of articles to this magazine?



Mr. ABE. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. In its issues of June 1947, March 1947, and February 1947?

Mr. ABE. I do not recall the exact dates. I do not recall, Mr. Stripling, but I contributed a series of articles on the trade-union movement of the Soviet Union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was your wife, Jessica Smith, at one time married to Harold Ware?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds I previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lee Pressman?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds that I have previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just say "same answer." It will be sufficient.

Do you know Nathan Witt?

Mr. ABE. I would prefer—

Mr. NIXON. Let him spell it out, Mr. Stripling. I want the witness' grounds to appear absolutely clear in the record.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Do you know Nathan Witt?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds I have previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds I previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Victor Perlo?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds I previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Allan R. Rosenberg?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert Wohlford?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds I have previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Henry Collins?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds previously stated, I decline to answer the question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Donald Hiss?

Do you know Earl Browder?

Mr. ABE. Pardon me? Please do not turn your back to me when you ask the questions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. Do you know Earl Browder?

Mr. ABE. I, on the grounds previously stated, decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. ABE. On the grounds previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the Attorney General when you were employed in the Department of Justice?

Mr. ABE. Homer Cummings.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Mr. Cummings personally?

Mr. ABE. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who succeeded Mr. Cummings?

Mr. ABT. Justice Murphy—the man who is now Justice Murphy. I believe that I was still in the Department when he succeeded General Cummings if I recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questioning I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIXON. I have no further questions.

Thank you very much, Mr. Abt. and Mr. Counsel.

Mr. Stripling, will you call the next witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Lee Pressman.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you stand and be sworn, please?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Pressman, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Please be seated.

### TESTIMONY OF LEE PRESSMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HAROLD CAMMER

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here in response to a subpoena served upon you August 18, 1948, by Stephen S. Birmingham, calling for your appearance before the committee in its chambers at 10:30 this morning: is that correct?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Counsel, do you have a statement to make?

Mr. CAMMER. May I note my appearance here, sir?

My name is Harold Cammer, and my address is 9 East Fortieth Street, New York City.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Pressman, do you desire Mr. Cammer to represent you?

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pressman, will you state your full name and present address?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Lee Pressman, and my business address is 9 East Fortieth Street, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. PRESSMAN. New York City, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. When?

Mr. PRESSMAN. July 1, 1906.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I am an attorney.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you state the positions you held and the time and tenure of each office?

Mr. PRESSMAN. To the best of my recollection, I was assistant general counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration approximately some time in 1933, about 1934, I believe, at which time I was transferred and became general counsel of the Works Progress Administration and of then known Resettlement Administration.

I believe I resigned from Government service during the latter part of 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pressman, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMMER. Mr. Chairman, I object to the question on the following grounds: First, that Mr. Pressman's affiliations, conscience, views, opinions, associations are not within the subject of inquiry of this committee under the first amendment.

Second, that the subject matter of this investigation is without the jurisdiction of this committee and within the subject of judicial inquiry only, under article III of the Constitution.

Third, that the committee is unlawfully constituted by reason of the presence thereon of one John Rankin, who holds an alleged seat as a Member of Congress from Mississippi.

Fourth, that the subject of this inquiry and the manner in which it is conducted is in violation of Mr. Pressman's rights to judicial process under the sixth amendment.

(At this point, Mr. Pressman and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I also add a ground?

Mr. NIXON. Do you join in these objections?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I join in these objections, and add thereto that the inquiry and any response on my part would be in violation of the provisions of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. NIXON. Just one moment, please.

The record will note the objections which have been raised by counsel and which have been joined in by the witness. The Chair will state at this time that the investigation which is being conducted is one involving an alleged Communist infiltration into the Government of the United States and into alleged espionage activities conducted by those involved in the Communist apparatus which is alleged to have been set up.

The purpose of the questions which will be asked by counsel and by the committee during this hearing is to determine whether or not Mr. Pressman was engaged in these activities, and if so the extent of his activity in that regard.

(At this point, Mr. Pressman and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I make this inquiry at this moment?

Mr. NIXON. You may.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Has there been any charge made by any witness that has appeared before this committee that I have participated in any espionage activity, either while a member—or rather an employee of the Federal Government or thereafter?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, there has not been.

Mr. PRESSMAN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. There has not to my knowledge.

Mr. PRESSMAN. May that be shown on the record?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe the testimony that the chairman is referring to is that testimony given on August 3, 1948, by Whittaker Chambers in which he said, in speaking of an underground apparatus of Communists who are operating within the Government:

The head of the group, as I have said, was, at first, Nathan Witt. Other members of the group were Lee Pressman, Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Victor Perlo, Charles Kramer.

Now, I ask you—also Henry Collins, and also Harold Ware.

I ask you, Mr. Pressman, are you acquainted with Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons that have been given before, Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have here two photographs, one which appeared in the July 1931 issue of New Masses, a photograph of Whittaker Chambers.

I show this to you, Mr. Pressman, and ask you if you can identify that person as either Whittaker Chambers, George Crosley, or known to you only by the name of Carl [handing photograph to witness]? Did you know this individual by any of those names?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons given before, I decline to answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. You decline to identify the person at all; is that correct?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I say I decline to answer for the same reasons I have given before.

Mr. STRIPLING. I also have here, Mr. Pressman, a photograph which was taken by the Associated Press on August 3, 1948, here in Washington, of Whittaker Chambers when he testified before this committee.

I ask you, Mr. Pressman, if you have ever seen that individual?

(Mr. Stripling hands photograph to Mr. Pressman.)

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons that I have given before, I decline to answer the question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let the record show that Mr. Appell, an investigator for the committee, is also present.

Do you know an individual by the name of Alger Hiss, Mr. Pressman?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons which I have given before, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Donald Hiss?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons I have given before, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons—for simplicity, can I merely at this point say, in answer to that question and to others of similar character, the same response for the same reasons? Would that be satisfactory?

Mr. NIXON. That is satisfactory.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Charles Kramer?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Henry Collins?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Harold Ware?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know John Abt?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever know an individual by the name of George Crosley?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were General Counsel of the Rural Resettlement Administration, Mr. Pressman, who was the director or the head of that agency?

MR. PRESSMAN. I believe the record will show that it was Rexford Tugwell, who was the Administrator of the Resettlement Administration.

MR. STRIPLING. When you were General Counsel of the AAA, who was the director of that department?

MR. PRESSMAN. May I correct the record, Mr. Stripling?

I was not General Counsel; I was Assistant General Counsel.

MR. STRIPLING. Yes, I am sorry.

MR. PRESSMAN. The General Counsel at that time was then Jerome N. Frank, now a member of the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit of New York.

The Administrator of the AAA had a series of successors. I think, first, it was George N. Peek; secondly, I believe it was Chester Davis, who, I believe, now is a member of the Federal Reserve Board in St. Louis.

MR. STRIPLING. How long were you general counsel of the CIO?

MR. PRESSMAN. From 1936 until February of 1948.

MR. STRIPLING. You were well acquainted with Phillip Murray, were you not?

MR. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I think the record is quite obvious. Mr. Murray was the head of the CIO while I was general counsel. And if pressed to answer the question, I will say, consistent with my other responses, that for the same reasons I give the same response.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know William Green?

MR. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, again I should think that the record would indicate that I was general counsel to the CIO. And being general counsel to the CIO I would have had occasion to meet with Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. But for consistency's sake, I should say that for the same reasons I give the same response.

MR. STRIPLING. Well, now, Mr. Pressman, it is very important to me how you answer the question. If you—I did not understand your objections to be that you refuse to answer the question before the committee. You refused to answer certain questions on certain grounds.

MR. PRESSMAN. I believe the essence of my position is that my personal associations are matters of my personal concern, and for the reasons given that my response would be what I have given.

MR. STRIPLING. That is the reason I asked you about whether you knew Mr. Murray and Mr. Green, because that is not a question of personal association. It is a matter of public record.

MR. PRESSMAN. Therefore, the record would speak for itself, Mr. Stripling.

MR. STRIPLING. I would like to have your position on it. Do you decline to answer it?

MR. PRESSMAN. I think you will find, as a matter of record, that in the position I occupied, it is highly unlikely that I would not have met Mr. Phillip Murray or Mr. William Green.

MR. STRIPLING. Have you ever been to Boston?

(At this point, Mr. Pressman and Mr. Cammer confer.)

MR. PRESSMAN. I should say, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons, the same response to that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been in the Pennsylvania Railroad station in New York City?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons I give the same response to that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. What are your objections to answering that question, Mr. Pressman?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I believe my counsel has stated them.

Mr. STRIPLING. You stated to the committee why you refused. Will you state to the committee why you refuse to say whether you ever have been in the Pennsylvania station in New York City?

(At this point, Mr. Pressman and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. PRESSMAN. For all reasons that have been given, Mr. Chairman, that the stenographer can read from the record.

Mr. STRIPLING. What specific grounds are you giving for refusing to answer that question?

Mr. PRESSMAN. All of the grounds that have been given, Mr. Stripling. There were four reasons why I was giving the response that I would decline to answer your question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Restate them in detail in response to that question.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Can my counsel restate the objections?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, you restate them; you are testifying. Your counsel is not testifying.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that the reasons which I have ascribed have been on the advice of counsel. At this moment I am testifying as a layman. I think I am entitled to have my counsel state the legal grounds for which I am giving my response.

If Mr. Stripling insists that I, as a layman, give legal answers, I think that is highly unfair.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pressman, I would ask you to consult with counsel and then state the grounds upon which you are refusing to answer the question. Have you ever been in the Pennsylvania Railroad station in New York City?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I have made my observation. I would like to have the viewpoint of the chairman as to whether I am supposed to give legal answers when appearing as a layman as a witness.

Mr. NIXON. Now, the Chair will state that he can see possibly some reason for the witness refusing to answer some of the questions which have previously been put by the chief investigator. The committee recognizes valid constitutional objections to questions which involve constitutional points. But on this particular matter, the question which has been raised, "Have you ever been in the Pennsylvania Railroad station in New York City?" I think that the witness is somewhat overstepping his rights to raise constitutional objections to questions, and for that reason the Chair would like to have the witness consult with counsel and state exactly what constitutional grounds he has for refusing to answer that question.

(At this point, Mr. Pressman and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, in a spirit of cooperation, I beg to inform Mr. Stripling that last night at 1 a. m., I was in the Pennsylvania Railroad Station in New York City to take the train to get here this morning.

Mr. NIXON. I want to state to the witness that the questions to be put by the chief investigator involving various matters during the

course of this hearing, that the Chair would appreciate it if the witness would be responsive to those questions which, obviously, do not involve constitutional rights, and raise his objections to those which do.

The Chair is aware of the fact that the witness has probably as good a knowledge of his constitutional grounds as any person could have, but certainly the Chair does not want to allow the hearing to become completely farcial, and the Chair would, therefore, appreciate the witness, at least, showing the consideration of answering questions which, obviously, do not raise constitutional grounds.

Mr. PRESSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your viewpoint, and I shall endeavor to adapt myself to it. I do submit this: I make two observations. In the first place, I think Mr. Stripling should also show the same consideration to the witness, because I do not know the purpose—

Mr. STRIPLING. May I say something?

Mr. PRESSMAN. Let me finish, please.

I do not see any purpose being served in asking me whether I knew Mr. Philip Murray and Mr. William Green, in view of the position I have occupied.

Secondly, I would like to say that I have made clear in the reasons that I have given, and I am sure that the committee appreciates this point, that inquiry into my associations, personal associations with other individuals, is a matter that I consider, for the reasons I have given, to be a matter of my personal concern, and I have objection to answering inquiries into that field.

Now, if an inquiry is being made initially as to where I was at a certain time, or whether I did appear at a certain place, and it is preliminary to an inquiry as to whether I have association with other individuals at such and such a place, I submit that the reasons that I have given for refusing to answer any inquiries as to my associations apply with equal force to the preliminary question.

I should not be put in a position of simply asserting my rights and my privileges at the second stage, because I believe, under the law, I am entitled to assert them at any stage in that field of inquiry.

With those observations, I should be delighted to adapt myself to the pleasure of the committee and be as fully informative as I can be.

Mr. STRIPLING. The point I would like to find out is whether you are refusing to answer all questions or refusing to answer certain questions.

Mr. PRESSMAN. That is not the case. I am glad that that is clarified, Mr. Stripling. I would say this to you: Rather than being adverse to answering all questions, I would appreciate inquiry into what I, as a public servant for several years, as general counsel for the CIO what I then did, consistent with what I believed to be the principles and the objectives of the jobs that I then held and the trust that had been placed in me.

Mr. NIXON. Proceed, Mr. Stripling. I think the witness and counsel have reached an understanding as to how the questions will be handled.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Earl Browder?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons that I have given, Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Simon Gerson?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of J. Peters?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Alexander Stevens?

Mr. PRESSMAN. For the same reasons, the same response.

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have.

However, I would like to read the testimony of Whittaker Chambers again, as he referred to Mr. Pressman, and ask him if he has any comment.

Mr. Chambers testified on August 3:

The head of the group, as I have said, was at first Nathan Witt. Other members of the group were Lee Pressman, Charles Kramer.

Do you have any comment to make on that testimony?

Mr. PRESSMAN. I have none.

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have.

Mr. NIXON. That concludes the questions of the committee. Thank you, Mr. Pressman. Thank you, Mr. Counsel.

The next witness, Mr. Stripling:

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Nathan Witt.

Mr. WITT. Just a minute, Mr. Stripling. Please, may I have these different people identified?

Mr. NIXON. Yes; we have identified them for the record. We have identified these people for the record. I will identify them again for your benefit.

This is the court reporter who—

Mr. WITT. That is unnecessary.

Mr. NIXON. This is Mrs. Poore, who is the editor to the committee; Mr. Appell is one of the committee's investigators; Mr. Russell is one of the committee's investigators; Mr. Stripling is the chief investigator; and you know me.

Mr. WITT. Mr. Nixon, of California.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you stand and be sworn, Mr. Witt?

Mr. NIXON. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WITT. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Be seated, please.

#### TESTIMONY OF NATHAN WITT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HAROLD CAMMER

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Witt, you are here in response to a subpoena served upon you on August 18 by Stephen W. Birmingham, calling for your appearance in the committee's chambers this morning at 11 o'clock; is that correct?

Mr. WITT. Well, may I say this, Mr. Stripling?

As a matter of fact, the subpoena was not served on me.



Mr. STRIPLING. It was not?

Mr. WITT. Mr. Birmingham came to my office in New York while I was in Vermont, and my partner here, Mr. Cammer, called me in Vermont, and told me that Mr. Birmingham was there with a subpoena, and asked me whether I would appear without a subpoena, and I told Mr. Cammer to tell Mr. Birmingham that I would be here.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are appearing in response to a subpoena?

Mr. WITT. The one I have here was given to me by Mr. Cammer.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here in response to a subpoena?

Mr. WITT. I am not here in response to a subpoena.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why are you here, then?

Mr. WITT. I am here, because Mr. Cammer told me that the committee had issued a subpoena for me, and I am here, and I told him that I would be here. I just wanted the record to show—

Mr. NIXON. Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

Mr. CAMMER. Mr. Nixon, may it appear that for all purposes of this hearing this morning we concede and assume that Mr. Witt is here in response to a subpoena issued, as identified by Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you accept service for him, Mr. Cammer?

Mr. CAMMER. Yes, sir; I did. I was authorized to do so, and did so.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all right.

Now, Mr. Witt, will you state your full name and present address?

Mr. WITT. My name is Nathan Witt, W-i-t-t, and my home address is 160 West Seventy-seventh Street, New York City 24, and my office address is 9 East Fortieth Street, New York City 16, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your occupation?

Mr. WITT. I am a lawyer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born?

Mr. WITT. I was born in New York City, State of New York, United States.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year?

Mr. WITT. 1903.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Witt, were you ever employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. WITT. I was. I was, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you state for the record in chronological order the various positions you held in Government?

Mr. WITT. I was first employed by the Federal Government in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the month, I think it was, of August 1933—it may have been July. I was there until February 1934, at which time I joined the legal staff of the old National Labor Relations Board, established under Public Resolution No. 44, pursuant to the National Industrial Recovery Act.

I was with the old Board until the Wagner Act became law on July 5, 1935, at which time I, together with the other members of the staff of the old Board, was transferred to the staff of the Board set up under the Wagner Act. Until December of 1935 I was an attorney on the staff of the NLRB.

At that time I became assistant general counsel of the NLRB, and remained such until November 1937, at which time I became secretary of the Board and remained such until December of 1940. That terminated by resignation my work experience with the Federal Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you do before you entered the Federal Government?

Mr. WITT. Before I entered the Federal Government I was in private practice in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you begin private practice, Mr. Witt?

Mr. WITT. I graduated from the Harvard Law School in June 1932 and entered private practice immediately. I remained in private practice until I joined the staff of the AAA in 1933, as I said.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you were at Harvard during what years?

Mr. WITT. 1929 to 1932.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you live when you were in Washington?

Mr. WITT. I lived on Connecticut Avenue, 3000 Connecticut, in Washington for a while, and then—

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that Cathedral Mansions?

Mr. WITT. I think that is what it was called, Mr. Stripling.

Let me think a minute as to where I lived thereafter. I think thereafter I lived on Mount Pleasant Street. I had several addresses thereafter, Mr. Stripling. I do not know whether you want me to identify them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall those places?

Mr. WITT. I think I can.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I would like to have them.

Mr. WITT. Thereafter, I lived—oh, I am not sure I remember the name of the community—I think it was called Crestwood. It was just over the border of Maryland, just over the border from the District. I am not sure of that name. I lived there a while, and then I lived on Farragut Street, over toward Georgia Avenue, and then I lived on Fort Stevens Drive. I think that was my last address in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were general counsel of the NLRB at one time, were you not?

Mr. WITT. No; I was never general counsel of the NLRB. As I have stated, Mr. Stripling, I was assistant general counsel from December 1935 to November 1937. I was never general counsel. Mr. Charles Fahy was general counsel of the Board at the time I was there.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you took your first employment with the Government in the AAA who recommended you for your job?

Mr. WITT. Mr. Lee Pressman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pressman.

Did you ever own an automobile?

Mr. WITT. Yes; I have owned automobiles.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the District of Columbia?

Mr. WITT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall how many automobiles you owned in the District of Columbia?

Mr. WITT. I owned—I think the first car that I owned was an old Nash, and then I owned—I forget what year that was—an old roadster, and then I owned a 1937 Plymouth; then I owned a 1939 Plymouth.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were employed in the AAA, were you in the same office with Alger Hiss?

(At this point, Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show that counsel is consulting with the witness.

Mr. CAMMER. Mr. Chairman, I object to the question on grounds that, first, inquiries into Mr. Witt's associations, affiliations, opinions, ideas, and conscience are without the scope of any jurisdiction of this committee under the first amendment; second, that the subject matter of this inquiry is without the jurisdiction of this committee by reason of the fact that the judicial power of the United States is vested exclusively in the courts under article III of the Constitution; third, on the ground that this committee is illegally constituted by reason of the presence thereon of one John Rankin, who holds an alleged seat from Mississippi, he having been elected thereto in violation of the provisions of the fourteenth amendment; fourth, on the ground that this inquiry and the subject matter thereof, as stated by the chairman, is in violation of Mr. Witt's rights under the sixth amendment to trial or hearing by judicial process.

I think Mr. Witt will state another ground of objection in addition to that.

Mr. NIXON. Do you join in all those objections?

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you join in all those objections? You will state another one?

Mr. WITT. I join in those, and I also must decline to answer that in that it violates my rights under the fifth amendment, in that the answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you have stated these reasons for refusing to answer whether or not you were associated in an official way with an individual employed in the same branch of the Government as you were at the same time; is that correct?

Mr. WITT. That is correct, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. CAMMER. May we from here on in, Mr. Chairman, use the formula, "Same response for the same grounds"?

Mr. NIXON. In every case where it is applicable.

Mr. CAMMER. Yes, indeed; where applicable.

Mr. NIXON. But I want to instruct the witness that he will be expected to answer questions which do not involve those grounds, as he has previously.

Mr. WITT. Yes.

Mr. CAMMER. May we go off the record?

Mr. NIXON. Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

Mr. NIXON. On the record.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Witt, when you were employed in the AAA where was your office located?

(At this point Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. I think I had at least two offices, Mr. Stripling, two that I remember. I had one office in the original Department of Agriculture Building—whatever that was called, I do not quite remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. The main Agriculture Building?

Mr. WITT. The main Agriculture Building, where the Secretary was located. I think the Government was in the process of building that tremendous building right behind it. I think it was called the South Agricultural Building; and while I was there that building was completed, or at least parts of it were, and I moved over there. I do not

remember, of course, the room numbers or exactly what part of the buildings.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you occupy an office by yourself?

Mr. WITT. I do not remember that. As far as the original office was concerned, Mr. Stripling—I now recall we had some kind of cubby holes, some kind of makeshift arrangements in one of the corridors off the side somewheres, but I do not recall whether I occupied an office by myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Lee Pressman in the same office with you?

(At this point Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. You are talking about the original office?

Mr. STRIPLING. In either of the offices that you had in the AAA, was Lee Pressman in the same office with you?

(At this point Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. WITT. I am sorry, Mr. Stripling, I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. STRIPLING. You cannot even answer whether or not Lee Pressman—

Mr. WITT. That is correct, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was general counsel of the AAA?

Mr. WITT. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. How about Harold Ware, was he in the same office with you?

Mr. WITT. May I say this, Mr. Stripling, to show you the difficulty here, in a sense, to continue what Mr. Cammer points out, you now ask whether I can tell you whether I occupied the same office with him in the AAA. May I point out to you that Mr. Pressman was not the general counsel in AAA.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Pressman was in AAA, was he not?

Mr. WITT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you know that?

Mr. WITT. As I have already told you, Mr. Stripling, Mr. Pressman recommended my job in the AAA.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Lee Pressman?

Mr. WITT. Yes; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Harold Ware, or did you know Harold Ware?

Mr. WITT. I am sorry, Mr. Stripling, I must decline to answer that on the grounds I have already stated.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. WITT. The same answer, if I may.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. WITT. The same answer, if I may.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. WITT. The same answer, if I may.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Charles Kramer?

Mr. WITT. The same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Earl Browder?

Mr. WITT. The same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. WITT. The same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Henry Collins?

Mr. WITT. The same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know an individual by the name of Donald Hiss?

Mr. WITT. The same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know an individual by the name of George Crosley, C-r-o-s-l-e-y?

Mr. WITT. The same answer, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever hear of Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. WITT. Yes; I did, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. You read about him in the newspapers recently?

Mr. WITT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you seen his pictures in the newspapers?

Mr. WITT. Yes; I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a picture of Mr. Chambers taken on August 3, 1948, when he appeared in Washington. Have you ever seen this individual? [Photograph handed to Mr. Witt.]

Mr. WITT. The same answer, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Here is an earlier picture which appeared in the New Masses in July 1931. Do you recognize this individual? [Photograph handed to Mr. Witt.]

Mr. WITT. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a picture of J. Peters, alias Alexander Stevens, alias Isidore Boorstein. Did you ever see this individual? [Showing picture to Mr. Witt.]

Mr. WITT. The same answer.

Mr. NIXON. Did you know an individual by the name of Carl, C-a-r-l, in that same period, 1934 to 1937?

Mr. WITT. The same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Witt, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WITT. The same answer, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you.

Mr. WITT. Just a minute, Mr. Nixon, if I may consult counsel.

(At this point Mr. Witt and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. CAMMER. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. WITT. Thank you, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. NIXON. All right. That concludes the hearing.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TUESDAY, AUGUST 24, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>10</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:05 a. m., in the committee room of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Richard M. Nixon, presiding.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, Donald T. Appell, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show that this is a meeting of a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, meeting in executive session on Tuesday, August 24, 1948.

The member present is Mr. Nixon; and also present are Mr. Stripling, chief investigator, and Mrs. Poore, editor to the committee.

The first witness will be Mr. Louis Budenz.

Will you please raise your right hand, Mr. Budenz?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BUDENZ. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Be seated, please.

All right, Mr. Stripling.

## TESTIMONY OF LOUIS BUDENZ

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Budenz, you have appeared before the committee in recent weeks, have you not?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you have been sufficiently identified and for that reason we will proceed with the questions.

On August 3, 1948, Whittaker Chambers, who is now senior editor of Time magazine, appeared before the full committee, and testified concerning the activities of the so-called underground apparatus of

<sup>10</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and released during the public hearing, August 25, 1948.

the Communist Party that operated within the Federal Government in the years 1934, 1935, '36, and '37. At that time, according to Mr. Chambers' testimony, he was a member of the Communist Party, and acted in the capacity of courier for the group.

He testified that he was brought in contact with these people through a person known as J. Peters, who he described as being the head of the underground movement.

Among the persons who comprised this elite group, as he referred to it, were Lee Pressman, employed in the AAA; John Abt, likewise employed in the Government—I do not recall the agency; Nathan Witt, also employed in the Government; Alger Hiss, employed in three A's; Donald Hiss, Henry Collins, Charles Kramer, alias Krevitsky, and Victor Perlo, and Harold Ware.

Now, his testimony was to the effect that Harold Ware was setting up this group.

Now, I ask you, Mr. Budenz, if you are acquainted with any of the individuals who comprise this group, and I will call the roll: Lee Pressman.

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir, personally.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Pressman to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nathan Witt.

Mr. NIXON. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Lee Pressman, you say, that he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir, I have met him as such.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have met him as such?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nathan Witt.

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; I have never met him, but I have heard his name repeatedly mentioned in the political committee and national headquarters. When I say, "repeatedly," I do not mean too frequently, but enough. I know that he was a member of the party.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were the managing editor of the Daily Worker, and located at party headquarters, you were given to understand by conversations that you had with party functionaries that Nathan Witt was a Communist Party member?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. This was particularly in the period of 1940 and 1941, when I was a little bit more than a managing editor of the Daily Worker; I was one of the few Communists in national headquarters that was out in the open. I will explain that a little bit later, perhaps.

Mr. STRIPLING. John Abt.

Mr. BUDENZ. John Abt, I have never met, to my recollection, but I know he is a member of the Communist Party from frequent references, and from the fact that his sister, Marian Bachrach, was present in a number of conferences as Abt's representative.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are speaking now of Communist Party conferences?

Mr. BUDENZ. Communist Party conferences.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Charles Kramer?

Mr. BUDENZ. No, sir; I do not know him.



Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know him by the name of Charles Krevitsky?

Mr. BUDENZ. Krevitsky? Yes; I have heard that name, of course. The name Kramer seemed familiar to me.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you cannot identify him at this time.

Mr. BUDENZ. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Henry Collins?

Mr. BUDENZ. I have just heard the name.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not know him personally?

Mr. BUDENZ. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Victor Perlo?

Mr. BUDENZ. No, I do not know him; no, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Harold Ware?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. I knew Harold Ware prior to my being a member of the Communist Party. I knew him as the son of Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, and I was introduced to him by Robert B. Dunn, as an active Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know J. Peters?

Mr. BUDENZ. Very well, indeed; that is, I mean to say, when I say "very well," I know him frequently and extensively as an underground Communist leader.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. BUDENZ. I do not know him personally, but I have heard his name mentioned as a Communist.

Mr. NIXON. Will you go into detail, Mr. Budenz, concerning how you heard Mr. Hiss' name mentioned in Communist circles.

Mr. BUDENZ. The original mention, I cannot go into detail on that, because it is just a remembrance, but in the period of 1940 and 1941, to which I referred, at the national headquarters there were only a few Communist leaders who were in the open; that is, Robert Minor was acting secretary of the party; Roy Hudson, and Foster, to a degree, but he was ill; myself. Because of that fact I had to look more than usually into the defense of the party, and the defense of the Daily Worker as the Communists called it.

In that connection, from time to time, although at that moment I cannot give you all the cases, we reviewed people that we could call upon to aid us either where there was a defense matter involved, or where there might be a defense matter.

For instance, in the case of Eugene Dennis, I give that because it strikes me immediately, about which I have testified before the committee, that was the case involving Gerhart Eisler—Eugene Dennis came to me during this period to request me to get a man here in Washington who was in public office to work—to erase from his record this technical difficulty, as it was called. That was the record which I disclosed under which Dennis had used, as I said, an Irish name in subversive activities.

At that time Dennis said to me, explaining why he had to call upon this man, that people like Alger Hiss, Nathan Witt, and Edwin Smith, who was then a member of the National Labor Relations Board, or was about to leave it—at any rate, he had been associated with the National Labor Relations Board—that people of that character could not be called upon as they had been in the past to aid the party in its defense in Washington because they themselves were under a certain cloud; that is to say, that all the people in governmental positions in

Washington who were friendly to the party, or under Communist discipline, were in difficulties at that time.

Therefore, we would have to find people who had not generally been associated with the party to help us out in these things. That is an instance of two or three that came up during that period.

Mr. NIXON. You are absolutely certain that Alger Hiss' name was mentioned?

Mr. BUDENZ. Oh, yes; I recognized Mr. Hiss' name before it was here mentioned publicly; that is, I know that his name was mentioned, along with Nathan Witt and Edwin Smith, so far as I recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. There are three people who are prominent in the Government who were considered to be close friends of the party, is that correct? Would that be a fair statement of it or not?

Mr. BUDENZ. Who were under Communist discipline.

Mr. STRIPLING. You would say "under Communist discipline"?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Would you go farther than to say that they were simply close friends of the party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Donald Hiss? Did you ever hear his name?

Mr. BUDENZ. I have heard of his name, but I cannot be as accurate, or rather cannot be as exact about him as about Alger Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. Now, can you recall any other specific incident which you have heard where the name of Alger Hiss was mentioned in Communist circles?

Mr. BUDENZ. There is one other, and that was at the time of the Amerasia case, the exact date of which I cannot give you—it was 1944 or 1945—but that is a rather remote reference; that is to say, in a political committee meeting, when that case broke, it was mentioned that Lieutenant Roth—his first name starts with an A—I do not know whether it is Andrew or Arnold, or what—who was a member of the party, had recommended the possibility of getting Mr. Hiss to use some influence in that matter. I do not know what disposition was ever made of that, and that is why I say it is a rather round-about reference.

Mr. NIXON. But, Mr. Hiss' name was mentioned in that connection?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right; it was.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, from your experience as an active leader in the Communist Party during that period, did you at that time come to the conclusion that Mr. Hiss was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Oh, yes; so I regarded him always.

Mr. NIXON. You always regarded him as a Communist?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Did others in the party, others in the leadership or the circles that you knew, did they regard him as a member of the party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. What period was this, approximately?

Mr. BUDENZ. Well, the period that I have specifically in mind was 1940 and 1941.

Mr. NIXON. 1940 and '41.

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, in Communist Party circles, at that time was regarded as a member of the party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. I might not have been able to recall incidents like this always because I was not thinking about the matter, but I always regarded him as a Communist; that is, I mean to say, that what confirmed me in it I would not have always been able to bring up.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. BUDENZ. I only heard his name at the time he left the party; that is to say, we were advised, or at least I was advised confidentially, that he was a renegade. They also mentioned another name in his connection, but I cannot recall it, probably a party name; but, at any rate, that a man named Whittaker Chambers had left the party. We had those names from time to time, but I had never met him, though.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever hear of a person named George Crosley?

Mr. BUDENZ. George Frost?

Mr. STRIPLING. C-r-o-s-l-e-y.

Mr. BUDENZ. No, sir; I never did.

Mr. NIXON. Were you in the party in 1936?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; I joined the party in August 1935, and then openly joined it in October 1935.

Mr. NIXON. Were you in the open party then?

Mr. BUDENZ. Oh, yes; always from October on.

Mr. NIXON. Then, you would not have known the underground cover name of Mr. Chambers.

Mr. BUDENZ. I would not.

Mr. NIXON. The name—does the name Carl mean anything to you?

Mr. BUDENZ. No, sir; it does not. There was a name mentioned along with Mr. Whittaker's name—Mr. Chambers' name—but I cannot recall it. Evidently it was a party name, but George Crosley suggests nothing to me.

Mr. NIXON. Those are all the questions that I have at this time on this matter. We will go off record now.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. NIXON. Let us go on the record again.

Mr. BUDENZ. did you ever tell the investigative agencies of the Government about Mr. Hiss' reputation in Communist circles?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; I told the FBI, if I recollect correctly. It was upon their own inquiry. I told them, however, that Mr. Hiss' name was known to me and, as I recall it, I told them it was known to me as a Communist. I do not know whether I went into these details that I went into here today, but there was no detailed inquiry of me by them about him, except in that way.

Mr. NIXON. Can you recall as nearly as possible when you did that?

Mr. BUDENZ. Well, I did not put any particular emphasis upon the matter. Many names have been asked me, too, but it seems to me that it was within the last year. It may have been even a year and a half ago, but I think within the last year. No; it may have been a year and a half ago.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Budenz, is it possible that when Mr. Hiss was referred to in Communist Party circles as being under Communist

discipline, that it was simply a case of the Communists claiming as their own a person whom they considered to be a liberal? For example, Is it not possible that they might have referred to Mrs. Roosevelt as being a Communist, or did they refer to, say, Leon Henderson, as being a Communist. Understand, I wish you to point out if there is a difference in the way in which friends of the party were considered, and those under discipline were considered, because I think there is a distinction there that should be drawn, if there is a distinction. Will you go into that briefly?

Mr. BUDENZ. There is a very definite distinction. Neither Mrs. Roosevelt, nor Mr. Henderson, incidentally, was ever referred to as a Communist.

Mr. NIXON. I am sure they were not.

Mr. BUDENZ. A man seeking political office in Indiana once wrote me thinking that Henderson was a Communist, and trying to get a job for him, but I disabused him of that. But there is this difference: that is, the Communists did refer to those under discipline in a different manner from the way they do those who are just friendly to them, and whom they wish to use, and whom they think they can influence.

Of course, here is a remote possibility that Mr. Hiss' name might have been used incorrectly, but I have never found that to happen among Communists. When reporting to themselves, they are always as exact as possible. In fact, sometimes they are painfully exact.

In regard to the relationship of a certain individual to the party, and certainly so far as the constant impression on me was concerned, it was that Mr. Hiss was equivalent to a member of the Communist Party. The phrase "Communist Party member" so far as I refer to it was never used, but that he was under Communist discipline was used, and he was associated with Nathan Witt and Edwin Smith. Of course, this impression was strengthened in my mind, in fact—I knew Mr. Smith to be a member of the party; I had met him as such.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, this impression was gathered not simply from one casual mention but from several mentions of Mr. Hiss as being under Communist discipline.

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Budenz, and the managing editor of the Daily Worker, were you ever approached by Jacob N. Golos to make a trip to Washington to see an individual who was employed in the Government?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the person he asked you to see?

Mr. BUDENZ. William Ludwig Ullmann.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see Ullmann?

Mr. BUDENZ. No, sir. I told Mr. Golos at that time that that was utterly impossible with my duties at the Daily Worker. We were short-staffed, and I could not go on such short notice.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did he want you to see Ullmann?

Mr. BUDENZ. He said that it had to do with work in the Office of Strategic Services. That is all he said: "I want you to see a man by the name of William Ludwig Ullmann in Washington; to go as fast as possible, in regard to our work in the Office of Strategic Services."

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, early in your testimony you mentioned that you knew J. Peters as the head of the underground movement. Could

you elaborate for the committee your knowledge of that activity of J. Peters as a Communist Party functionary?

MR. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. You will note in my book "This Is My Story" that Mr. Peters appears there, and that I refer to him as the man of many names.

In fact, I also speak, I think, about his reminding me of the Cheshire cat, or something, because he always had an artificial smile. But what I particularly noted there was his many names, Steve Miller, Jack Roberts, and many other names within a short period of time.

MR. NIXON. Will you name as many of those names as you can remember.

MR. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. The thing is, of course, I learned some later, but the names that I recall immediately there is 1936 and 1937 were brought to my attention by the fact that Mr. Peters himself very bureaucratically told me about them; that is, I had to see him frequently on the ninth floor. He was then, I think, supposedly the organization secretary of the party, although nobody knew him to any great degree. When I say "nobody," most of the rank and file members did not know him.

I would have to go up there on business, and I would say, "Comrade Peters"—and he said, "Now, my name is Steve," and he would be very abrupt about it, "Steve Miller." Then, later on, he told me his name was Jack Roberts. I came home and told my wife, "I am getting dizzy trying to keep Peters' names before me." But either then or on other occasions, I learned his name to be Alexander Stevens, I think Alexander Goldberg, and—

MR. STRIPLING. Did you know him; under the name Isidore Boorstein?

MR. BUDENZ. I knew that was his organization name. I learned that from some source in the party, or other. Those are all of the names I can think of for the moment. But there were a number of names during the course of time.

MR. STRIPLING. As head of the underground, would it be the duties of Peters to come to Washington and contact persons who were employed in the Government?

MR. BUDENZ. In 1936 and 1937, to be specific, Peters was one of the busiest men on the ninth floor of the party. There were all sorts of mysterious people there to see him. When I say "mysterious," they were not accounted for, they waited for him, and he had a certain air of secrecy about him. That may seem strange, to put it that way, but the thing is, for example, there were many precautions to get to see him, and in addition to that you always had to indicate what name, even below, within the apparatus, what name you knew him by. That is why he was so abrupt with me when I addressed him personally by the wrong name, because I was supposed to ask on the telephone for the new name.

Now, the thing is, it was Peters—to give the background of it just a moment, and it may seem a little wide of the question, but it was Peters who advised me that the conspiratorial apparatus of the party was the most important apparatus. He asked me when I came up there one day, did I know the Communist Party well, and I said that I did, I thought. Then, he told me that I did not know it at all, that

the part I saw was only a very small part of the party. The most important part was the conspiratorial apparatus. That was preparatory to my being introduced to the NKVD, the Soviet secret police here in the United States, by Golos.

But Peters was known within the official apparatus and advised me himself, that he was engaged in conspiratorial work. He had to advise me so that I would understand how to approach him, how to deal with him, and how not to approach him when it was necessary in his work.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; I met her through Mr. Golos.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Golos introduced you to Miss Bentley?

Mr. BUDENZ. Mr. Golos introduced me to Miss Bentley after this occasion, after he had spoken of Ullmann. He then came to me a few days later and said that he was going to open up a new apparatus, which would collect on all the American agents engaged in military secrets. The first man he wanted me to check was Emmanuel Victor Voska.

Then he said, "It is inadvisable that you and I are together so much. I have had to plead guilty to this Foreign Agent Act, and I have also been engaged in activity of a similar character," and he brought me Miss Bentley to whom he introduced me on the street in front of the Daily Worker office, that is, down on the street a piece, he introduced me to her as one who was very trustworthy, was engaged in conspiratorial work; has proved her worth, and who, in addition, was able to take shorthand notes, and I was supposed to meet her from time to time and give her a report which she would take down in shorthand.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, you have read in the public press the testimony of Miss Bentley, or you have read stories regarding her testimony.

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you seen anything in those stories reported concerning her testimony which you have any doubt about, that you do not believe?

Mr. BUDENZ. No, sir. Of course, I do not know of my own personal knowledge that all of these incidents took place. But they are of a pattern which I know to exist.

For example, I know that J. Peters was in charge of conspiratorial work for the party. I know that Mr. Golos was not only chairman of the control commission of the party, secretly, and directing the disciplining of the party members, but that he was engaged in this secret work.

I know likewise that Washington was a matter of great interest to the Communist Party, and I do know that Mr. Peters was deeply interested in Washington. I could not follow all his contacts here, but I know that a great part of his conspiratorial work had to do with Washington, because of observations he made to me, safeguards that he threw on our conversations, and the like.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Budenz, we certainly appreciate your taking the time to come to Washington and give us this testimony. That will be all for the day.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. NIXON. On the record. The next witness will be Mrs. Martha Pope. Now, if you will stand up, please, Mrs. Pope, I would like to swear you in.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. POPE. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Will you be seated, please.

### TESTIMONY OF MARTHA POPE

Mr. NIXON. Mrs. Pope, would you give us your present address, where you live at the present time?

Mrs. POPE. Where I live?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mrs. POPE. 758 Gresham Place.

Mr. NIXON. In Washington, D. C.?

Mrs. POPE. In Washington, D. C.

Mr. NIXON. And what is your occupation?

Mrs. POPE. Domestic.

Mr. NIXON. Domestic. Who do you work for at the present time?

Mrs. POPE. Mrs. D. H. Dorsey.

Mr. NIXON. How many years, Mrs. Pope, approximately, have you worked for your present employer?

Mrs. POPE. Twelve years next month.

Mr. NIXON. Twelve years next month. In other words, you went to work for your present employer in 1936. This is 1948, so that would be about 1936 that you went to work.

Mrs. POPE. Either in '36 or '35, the latter part, September 29, I think, 1935.

Mr. NIXON. September 29, 1935.

Mrs. POPE. I think it was that.

Mr. NIXON. When you went to work.

Mrs. POPE. Sure.

Mr. NIXON. Who did you work for before you worked for your present employer?

Mrs. POPE. Well, I worked for Mrs. Pasternak; I just do not remember where. She lived out in, I don't know—she has a store on Connecticut Avenue.

Mr. NIXON. A store on Connecticut Avenue. How long did you work for her?

Mrs. POPE. I did not work very long for her then.

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember.

Mr. NIXON. How many months, approximately?

Mrs. POPE. Just about 2 months or something like that.

Mr. NIXON. Two months in the summer?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mrs. POPE. Then, I worked for Mrs. Veitch.

Mr. NIXON. How long did you work for her?

Mrs. POPE. About 6 months.

Mr. NIXON. Whom did you work for before that?

Mrs. POPE. Mrs. Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. Mrs. Hiss. Well, now, when did you leave Mrs. Hiss' employment? When did you leave there, do you recall?

Mrs. POPE. I do not recall just when I left there but it was—I don't remember.

Mr. NIXON. Well, let me get at it this way. Do you recall where the Hisses were living when you last worked for them?

Mrs. POPE. On P Street.

Mr. NIXON. On what?

Mrs. POPE. On P Street.

Mr. NIXON. On P Street. You worked for Mrs. Hiss when she was living in the P Street house, then?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Where had she lived before they moved to P Street?

Mrs. POPE. Before they lived on O Street, and then they moved from O Street to Twenty-eighth Street.

Mr. NIXON. Did you work for them when they lived on Twenty-eighth Street?

Mrs. POPE. I did.

Mr. NIXON. That was an apartment, was it not?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And after they left Twenty-eighth Street, do you recall when they moved from there?

Mrs. POPE. They moved from Twenty-eighth Street to P Street.

Mr. NIXON. To P Street?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And how long did you work for them while they lived on P Street. That is, how long do you recall working in the P Street house?

Mrs. POPE. I just do not remember.

Mr. NIXON. Just to the best of your recollection, if you can recall, was it a year or was it a month or something?

Mrs. POPE. It was longer than a month.

Mr. NIXON. Longer than a month.

Mrs. POPE. I just do not remember how long it was.

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember when they moved from that apartment on Twenty-eighth Street to P Street. Did you help them to move?

Mrs. POPE. I was working with them; yes.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Did you help them pack their dishes and things when they were moving at that time?

Mrs. POPE. They left the apartment furnished; they moved to that P Street house, it was furnished.

Mr. NIXON. I see. And they left their Twenty-eighth Street apartment furnished?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you remember the time of year that was when they moved from the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street to the house on P Street?

Mrs. POPE. I don't know whether it was spring or fall; I don't remember that.

Mr. NIXON. You just do not recall what time that was that they moved?



Mrs. POPE. No; I do not.

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember whether it was the spring or the winter?

Mrs. POPE. It was not the winter, it was either the spring or the fall. I just do not remember now.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Pope, when did you first go to work for the Hisses?

Mrs. POPE. Soon after they were married.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, about what year was that?

Mrs. POPE. That, I cannot tell you. I don't remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it 1929 or 1930?

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1931, 1932? Were you working for them in 1932?

Mrs. POPE. I doubt it; I don't know. I had been working for them off and on nearly 5 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nearly 5 years?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. And to the best of your recollection you left them some time in 1935, is that right?

Mrs. POPE. Yes, either 1935 or 1934, I don't—

Mr. STRIPLING. 1934 or 1935?

Mrs. POPE. Either one.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not remember which one?

Mrs. POPE. No; I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you worked for them, what were your duties? Did you cook?

Mrs. POPE. I did general house work.

Mr. STRIPLING. General house work. Did you also cook?

Mrs. POPE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What time did you get there in the morning?

Mrs. POPE. 7:30.

Mr. STRIPLING. 7:30 in the morning. What time did you leave in the afternoon?

Mrs. POPE. 7:30 or 8 o'clock.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were there all day?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they have any children?

Mrs. POPE. They had one boy, Timothy.

Mr. STRIPLING. Timothy. About how old was Timothy when you began to work for them?

Mrs. POPE. When I first went there Timothy was a little boy.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you left, was Timothy in school?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How old would you say he was then? Was he 8 or 9 years old?

Mrs. POPE. Yes; I think about that.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many bedrooms did they have in the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street?

Mrs. POPE. Two.

Mr. STRIPLING. Two bedrooms. What floor was this apartment on?

Mrs. POPE. If I am not mistaken, it was the fourth floor.

Mr. STRIPLING. Fourth floor. You walked up, did you?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did it have any kind of a porch, a fire escape?

Mrs. POPE. Just a little fire escape on the side.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it concrete or iron?

Mrs. POPE. Iron.

Mr. STRIPLING. Iron fire escape?

Mrs. POPE. The floor, I think, was concrete; I don't remember, to tell you the truth.

Mr. STRIPLING. But there was a little porch on the side?

Mrs. POPE. A little fire escape.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, did you work for them at this apartment until they left?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you there with them until they left the apartment?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you moved, when they left the apartment, they went over to P Street?

Mrs. POPE. P Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. And moved into a house, did they not?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that house on a corner?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember the corner house. I do not know whether it was a corner house or not.

Mr. STRIPLING. But they did move into this house.

Mrs. POPE. They moved to a P Street house.

Mr. STRIPLING. And it was already furnished?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. In this apartment on Twenty-eighth Street, when they moved out, did they take the furniture?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember them taking the furniture.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you remember their taking any furniture?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember taking any furniture. All I remember is their going to this P Street house.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you go back afterward, after they went to the P Street house?

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who moved into the apartment?

Mrs. POPE. I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever hear them discuss that?

Mrs. POPE. No; I never heard them discuss that.

Mr. NIXON. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. NIXON. We will resume now, Mrs. Pope, if you have had a little rest.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have reading glasses? Do you use glasses when you read?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have them with you?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you put them on, please.

Mr. NIXON. Did you work every day or did you have a certain number of days off?

Mrs. POPE. I worked every day except Thursday.

Mr. NIXON. Thursday was your day off?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did you work Saturday?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall during that period just before you left, the year before you left the Hisses, that you were out because of illness or anything of that sort?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. When was that? Were you out for a long time?

Mrs. POPE. I was out for, it might be, 2 or 3 weeks, I think, something like that. It was a good time that I was out.

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember the time that was? Where were they living during that period?

Mrs. POPE. Twenty-eighth Street.

Mr. NIXON. At the apartment; I see. But you do not recall any time when you were out after they moved over to P Street?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember.

Mr. NIXON. You worked there all the time when you were there at P Street. Thank you.

Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Pope, I show you a picture of an individual holding a baby, and I ask you, I show you two pictures of the same individual, and in both pictures he is holding a baby. I ask you to examine these photographs very carefully [photographs handed to witness]. If you would like to walk over to the light, you can do so, at the window, if you can see better.

I am also going to show you a large picture of an individual. That is the same person, the person holding the baby; he is the same person as appears in this large picture [showing photograph to witness]. This picture, however, was taken 12 years later, taken 14 years later; this picture is taken 14 years later than the ones in which he is holding the baby.

Now, did you ever at either the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street or at the home on P Street, did you ever see that person or that baby?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not remember ever seeing it?

Mrs. POPE. No; I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, the baby's mother is a very dark woman, and they visited in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Hiss on P Street. They were there for several days.

Mr. NIXON. They stayed overnight. Do you recall seeing them?

Mrs. POPE. No; nobody stayed overnight, as I remember.

Mr. NIXON. Not while you were working at P Street?

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss said they were there, and Mrs. Hiss, too, and, of course, we know that they were there, and we are trying to find out whether you were working for them when these people were guests at the home.

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have never seen this person?

Mrs. POPE. Not as I know.

Mr. NIXON. Just take your time, Mrs. Pope, because it is very important. If you do remember or if you have any recollection at all, which you could indicate to us at this time, it is very important that you do so.

Mrs. POPE. She didn't say it was in my time working for her; did she?

Mr. STRIPLING. I beg your pardon?

Mrs. POPE. She did not say it was in my time working for them, because I don't remember the baby at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you remember the man?

Mrs. POPE. No; I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Never saw him?

Mrs. POPE. I only saw it in the picture recently in the paper.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the picture you saw in the paper?

Mrs. POPE. I mean, here recently.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the person that you saw?

Mrs. POPE. Chambers; is it not?

Mr. STRIPLING. The picture you are referring to is Whittaker Chambers.

Mrs. POPE. That is the reason I say I saw his picture in the paper recently.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does this look anything like the person you saw in the paper? Is that the person you saw in the paper?

Mrs. POPE. I mean just this in here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, is that the person you saw in the paper?

Mrs. POPE. It might be; I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does it look like him?

Mrs. POPE. It looks like—something like.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does this person look like the one you saw in the paper?

Mrs. POPE. It does not.

Mr. STRIPLING. It does not look like the one you saw in the paper?

Mrs. POPE. No; just this looks something like him, that is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. This one looks something like him, but these do not look anything like him.

When Mr. Hiss was living at the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street, what kind of an automobile did he have?

Mrs. POPE. A roadster.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of a car was it?

Mrs. POPE. It was with a back, you know, little coupe, with the back seat like—rumble seat.

Mr. STRIPLING. A Ford?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. A Ford rumble seat. What color was it?

Mrs. POPE. I think it was black with one of those tan tops, I think.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, when you moved to the P Street house, did he still have the Ford car?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he still have the Ford car?

Mrs. POPE. That is the only one I remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he ever have anything else while you worked for him?

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the only car that he had.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want the record to show that the three pictures that have been shown to the witness were all pictures of Whittaker Chambers, and he is holding his daughter who at that time was 8 months old.

Now, I show you another picture, and ask you if you ever saw this person, either in the apartment or in the house or anytime you were employed by Mr. Hiss. Did you ever see that person?

(Mr. Stripling shows photograph to Mrs. Pope.)

Mrs. POPE. No; I don't remember seeing him.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never remember seeing that person?

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you last see Mr. Hiss?

Mrs. POPE. When I last seen Mr. Hiss he lived at the Thirtieth Street house.

Mr. STRIPLING. No; but when did you last see him? When was the last time that you saw Mr. Hiss?

Mrs. POPE. When they lived at Thirtieth Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. No; when was the last time you saw Mr. Hiss, Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. NIXON. Not where was the last time you worked for him.

Mrs. POPE. No; I am not saying—I never worked at the Thirtieth Street house.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was the last time you saw him?

Mrs. POPE. I am telling you now that was the last time, because I went there when the little boy got hurt, and I went to the house and saw the boy and I saw him then, and I have not seen him since.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was the last time you talked to him?

Mrs. POPE. Then.

Mr. STRIPLING. At that time, you have not talked to him on the telephone?

Mrs. POPE. No; I have not.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was the last time you saw Donald Hiss?

Mrs. POPE. I have not seen Donald Hiss for a long while.

Mr. STRIPLING. Two years?

Mrs. POPE. Longer than that.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was the last time you saw Mrs. Alger Hiss?

Mrs. POPE. When I went back to see the boy when he got hurt.

Mr. STRIPLING. On Thirtieth Street?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was the last time you saw him?

Do you think that was the last time?

Mrs. POPE. When I went back.

Mr. NIXON. Mrs. Pope, have you discussed this matter of your testimony here this morning with your employer, your present employer?

Mrs. POPE. I just told him this morning that I remembered that I—I remembered the P Street house.

Mr. NIXON. You discussed it with Mrs. Howard, too, did you not?

Mrs. POPE. I discussed it with her coming down.

Mr. NIXON. She asked you some questions. Who else have you discussed this with?

Mrs. POPE. No one else.

Mr. NIXON. You are sure of that?

Mrs. POPE. I am sure of that.

Mr. NIXON. The first time you have discussed it was with Mrs. Howard and your present employer?

Mrs. POPE. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You have never talked on the telephone with Mr. Hiss?

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. NIXON. Or last year?

Mrs. POPE. No; I have not seen Mr. Hiss or talked to him—wait a minute. I talked to Mrs. Hiss about several years ago. She wanted me to come back to work for her. But that was all in the case. That is all. She just wanted me to come back, and did not say anything else.

Mr. NIXON. Did you talk to a friend of Mr. Hiss' lately?

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. NIXON. You have not?

Mrs. POPE. I have not.

Mr. NIXON. You are sure of that?

Mrs. POPE. I am sure of that.

Mr. NIXON. Did you talk to an attorney for Mr. Hiss?

Mrs. POPE. I have not. I don't know his attorney.

Mr. NIXON. They have not come to see you?

Mrs. POPE. No; nobody has come to see me.

Mr. NIXON. And as far as this car is concerned, they had the car, the Ford, all the time that you worked for them?

Mrs. POPE. All the time that I worked for them.

Mr. NIXON. They did not have a new car?

Mrs. POPE. No; they did not.

Mr. NIXON. And you recall that you worked for them in the P Street house for, as you recall it, 4 or 5 months?

Mrs. POPE. It might have been longer, but all I can remember is that it is about that. I don't know.

Mr. NIXON. Was that the summer, do you recall? Was it the summer or the winter or the fall when you were working at P Street, do you recall?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember. It might have been. I just don't remember that.

Mr. NIXON. Yes. Now, I think we can get that point pretty well determined. You said you went to work for your present employer 12 years ago, in September.

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. How do you remember that? Your employer knows that; is that the point?

Mrs. POPE. I remember that.

Mr. NIXON. How do you remember that?

Mrs. POPE. Because I remember the time when I went there; that is all.

Mr. NIXON. And you know it was 12 years ago?

Mrs. POPE. Sure.

Mr. NIXON. Well, that would be, you see, September 1936; you see that would be 12 years ago, and you remember that that is what it was.

Now, between the time that you left the Hisses and went to work in September 1936, will you again tell us how you worked, for whom you worked, and about how long you worked for each, as best as you can recall? Just take your time.

Mrs. POPE. I worked for Mrs. Veitch.

Mr. NIXON. What is that?

Mrs. POPE. I worked for Mrs. Veitch.

Mr. NIXON. How long did you work for her?

Mrs. POPE. I don't know. It is about 6 months probably.

Mr. NIXON. About 6 months. All right, who else did you work for?

Mrs. POPE. Mrs. Pasternak.

Mr. NIXON. And for her how long did you work?

Mrs. POPE. About 2 months. I think that is all.

Mr. NIXON. About 2 months. In other words, those are the only two people you worked for?

Mrs. POPE. That is all.

Mr. NIXON. That would be 8 months, so, according to that, you left the Hisses probably at the end of 1935, is that correct, in about December 1935; does that sound about right to you?

Mrs. POPE. I do not know. It could have been. I do not know, to tell you the truth. It is so long that I could not remember that, just what time I left them.

Mr. NIXON. But you did not take a vacation between the time you left the Hisses and went to work for these other people?

Mrs. POPE. Yes; I was idle for a while.

Mr. NIXON. About how long were you idle? That is the point.

Mrs. POPE. About a couple of months or something like that.

Mr. NIXON. About a couple of months of idleness. That would be about 10 months. So, you could have left them in October, and you do not recall when you worked at P Street, whether it was summer or winter or fall? You do not recall anything occurred—you do not recall anything about the type of work you did? Do you remember whether you had to put up the shutters for the wintertime, or whether there was snow which was tramped in?

Mrs. POPE. There was not any snow.

Mr. NIXON. No snow.

Did the Hisses ever have any guests who stayed overnight at the P Street house?

Mrs. POPE. Not as I know of.

Mr. NIXON. Well, you would know because you would have to make the beds, would you not?

Mrs. POPE. Well, sometimes I would make the beds—no, I don't think they had anybody, not in my time. If they had anybody it was probably after I left over there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Pope, if Mrs. Chambers, who is, as I have said, a dark person—she has real black hair—her complexion is almost sun-tanned, I would say, very dark—and this picture which I show you, two pictures, of a man holding a child—that was their baby—Mr. and Mrs. Chambers with the baby—now, Mrs. Hiss and Mr. Hiss, Mr. Chambers and Mrs. Chambers, all of them agree that they visited with the Hisses and they agree that it was 3 or 4, maybe 5 days and nights that they stayed there. Now, if when you were working there, if they had had a person with a small baby visiting them for, say, 4 or 5 days, you would remember it, would you not?

Mrs. POPE. It seemed like I would, but I don't remember that.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is no reason why you should.

Mr. NIXON. We don't want you to remember a thing that you do not.

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. I do not think you were employed there at this time, but I want you to be sure that you would remember that.

Mrs. POPE. It looked like I would, but I don't remember seeing that baby.

MR. STRIPLING. You never had any recollection of any person with a baby coming in and staying with them?

Mrs. POPE. No.

MR. NIXON. Not while you were with them?

Mrs. POPE. No.

MR. NIXON. Do you know who went to work for the Hisses after you left?

Mrs. POPE. No; I do not.

MR. NIXON. You have not any recollection at all?

Mrs. POPE. No; I do not.

MR. STRIPLING. Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

MR. NIXON. Thank you, Mrs. Pope. You have been a very cooperative witness, and we appreciate your having taken the time off from your work to give the committee the benefit of your recollection of these incidents.

MR. STRIPLING. If any of this comes to your mind, just call us, just call the Capitol, and ask for the Committee on Un-American Activities. We are just trying to find out the facts.

MR. NIXON. We just want the facts, the truth, whatever it is. We are not trying to—we want to get the truth as far as you recall it, and we appreciate your having come in this morning.

Mrs. POPE. Thank you.

MR. STRIPLING. Mrs. Pope, this is an executive session. In other words, this means that what happens in here is not for the public. If newspapermen ask you what you said or this, that, or the other, it is an executive session. You are not supposed to say what you said in here.

MR. NIXON. Just tell them you are not saying anything.

Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Cherner is the next witness, Mr. Chairman.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Cherner, will you please stand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. CHERNER. Yes.

MR. NIXON. Be seated, please.

All right, Mr. Stripling.

### TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH CHERNER

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Cherner, the purpose of this executive session of the committee is to determine certain facts regarding the sale or disposition of a Ford automobile which was owned by Alger Hiss. We have examined the records in the Department of Motor Vehicles for the District of Columbia, and as a result of that examination there are certain matters which we desire to clear up.

Now, Mr. Russell, will you proceed to ask Mr. Cherner the questions?

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, will you state your address, first?

MR. CHERNER. My business address?

MR. RUSSELL. Your home address.

MR. CHERNER. 1630 Juniper.



Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, how long have you been in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. CHERNER. Since December 24, 1911.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you born in the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where were you born?

Mr. CHERNER. I was born in Russia.

Mr. RUSSELL. What city?

Mr. CHERNER. It is a little town called Kadin.

Mr. RUSSELL. What year were you born and what was the date?

Mr. CHERNER. The 23d of March 1898.

Mr. RUSSELL. And when did you come to the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. December 24, 1911.

Mr. RUSSELL. 1911?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you become naturalized?

Mr. CHERNER. I believe in 1926.

Mr. RUSSELL. 1926?

Mr. CHERNER. I believe it is somewhere around there.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you remember where?

Mr. CHERNER. In Washington.

Mr. RUSSELL. In Washington, D. C.?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever lived in any city outside of Washington, D. C.?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, off and on; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you arrived in the United States at what port did you arrive?

Mr. CHERNER. We arrived in Baltimore.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, have you ever been acquainted with an individual by the name of Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHERNER. I don't think so.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your answer?

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

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I mean I don't know him.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't know him?

Mr. CHERNER. I may know him when I see him as a customer, but I don't believe I have ever seen him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen his picture?

Mr. CHERNER. In the papers; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have examined the newspapers?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes. I mean I read the paper, of course, but I would not know his picture if I see him now.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been acquainted with an individual known as J. Peters?

Mr. CHERNER. Who?

Mr. RUSSELL. J. Peters.

Mr. CHERNER. J. Peters? I did not get the name.

Mr. RUSSELL. J. Peters.

Mr. CHERNER. I don't know him; no.

Mr. RUSSELL. You don't. You have never been acquainted with J. Peters?

Mr. CHERNER. J. Peters; no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever known an individual by the name of Alexander Stevens?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever known an individual by the name of Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. CHERNER. Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. STRIPLING. Isidore Boorstein. Do you know Mr. Boorstein? Is this Mr. Boorstein [showing witness a photograph]?

Mr. CHERNER. I don't think so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know that individual?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never saw him?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, this is a picture of J. Peters, alias Alexander Stevens, alias Isidore Boorstein. The witness has testified that he does not know this individual.

Mr. NIXON. The witness testified that he has never seen the individual.

Mr. CHERNER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. He does not know him?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, are you a member of any organizations at the present time?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you name them?

Mr. CHERNER. I am a member of the Masonic Lodge, member of the Zionist Organization—in fact, president of the Zionist Organization in Washington.

Mr. RUSSELL. What other organizations?

Mr. CHERNER. Washington Board of Trade, Variety Club. I have to look through my wallet and see.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you a member of the Biro-Bidjan committee?

Mr. CHERNER. I never heard of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Biro-Bidjan.

Mr. CHERNER. Biro-Bidjan, that is the Russian—no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you a member of that committee?

Mr. CHERNER. Never have been; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been a member of that committee?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Samuel Lichtenstein?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is he a member of the Biro-Bidjan committee?

Mr. CHERNER. Is he what?

Mr. RUSSELL. Is he a member of the Biro-Bidjan committee?

Mr. CHERNER. I could not tell you; I don't—

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever attend any meetings of the Biro-Bidjan committee?

Mr. CHERNER. I don't—

Mr. RUSSELL. You were never elected to any office in the Biro-Bidjan committee?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever make application to become a member?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been solicited to join the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have Mr. Cherner write the name and address of this person whose name I will give him at least 12 times.

Mr. NIXON. Yes; that is all right.

Mr. RUSSELL. The name is William Rosen, and the address is 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.

Mr. CHERNER. Do you want it 10 times?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

(The witness wrote the name and address as directed.)

Mr. NIXON. You may proceed, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know an individual named Benjamin Bialek?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you well acquainted with him?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, I know him; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long have you known him?

Mr. CHERNER. Oh, I have known him over 30 years.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you familiar with an address where Mr. Bialek lived, which was located at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW?

Mr. CHERNER. I know where the place is, but I don't know where he lives.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever visit him at that address, as far as you can recall?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir; never.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know an individual by the name of William Rosen?

Mr. CHERNER. I don't think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. This particular William Rosen is in the dry-cleaning business.

Mr. CHERNER. I don't believe I know him. I may know him when I see him, but offhand I would say "No."

Mr. RUSSELL. You have no recollection that you ever sold an automobile to William Rosen?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, I happen to know that we sold him a \$25 car when I saw it in the papers, but I don't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. You don't remember?

Mr. CHERNER. I don't remember selling it to him.

Mr. RUSSELL. What papers did you see that in? According to the newspapers?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; I saw it in the Saturday News. Someone called my attention to it, and I just read about it.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not remember the transaction at all?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether or not a 1929 Ford roadster was ever left on the premises of the company which you operate for the purpose of resale of the automobile to William Rosen?

Mr. CHERNER. I do not recall; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not remember anyone by the name of William Rosen at all?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. But you are acquainted with Benjamin Bialek?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is he the owner of the Petworth Pharmacy?

Mr. CHERNER. I think he is a part owner.

Mr. RUSSELL. Part owner. I have no further questions.

I have one other question.

Did Mr. Bialek ever send anyone to you for the purpose of buying an automobile?

Mr. CHERNER. To buy which automobile, this particular automobile or any automobile?

Mr. RUSSELL. Any automobile.

Mr. CHERNER. Oh, yes; we did business with them; they bought cars from us.

Mr. RUSSELL. But did he ever send any other individual to purchase a car from you?

Mr. CHERNER. He may have recommended, I am not positive.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, do you know whether or not he did? You say you are not positive. Do you have any positive recollection that he ever did send someone to you for the purpose of purchasing an automobile?

Mr. CHERNER. I cannot say definite; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. What do Mr. Cherner's records show regarding this sale of this automobile?

Mr. RUSSELL. We have another witness. We want the record to show that we went through the records, and we cannot find any records which show anything relating to this particular automobile at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you go through the records of Mr. Cherner?

Mr. RUSSELL. We went through the records with the treasurer.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is no record of that transaction?

Mr. RUSSELL. No.

Mr. CHERNER. That was in 1936; was it not?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right; 1936.

Mr. CHERNER. We probably would not keep records that far back.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, they had a great number of other records.

Mr. NIXON. That record was missing from the other records?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You just said, Mr. Cherner, that you do not have any records that go that far back.

Mr. CHERNER. I do not know about that.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know whether you had any records for that month?

Mr. CHERNER. I do not know.

Mr. NIXON. You just said you probably did not have records that go that far back.

Mr. CHERNER. I said we do not have records that go that far back.

Mr. NIXON. But Mr. Russell went over there and found records for that month. How did he find those records?

Mr. CHERNER. I do not know that.

Mr. NIXON. Well, your testimony is that you do not have—you are not trying to tell us that you do not have records for that month. But the records for that particular transaction are missing; is that correct?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right. We cannot find a record of that. However, we have a little more testimony; we have another witness who will testify on that point.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Cherner, you were the head of the concern, were you not?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were the head of it in 1936?

Mr. CHERNER. Oh, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have no recollection whatsoever regarding this transaction?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Cherner, do you often take in cars with just paying no money at all to people who brought them in?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You did not. Very seldom does somebody come in and give you a car to get rid of it.

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir. I do not believe we took this one in for nothing. We must have paid something for it.

Mr. NIXON. You realize the records show that you did take it in for nothing.

Mr. CHERNER. I do not know what the record shows, but I can tell you this: I do not know any car that we have ever gotten for nothing. We have always paid something for it. Now, it may be that where people come in and they trade a car in and they say, "Here, take this car off my hands, and give me something for it, and some day I will buy a car."

Mr. NIXON. This was not a trade-in.

Mr. CHERNER. I do not know.

Mr. NIXON. You do not know how it could happen that you took it in for nothing?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Very unusual. If this car was taken in for nothing, it would be very much of an unusual thing. If it was taken in for nothing, would you be very much surprised?

Mr. CHERNER. Very much surprised.

Mr. NIXON. In your business you have to pay for everything you get.

Mr. CHERNER. Either pay for it or issue a credit.

Mr. NIXON. But in that case you would be selling a new car to the individual who had brought the car in.

Mr. CHERNER. Well, let me explain to you, not always. Sometimes we have had cars given to us in trade for some future date, and people never showed up, and we still have the credit on the books.

Mr. NIXON. Now, as cars go, Mr. Cherner, you, as a used-car dealer, and a very big one, you probably can help the committee on this point. Do you know approximately what the value, shall we say, what you might term the junk value, of a '29 Ford car would have been in 1936, a roadster? What is the lowest value that you might put upon it?

Mr. CHERNER. Probably about \$25, and sometimes even \$15. We have sold them for junk.

Mr. NIXON. \$15?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, they were worth even that for junk.

Mr. CHERNER. \$15, \$25.

Mr. NIXON. Even if the car could not run, you could get that out of it just for parts.

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; I think so.

Mr. NIXON. Suppose the car was in running condition, that is, would it still be worth about that if you were buying it?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, in those days, of course, we were selling a lot of cars.

Mr. NIXON. I understand.

Mr. CHERNER. The '29 car was practically worthless, \$25, \$50. It depends on the condition of the car, of course.

Mr. NIXON. It is worth at least \$25.

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; it would be worth \$25.

Mr. STRIPLING. If it were running.

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; it would be worth \$25.

Mr. NIXON. All right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, I would like to show you a picture, and ask you if you can identify the individual whose photograph appears on this document [showing witness a photograph].

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir; I do not know him.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have never seen that individual who resembles that picture?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will show you another picture of the same individual and ask you if you can identify him [showing witness a photograph].

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever seen anyone who resembles the man who appears in this picture?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, have you ever contributed any money to the Biro-Bidjan Committee?

Mr. CHERNER. I do not remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not remember?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir. I do not remember contributing any money.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you say positively that you have not contributed to the Biro-Bidjan Committee?

Mr. CHERNER. I cannot say that, and I will tell you why, I will explain that to you. Mrs. Bialek came to see me—it was a long time ago, maybe 10 or 15 years ago—she was all put out because we did not give her some money, and I do not remember what the purpose was, and at that time they were buying cars from us.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mrs. who?

Mr. CHERNER. Mrs. Bialek, and I remember just at that time, just to pacify her, I do not know whether it was \$25 or \$50 or \$100, but it was done more or less as a gesture to a customer for good will or something like that. Now, whether it was for Biro-Bidjan or some other purpose, I don't know, but I cannot tell you.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, would it refresh your recollection if you were told that when this automobile was sold to William Rosen, the address which he gave was that of Benjamin Bialek?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, I would not know that because I never handled the used-car business myself. As you know, I have got a manager for the used-car department.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who handled it?

Mr. CHERNER. In 1936 the manager was Floyd Brewer.

Mr. NIXON. You did not handle them?

Mr. CHERNER. I never handled the used car direct. I have got men who work for me, and the manager of that department was Floyd Brewer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where is he now?

Mr. CHERNER. He is now with my brother in business in the Cherner-Brewer Co.

Mr. NIXON. That is another business. Your brother was not in business with you then?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes, he was working for me, together with Mr. Brewer; but he at that time was just a used-car salesman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are they now?

Mr. CHERNER. Wisconsin Avenue.

Mr. STRIPLING. Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. CHERNER. Cherner-Brewer, not Cherner; no connection.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you older than your brother?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; I am the oldest.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he born in Russia?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Do you think that probably Floyd Brewer is the man who might have handled this transaction?

Mr. CHERNER. Probably.

Mr. NIXON. You had nothing to do with it?

Mr. CHERNER. Can I ask a question?

Mr. NIXON. Certainly.

Mr. CHERNER. Didn't they give you a bill—didn't they show you a bill? I thought they had some kind of invoice.

Mr. RUSSELL. They had no record of this transaction whatsoever.

Mr. CHERNER. That is unusual.

Mr. NIXON. It certainly is.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you have any knowledge as to what happened to the books and records for the year 1936, 1937?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, they are all kept in the same place in the storage room there, but I understand that they had some trouble there. Rats would come in, and they destroyed a lot of things. We usually do not keep our records over 5 years.

Mr. RUSSELL. It would seem that they would keep all sales records pertaining to particular car sales.

Mr. CHERNER. Well, we do not keep them—we do not have to keep them longer than 5 years. I mean, there is no point to it, and particularly a \$25 car. There is nothing in it. There can be no dispute about that.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is aall.

Mr. NIXON. Is that all? Well, thank you, Mr. Cherner. The next witness will be Mr. S. A. Mensh.

Mr. Mensh, will you stand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MENSII. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Be seated.

Mr. Mensh, before you testify, I want to instruct you as to what this hearing is about. This is a hearing of the Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities investigating Communist activities in the United States.

As a result of our investigations, it has become very material for us to determine what became of a 1929 Ford roadster, which we have traced to the Cherner Motor Co. All questions that will be put to you concerning this roadster are material questions, and under the law I want you to know for your own information that in the event that the answer that is given is proved to be false, it will subject you to perjury.

I also want to instruct you that in the event you do not remember concerning the transaction, you may so testify; but if it appears later that you have testified that you did not remember, when actually you did, when actually you had facts within your knowledge which we may learn through other sources indicate that you did remember that, that also would subject you to perjury.

I wish you to be instructed on this point, because I do not want a witness to go into a hearing without having full knowledge of what his rights are.

Mr. Russell, will you question the witness?

#### TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL A. MENSII

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name, Mr. Mensh?

Mr. MENSII. Samuel A. Mensh.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address; your residence address?

Mr. MENSII. 1370 Tuckerman Street NW.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Mensh?

Mr. MENSII. Born in Washington, D. C., August 30, 1904.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present occupation?

Mr. MENSII. Vice president and sales manager of Cherner Motor Co.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long have you been associated with the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. MENSII. Since August 1932.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Mensh, yesterday I showed you a certificate of title of a motor vehicle registered in the District of Columbia. Would you tell the committee whether or not you have any recollection of the transaction to which that certificate of title pertained?

Mr. MENSII. None whatever.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know an individual named Benjamin Bialek, or Bialek, B-i-a-l-e-k?

Mr. MENSII. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know an individual by the name of William Rosen?

Mr. MENSII. No, sir.



MR. RUSSELL. Do you know an individual by the name of Alger Hiss?

MR. MENSII. No, sir.

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take some handwriting specimens from Mr. Mensh at this time.

MR. NIXON. You may proceed, Mr. Russell.

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Mensh, will you write the name William Rosen, the address 5405 Thirteenth Street NW., and will you print the "NW."?

(The witness complied with Mr. Russell's request.)

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Mensh, do you belong to any organization at the present time?

MR. MENSII. I belong to Masonic Lodge, Pentalpha No. 23; I belong to the Kallipolis Grotto; I belong to the Amity Club. I belong to—well, I did belong to the B'nai B'rith, but I probably am not a member now. I have not paid my dues for several years, and I suppose I am still on the rolls, I do not know. Let me see now: I think—I belonged to the Indian Springs Country Club. I do not know whether you want that or not.

MR. STRIPLING. You never belonged to the Communist Party, did you? You have never belonged to the Communist Party, have you, Mr. Mensh?

MR. MENSII. No, sir; never.

MR. RUSSELL. You never made application to join the Communist Party?

MR. MENSII. No; never.

MR. RUSSELL. Have you ever contributed to the Biro-Bidjan Committee?

MR. MENSII. To the who?

MR. RUSSELL. Biro-Bidjan Committee.

MR. MENSII. I never heard of them.

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner never discussed this committee with you?

MR. MENSII. Never discussed that with me.

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Mensh, in 1936 who was in charge of used-car sales for the Cherner Motor Co.?

MR. MENSII. I believe Mr. Brewer was in charge of used-car sales at that time.

MR. RUSSELL. Is that Mr. Floyd Brewer?

MR. MENSII. Floyd Brewer; yes. I am pretty certain it was he at that time.

MR. RUSSELL. On that particular application which I showed you yesterday, can you recall any of the circumstances surrounding the execution of your signature on that document?

MR. MENSII. I really cannot. We handled so many, you know, and I have the right to sign the titles, and when the deals are made they are brought in; they bring 5 or 6 or 10 titles. I mean they may bring a dozen titles to me a day, and things are all made out, and all I do is sign my name, sign my name to them.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you make it a practice to examine the automobiles to which those titles pertain?

MR. MENSII. No; I do now when we buy a car, understand, but in those days we had the used car manager, and he made the trans-

action, and then when the titles were ready to be executed, I signed them.

Mr. RUSSELL. According to the best of your recollection, what was the value of a 1929 Ford roadster during the year 1936?

Mr. MENSII. I would say, according to the—I would say \$50; \$50, \$75.

Mr. NIXON. That was on a cash purchase?

Mr. MENSII. I would say on a cash purchase or sale—in those days, you know, in 1936, that roadster only delivered for around \$400 or \$500 new, I think, and I can remember in 1936 and 1937 and 1938 we used to sell 1937 roadsters for \$150 in those days.

Mr. NIXON. What about the trade-in value, Mr. Mensh?

Mr. MENSII. The trade-in value would probably have been about the same. We did not buy too many cars in those days, because there was not much profit in buying or selling—

Mr. STRIPLING. Used cars.

Mr. MENSII. Used cars; that is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know why—

Mr. MENSII. It is probably worth more now than it was then.

Mr. NIXON. Probably true.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you looked into this particular transaction any yourself?

Mr. MENSII. You mean in the newspapers?

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you read anything about it?

Mr. MENSII. You mean in the newspapers?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. MENSII. I was out of town Friday. They told me it was in the newspapers. I did not see a Washington newspaper. I was out of town Friday, but they tell me it was in the Washington papers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, the Washington News came out with a story that according to the records no money was received for this car. Mr. Hiss did not get anything for it. The same day it was sold to a man named William Rosen. Would that not be a kind of strange transaction?

Mr. MENSII. It would be very strange.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not know where we might find the record; do you?

Mr. MENSII. I really don't. I think this gentleman was up there yesterday and went through a bushel of them. I think your next witness could probably tell you more about that. He was in the office end of it. I was only in the sales end of it. I do not recall it at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. NIXON. You would say a transaction in which no money was paid to the seller would be a most unusual transaction.

Mr. MENSII. Most unusual, I would say.

Mr. NIXON. A Ford, a 1929 Ford, in any condition, even if it were junk, would probably be worth \$25.

Mr. MENSII. I cannot conceive of anybody walking into our place and giving us an automobile unless you had a new car to give them. Of course, today we have people offering to give us a used car if we will deliver a new car.

Mr. NIXON. That is a different matter.

Mr. MENSII. That is a different proposition. But in those days \$25 was a lot more than \$25 is today.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any more questions?

Mr. RUSSELL. I have nothing further.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you very much, Mr. Mensh. We appreciate your coming down.

Mr. MENSH. Thank you.

Mr. NIXON. The next witness will be Henry J. Gertler.

Would you please stand, Mr. Gertler? Would you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

### TESTIMONY OF HENRY J. GERTLER

Mr. NIXON. I will instruct the witness, then, that every question which will be asked during this inquiry is material to an investigation which the committee is at present conducting, and that answers given by the witness, if proved to have been deliberately false, will, of course, subject him to perjury.

I also want to instruct the witness that if the witness on any particular question does not remember a particular transaction, he has the right so to testify, and should so testify. But if, as a matter of fact, he says he does not remember, when the fact appears later that he had facts within his knowledge that show that he did remember the transaction, that would also subject him to perjury.

I want the witness to be thoroughly instructed on what his rights are before he begins to testify.

Mr. Russell, would you please ask the witness the questions you have.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name, Mr. Gertler?

Mr. GERTLER. Henry J. Gertler.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address, your home address?

Mr. GERTLER. 1436 Iris Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Gertler?

Mr. GERTLER. Born in Brooklyn, N. Y., August 25, 1906.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you first come to Washington, D. C.?

Mr. GERTLER. I think it was July of 1920.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present occupation?

Mr. GERTLER. Secretary and treasurer of the Cherner Motor Co.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long have you been secretary and treasurer of the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. GERTLER. 1930.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you first become affiliated with the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. GERTLER. Well, the Cherner Motor Co. was organized in 1930.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Gertler, have you ever known an individual by the name of J. Peters?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever known anyone by the name of Alexander Stevens?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever known anyone by the name of Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. GERTLER. I do not remember. I have heard the name several times, but I do not know if I know such a person.

Mr. RUSSELL. This particular individual is also known as J. Peters and Alexander Stevens.

Mr. GERTLER. No; I do not know him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Alexander Goldberg?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. You don't know him at all?

Mr. GERTLER. Except what I have read in the newspapers.

Mr. RUSSELL. What you have read in the newspapers?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know any individual by the name of William Rosen? This particular individual is in the dry-cleaning business.

Mr. GERTLER. No; I do not remember, except the information that you showed me yesterday.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Do you know a Benjamin Bialek or Bialek, B-i-a-l-e-k?

Mr. GERTLER. I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Theodore Bialek?

Mr. GERTLER. No, I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Robert Bialek?

Mr. GERTLER. No, I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Aaron Bialek? Have you ever heard of an individual by that name?

Mr. GERTLER. I have heard the name, but I swear I do not know them.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not know them personally?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know how you heard of the name?

Mr. GERTLER. I think there is a Bialek that used to be connected with, I think it was, the Petworth Pharmacy. I never knew the man.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never knew him.

Mr. NIXON. Is the Petworth Pharmacy a customer of Cherner Motors? You sold them cars?

Mr. GERTLER. I would not say for sure. I am not sure. The name strikes a chord, but I don't know the man.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are not socially acquainted with any of the Bialeks?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether or not any one of the Bialeks ever asked you to contribute any funds to the Biro-Bidjan Committee?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Any other organization?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Gertler, yesterday I exhibited a document to you which was a certificate of title of a motor vehicle which was issued by the Director of Vehicles and Traffic of the District of Columbia.

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Your name appeared on this document as a notary public under the signature of Mr. S. A. Mensh. Do you recall signing that document?

Mr. GERTLER. That is my signature.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall any of the circumstances surrounding the signature to this document?

Mr. GERTLER. No, I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the sale of this automobile at all?

Mr. GERTLER. No; I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. The document pertaining to the sale of a Ford roadster, 1929 model, which bore the motor No. A-21,888,119-19-33; you cannot recall any of the circumstances surrounding the sale of that automobile?

Mr. GERTLER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. In the records of your company; how would this sale have been recorded at that time?

Mr. GERTLER. It would have been recorded on a car invoice and in the sales records.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would there have been a sales invoice made out for this particular sale?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. What other documents would have been executed in connection with the sale of this automobile?

Mr. GERTLER. The title.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was this the title which was turned over to the Cherner Motor Co.? In other words, was a title identical to this ever turned over to the Cherner Motor Co. at any time?

Mr. GERTLER. I imagine so. That is a photostatic copy of it.

Mr. RUSSELL. What disposition would have been made of that title?

Mr. GERTLER. That title would—it contains an application there which would have gone to the Traffic Bureau for processing.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yesterday, we examined certain records which were available in your office in an effort to locate the sales invoice pertaining thereon to this particular sale. Is it your recollection that the sales invoice pertaining to this sale could not be located?

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. What, in your opinion, happened to the sales invoice pertaining to this particular transaction?

Mr. GERTLER. That I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is that?

Mr. GERTLER. I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know what other records the company has in its possession which might help to identify or trace this transaction further?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. The sales invoices which we examined yesterday for the month of July 1936 are all of the invoices which the company has in its possession pertaining to that particular month at this time?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall turning those records over to an individual who was an investigator for this committee by the name of McKillips?

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Those documents were turned over by virtue of a subpoena served upon you yesterday by Mr. McKillips, were they not?

Mr. GERTLER. I understood the subpoena was for me, but if it would help out any I gave him the records to look over.

Mr. RUSSELL. All right. At least, those documents were turned over in compliance with the subpoena.

Mr. GERTLER. Yes, that is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Gertler, are you a member of any organizations at the present time?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you name the organizations, please?

Mr. GERTLER. I am a Mason, Masonic order, Samuel Gompers Lodge. That is about all.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is that the only organization to which you belong?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

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

Mr. GERTLER. The what?

Mr. RUSSELL. A member of the Communist Party.

Mr. GERTLER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Of the United States?

Mr. GERTLER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever file an application with the Communist Party?

Mr. GERTLER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Has your membership in the party ever been solicited by anybody?

Mr. GERTLER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, were you ever asked to become a member?

Mr. GERTLER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. NIXON. Let me see this, off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

Mr. NIXON. I would like to ask the witness to look at this document which I have just handed him, which is a photostatic copy of the transaction involving this 1929 Ford car, which the committee is interested in. I would like for the witness to tell me, first of all, whether you have seen that document before.

Mr. GERTLER. Yes; I have.

Mr. NIXON. You have studied the document?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, from looking at this document, can you tell me what was paid by the Cherner Co., if anything, to Mr. Hiss for the automobile?

Mr. GERTLER. No; we could not tell from this document.

Mr. NIXON. Where would that information be available?

Mr. GERTLER. That would be either through a cashbook entry or a journal entry.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Is the sales price of the car an item which appears in that copy?

Mr. GERTLER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. What appears in the document with regard to the sales price?

Mr. GERTLER. The only information that ever appears on the title is the lien on the amount due.

Mr. NIXON. The lien. What amount of lien appears?

Mr. GERTLER. \$25.

Mr. NIXON. The sales price could have been more than that?

Mr. GERTLER. It would have to be more.

Mr. STRIPLING. It would have to be more?

Mr. GERTLER. I will take that back. Customarily, no dealer sells a car and takes a note for the entire purchase price of the car. So that is why I say that customarily the purchase price would have been more than the amount of the lien.

Mr. NIXON. Yes; but it could have been, say, \$25.

Mr. GERTLER. It could have been \$25.

Mr. NIXON. But most likely it would have been considerably more than that. How much down did you generally take if you sold a car, say, for \$50? Would you give a lien for \$50 on it?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. You would ask for at least half down, I suppose?

Mr. GERTLER. I would say, for a car of this age, that the only way it would be sold would be for cash, with a possibility that the purchaser did not have the full amount of the cash, and they take a note for a small amount.

Mr. NIXON. It is rather unusual to have as much as a \$25 lien on a 1929 car, a car which is 7 years old?

Mr. GERTLER. This was a 7-year-old car.

Mr. NIXON. And if that car was in that condition at that time, a \$25 lien would be most unusual.

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You will note the address, the name of the purchaser, that is given on that car.

Mr. GERTLER. Yes. It is William—

Mr. NIXON. It is William Rosen, is it not?

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. The address which the purchaser gave is false. Is there any way that you could have found that out when you sold the car to him?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. Where is this certificate prepared? Is that prepared by the dealer or is it prepared down at the registrar of motor vehicles?

Mr. GERTLER. Registrar of motor vehicles.

Mr. NIXON. But the dealer must apparently go down there to complete the certificate, because I note that your name is on it.

Mr. GERTLER. Customarily—

Mr. NIXON. How is that done?

Do you go down each time you sell a car to the registrar of motor vehicles and fill out a certificate or are they available at your place of business?

Mr. GERTLER. No; the way this was is that Hiss or somebody else sold or traded in his car to us.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you said—just a moment—somebody else. Look again at the transaction. You will note that it is signed by Mr. Hiss.

Mr. GERTLER. The reason I make that statement is, for example, if my son had an automobile, and I was going to trade the car in to the Cherner Motor Co., my son would sign the title and I would trade it in in my name. That transaction is possible.

Mr. NIXON. But I mean at the time this transaction occurred Mr. Hiss owned the car.

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. There is no question about that.

Mr. GERTLER. No; the car is registered in Hiss' name, and Hiss assigned the title to the Cherner Motor Co.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. GERTLER. The Cherner Motor Co., in turn, sold the car and assigned the car to Mr. Rosen.

Mr. NIXON. In fact, you notarized Mr. Hiss' signature.

Mr. GERTLER. W. Marvin Smith notarized that.

Mr. NIXON. Who is W. Marvin Smith?

Mr. GERTLER. In the District of Columbia.

Mr. NIXON. Where; in your place of business?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. It was done on the outside?

Mr. GERTLER. Done on the outside.

Mr. NIXON. Where could it have been done?

Mr. GERTLER. Anywhere in the District.

Mr. NIXON. I understand, but this certificate of title, could it have been done down at the Department of Motor Vehicles?

Mr. GERTLER. That I do not know. I do not know where Marvin Smith is located.

Mr. NIXON. Now, when Mr. Hiss sold this car, then, the car was brought in to you. What did you do? What did you do with the car? How did you get connected with the transaction? You have notarized the signature on there, have you not?

Mr. GERTLER. I notarized the signature of the assignment at the time we disposed of the car.

Mr. NIXON. At the time you disposed of the car, you notarized the signature of William Rosen?

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you are swearing now that William Rosen said, "This is my signature."

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And if William Rosen were brought before you, you probably would recognize him, would you not?

Mr. GERTLER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. But you are swearing now that a man came before you and said, "I am William Rosen, and I am living at an address, and I am assigning a chattel mortgage on this car to the Cherner Motor Co."

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And as a notary public you took that acknowledgment.

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And you would not have taken that acknowledgment unless William Rosen so held himself out?

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. You could not have, under the law, because otherwise you would have violated your oath of office.

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. You do not know William Rosen at all?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. The fact that this was a most unusual transaction on a battered-up '29 car that would not run does not have any recollection to you as to when he came before you and signed that?

Mr. GERTLER. No.



Mr. NIXON. When did he come down to you? You say that was done at the Department of Motor Vehicles?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. You told me that a moment ago.

Mr. GERTLER. No; the application for title was signed at my office.

Mr. NIXON. That is the application for title that you have got here?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Then, this whole document was done in your office here.

Mr. GERTLER. Yes; the title came to us already assigned.

Mr. NIXON. Just a moment. This whole transaction, as you will note, from the dates, occurred on the same date.

Mr. GERTLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Isn't it possible that the whole transaction could have occurred in your office on the same day?

Mr. GERTLER. No.

Mr. NIXON. Why could it not?

Mr. GERTLER. If the transaction, the whole thing, had taken place in our office we would have notarized his signature.

Mr. NIXON. You would have notarized both?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, Mr. Hiss got his signature notarized outside, and brought this car in with the balance of the application in blank?

Mr. GERTLER. No; it appears that the assignment was filled in by W. Marvin Smith.

Mr. NIXON. Yes; that is, it was notarized by W. Marvin Smith.

Mr. GERTLER. Now, the placing of our name, as the purchaser of the car, was done by Marvin Smith. It looks like similar writing.

Mr. NIXON. You mean Marvin Smith bought this car?

Mr. GERTLER. No; I say Marvin Smith wrote the name of the Cherner Motor Co. in on the assignment.

Mr. NIXON. Alger Hiss wrote the name of the Cherner Motor Co. in the assignment.

Mr. GERTLER. It might be either handwriting.

Mr. NIXON. You cannot tell, can you?

Mr. GERTLER. No; it may be either one.

Mr. NIXON. It could be either one, could it not?

Mr. GERTLER. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. All right.

Mr. GERTLER. The title came into our place with the name filled in on the assignment.

Mr. NIXON. How would that title come to you?

I just want to get this transaction in my mind as to how it worked.

Mr. GERTLER. Well, the title came in to us at the time the car came in to us.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. GERTLER. In other words, when we either traded or purchased the car, the title came along with the car.

Mr. NIXON. I see. This is what you call the title?

Mr. GERTLER. This is the title right here.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. GERTLER. This title remained in our file until we disposed of the car.

Mr. NIXON. The same day?

Mr. GERTLER. That is right, in our office. When we sell the car we reassign the car and have the purchaser sign the application at the bottom here.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. GERTLER. And we send these applications down to the Traffic Bureau.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. GERTLER. Now, the way this application is made up, it is presumed that William Rosen would have got a title with his name on the face of it similar to this.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, the way this transaction occurred, this car was brought in to you by presumably Alger Hiss, the man whose signature Mr. Smith notarized. You took this car and then sold it the same day to William Rosen, and then you had William Rosen fill out the balance of the application for transfer of title, and you notarized his signature.

Mr. GERTLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Is Mr. Rosen subpoenaed to testify, Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; we have a subpoena out for him.

Mr. NIXON. Yes. You have a subpoena out for him?

When will he appear?

Mr. RUSSELL. Forthwith when we find him.

Mr. NIXON. I might say this, that we are going to get Mr. Rosen here as soon as we can, and when he does arrive, if we find out it is the same man we may want to have you come in to see if that will refresh your memory as to this transaction. We want you to see this Mr. Rosen who claims—who is supposed to have bought this car.

Now, what about Mr. Smith?

Mr. RUSSELL. We are trying to locate him now.

Mr. NIXON. He has not been located now?

Mr. RUSSELL. He is in the Solicitor General's office, of the Department of Justice, as far as we know, and he is probably out to lunch now, but we have someone over there trying to find him.

Mr. NIXON. He has not been consulted as yet?

Mr. RUSSELL. No; that is right. He was apparently employed in the Department at the same time that Hiss was.

Mr. NIXON. Employed in the Department?

Mr. RUSSELL. Department of Justice.

Mr. NIXON. But he was a notary public also?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. That would explain the transaction then. Mr. Hiss was working in the Department, he went to the notary public who was employed in the same Department, had him fill out this paper and had it brought down to you. Does that sound about like what would happen?

Mr. GERTLER. That sounds about like what would happen.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you very much for your testimony.

Mr. GERTLER. All right.

Mr. NIXON. We appreciate your coming down, and, as I say, if we can locate Mr. Rosen, the Rosen who claims to have purchased this car, we may want to have you back for identification.

Mr. GERTLER. May I be excused now, and can I go back?

Mr. NIXON. Certainly.

(Whereupon, at 12:55 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

## AFTERNOON SESSION

(Pursuant to the taking of the noon recess and subsequent postponement, the subcommittee reconvened at 3 p. m. Hon. Karl E. Mundt presiding.)

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Smith. Will you stand and be sworn, Mr. Smith?

Mr. MUNDT. Will you give your full name for the record?

Mr. APPELL. W. Marvin Smith.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give at this hearing, will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SMITH. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to instruct the witness as to the testimony that is being given before we ask any questions.

Mr. MUNDT. All right.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Witness, this is a hearing of the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities. At the present time, we are engaged in investigating the disposition of a 1929 Ford automobile which was at one time owned by Alger Hiss. The questions which will be asked you concerning this transaction and all other questions which will be asked you will be material to this inquiry. In that they are material to this inquiry, those questions, of course, if answered falsely would subject you to perjury.

I also want to instruct you that in the event you do not remember the facts when a question is put to you, that you have a perfect right to tell the committee that you do not remember.

If, on the other hand, you testify that you do not remember and it later appears as a result of other evidence that actually you did have facts within your knowledge which indicated that you actually did remember, that also would, of course, be a false statement and subject you to perjury.

I wanted you to have a full understanding of the type of testimony and questions which we are going to go into before you did answer these questions.

Now, Mr. Stripling, do you have some questions?

## TESTIMONY OF W. MARVIN SMITH

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Smith, when and where were you born?

Mr. SMITH. I was born in Washington, D. C., August 16, 1895.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1895. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. SMITH. I am employed at the Department of Justice.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. SMITH. I think it is about 34 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Thirty-four years?

Mr. SMITH. Maybe I am off a year or two.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the nature of your employment?

Mr. SMITH. I am an attorney there.

Mr. STRIPLING. An attorney?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been an attorney there?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I came in as a stenographer. I imagine—let's see, 34 years; this is pretty hard to remember back. I do not know; I imagine about 20 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Twenty years?

Mr. SMITH. Twenty or twenty-five years; I don't remember exactly.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you employed in the Department of Justice in 1936?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of Alger Hiss?

Mr. SMITH. I am. He worked in the same office.

Mr. STRIPLING. With you?

Mr. SMITH. With me.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long?

Mr. SMITH. He was not there very long. I think it was about a year, I am not sure of that, but he was there I think about a year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall his coming to you for the purposes of getting you to notarize his signature on an assignment of title in 1936?

Mr. SMITH. No; I do not specifically remember that.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not remember that?

Mr. SMITH. You see, I was a notary there, and many people in the Department would come before me. I would not know just—

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. SMITH. I had been a notary for a number of years.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a photostatic copy of an assignment of title which was taken from the files, subpoenaed from the files, of the Vehicles and Traffic Division of the District of Columbia. This title is No. 245,647. It states in part on the reverse side, "Assignment of title. For value received the undersigned hereby sells, assigns, or transfer unto (name of purchaser)"; then, written in is "Cherner Motor Company; address, 1781 Florida Avenue, Northwest," and then it goes on to say, "the motor vehicle described on the reverse side of this certificate, and the undersigned hereby warrants the title to said motor vehicle and certifies that at the time of delivery the same is subject to the following liens or incumbrances and none other," and then it says, "None," meaning no incumbrances. It says, "Signature of Assignor, Alger Hiss."

Then it says, "On the 23d day of July 1936, before me, the subscriber, a notary public of the District of Columbia, personally appeared Alger Hiss, who made oath in due form of law that the above statements are true. Witness my hand and notarial seal, W. Marvin Smith, Notary Public."

Is that your signature, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. It sure does look like it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say it does?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I have no doubt it is.

Mr. MUNDT. Talk a little louder.

Mr. SMITH. I say I have no doubt that it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is this your handwriting, "Cherner Motor Company, 1781 Florida Avenue, Northwest"?

Mr. SMITH. No; that is not my handwriting.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any recollection of executing this paper?

Mr. SMITH. I have no personal recollection of doing it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any records to check it?

Mr. SMITH. No; I do not. You see, I charged no fee to the people who came in, so I kept no record. I think, in the whole time I had it, it was merely for the accommodation of the people there.

Mr. STRIPLING. But that is your signature?

Mr. SMITH. That is my signature.

Mr. STRIPLING. Write your signature right here, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. All right [complying].

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, he has testified that it is his signature. It appears to be his signature. But he testifies that he did not write the "Cherner Motor Company."

Mr. NIXON. May I ask a question on that point? I have one question. You will note, Mr. Smith, that—

Mr. MUNDT. Obviously, it is the same signature.

Mr. NIXON. You will note, Mr. Smith, the date that appears on your notarization, on this 23d day of July 1936, "Before me, the subscriber, a notary public of the District of Columbia, personally appeared Alger Hiss," signed, and so forth, "W. Marvin Smith," and the date is the 23d day of July 1936. Did you type that in? Did you type that in, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. I do not recall typing it in. I imagine it was executed—all that was filled in, I imagine, before he came before me. I could not remember that.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Smith, do you have a record, as a notary public, of all notarizations?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, no.

Mr. NIXON. You have not?

Mr. SMITH. I have no record because, as I say, I charged no fees. I have not charged a fee since about 1925—well, I think I got the commission in about 1919 and I charged a few fees at that time and had a record then, but I have not charged since.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Smith, my point about the date is this: If the date had not been July 23, 1936, you would not have signed the notarization?

Mr. SMITH. I do not think I would; no.

Mr. NIXON. You looked at it?

Mr. SMITH. I have no reason to doubt that was the date on which Mr. Hiss appeared before me.

Mr. NIXON. It is your custom as a notary public to check the dates of the notarization before you sign it?

Mr. SMITH. I do not check the things too closely. People run into our office and ask if I will notarize something, and in most instances I assume they would be the same date that they came in. I imagine I would have noticed if it was a different date.

Mr. NIXON. Suppose the date had been a year different from that, would you have noticed?

Mr. SMITH. I think I would if there was a year's difference.

Mr. MUNDT. I presume it was also your custom as a notary public to verify the signature of the man whose signature you were acknowledging? That is—

Mr. SMITH. Well, I assumed that he appeared before me, and I imagine he would—

Mr. MUNDT. And you would not have attached your signature to this document unless Alger Hiss himself had signed his name.

Mr. SMITH. Unless he appeared before me and signed it. Or I knew his signature; I do not remember now what his signature was.

Mr. MUNDT. It was never your custom, I presume, to simply attach your signature to blank documents?

He had to have it filled in first.

Mr. SMITH. No; I would not do that.

Mr. MUNDT. That is what we are trying to establish.

Mr. SMITH. No; he either appeared before me or I recognized his signature. I assume he appeared before me. That is what everybody does.

Mr. MUNDT. And the details of this assignment were filled in at the time you put your signature on it.

Mr. SMITH. Yes; but I do not have any personal recollection in particular.

Mr. MUNDT. You never made it a practice to attach your signature to assignments in blank?

Mr. SMITH. No; I never do that; no. I would imagine if the date was different there, a year, I am sure that I would have noticed it.

Mr. MUNDT. It looks to me as if the same handwriting that wrote "Cherner Motor Company" wrote "Alger Hiss."

Mr. NIXON. Would you check that? It seems quite apparent that it is, but I want an official statement on that for the meeting tomorrow.

Mr. MUNDT. Get an official handwriting expert.

Mr. APPELL. That is what I have used to have a comparison made of the signature of Alger Hiss. I have an official certification that is his signature.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Stripling, do you have any other questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; no questions.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Mr. NIXON. We are sorry to bother you.

Mr. SMITH. That is all right. I told you all I know about it.

Mr. MUNDT. It takes a lot of little details to piece together a picture. We wanted to get from you the information you have given us.

The meeting will now adjourn.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p. m., the meeting adjourned.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas, Karl E. Mundt, John McDowell, Richard M. Nixon, Richard B. Vail, and F. Edward Hébert.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, Donald T. Appell, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

Take your seats, please, those who have seats.

The record will show that those present are Mr. Mundt, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Vail, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas.

A quorum of the full committee is present.

The Chair would like to make this short statement. On August 3 the full committee received testimony from Whittaker Chambers regarding the operation within the Government of the Communist apparatus during the period 1934 to 1937.

According to the testimony of Mr. Chambers, Mr. Alger Hiss was a member of this group, which had as its purpose Communist infiltration of the American Government, with espionage as one of its eventual objectives.

On August 5 the committee heard in open session Mr. Alger Hiss at his own request, who categorically denied the testimony and stated that he had never known an individual by the name of Whittaker Chambers and could not identify him as a person he had ever known by photographs which were shown him.

The committee in an effort to determine the facts promptly sent a subcommittee to New York and again called Whittaker Chambers, took his testimony in executive session in the Federal Building in New York City on August 7. Mr. Chambers was questioned at length regarding his associations with Mr. Hiss.

He gave the committee such detailed information concerning his associations with Mr. Hiss and his family during the period in question that the committee came to the conclusion that it was impossible for the two persons not to have been closely associated.

Following this session, part of the staff of the committee was then detailed to corroborate, if possible, the testimony of Whittaker Chambers, which had been taken in New York City. As a result of this investigation, on August 16 the committee again brought before it Mr. Alger Hiss, who was questioned in executive session in Washington concerning the detailed testimony that Mr. Chambers had given in New York in executive session. During the course of this testimony Mr. Hiss again failed to identify Whittaker Chambers from the photographs which were shown to him. However, he did advise the committee that he had searched his mind and that he did recall an individual by the name of George Crosley, whom he had known during the period in question.

He expressed some doubt, however, that this was the person known as Whittaker Chambers.

The following day, August 17, the committee brought about a confrontation at an executive session of the committee at the Commodore Hotel, New York City, between Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, at which time Mr. Hiss made the positive identification of Whittaker Chambers as an individual that he knew as George Crosley.

While the testimony of Whittaker Chambers is not directly involved in the two espionage rings which the committee has been investigating—namely, the Silvermaster and Perlo groups, as disclosed by Elizabeth T. Bentley—nevertheless, because of the direct conflict in the testimony of Mr. Hiss and Mr. Chambers, the committee has continued its investigations and has subpoenaed both of these witnesses to appear here in public session this morning in an effort to determine the true facts.

As a result of this hearing, certainly one of these witnesses will be tried for perjury. The Congress and the American people are entitled to the truth on this important matter. These hearings will be fair and impartial.

I should, therefore, like to caution the people present today that they are guests of the committee. We are glad to have as many representatives of the American public as is possible to crowd in this room today. I shall ask, therefore, that you conduct yourselves in an orderly manner and to refrain from any demonstration whatsoever, including applause.

I should like to say to the news reels and photographers that they are likewise welcome here, but they must not in any way interfere with the orderly procedure of the committee.

With this understanding, we shall proceed to call the first witness.

Mr. Stripling, the first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Alger Hiss.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss, raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HISS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

#### TESTIMONY OF ALGER HISS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOHN F. DAVIS

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. HISS. I am, Mr. Stripling.



Mr. STRIPLING. Will you have your counsel identify himself?

Mr. DAVIS. My name is John F. Davis. I am a partner in the firm of Hilmer & Davis, with offices at 1700 I Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, you are here this morning in response to a subpoena which was served upon you on August 17 at the Commodore Hotel in New York City; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Stripling, as I told the subcommittee on that day, there was no need to serve a subpoena on me. A subpoena was handed to me. I had already told the committee I would be very glad to be here on August 25.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here also in response to the subpoena, however?

Mr. HISS. I received the subpoena; yes, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here in response to it; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. To the extent that my coming here quite voluntarily after having received the subpoena is in response to it; I would accept that statement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read a brief statement at this time.

Public Law 601 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, second session: House Resolution 5 of the Eightieth Congress provides the authority for the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives.

Public Law 601 states:

The Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole or by subcommittee is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle or the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

Pursuant to this mandate the committee has been conducting an investigation in the past several months into alleged Communist infiltration by Communist agents in the Federal Government and the operation within the Government of certain persons who were collecting information to be turned over to a foreign government. The hearing this morning is for the purpose of pursuing this investigation. Among the witnesses who have been subpoenaed to appear this morning are Mr. Alger Hiss and Mr. Whittaker Chambers.

All questions propounded to Mr. Hiss and Mr. Chambers or the other witnesses will be pertinent to the inquiry, and they shall be required to answer them.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to address a question to the chairman if I might.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss.

Mr. HISS. May I be permitted to make an opening statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss, is that opening statement the same as the letter you sent to me?

Mr. HISS. I would like to read that letter into the record so that it is actually a part of the record in these proceedings.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the same as the letter?

Mr. HISS. In part it is, but I have a few additional comments I would like to make in addition to reading—

The CHAIRMAN. We have already read the letter in the newspapers.

Mr. HISS. But it is not a part of the record of this proceeding, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. May I suggest that we proceed with the questions and at the conclusion of the questions and answers the committee take Mr. Hiss' statement under advisement as to whether he should read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, do I understand your ruling that I may not read the letter into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Not necessarily. You may not read the letter right at this point. Later on we will take under consideration whether or not the letter will be read.

Mr. HISS. May I, Mr. Chairman, make the other part of the statement I desire to make at the outset of the meeting?

The CHAIRMAN. Not at this point. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. HISS, would you kindly stand up, please?

Mr. Chambers, will you stand up?

Mr. HISS, have you ever seen this individual? [Mr. Stripling points to Mr. Chambers.]

The CHAIRMAN. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen this individual who is standing?

Mr. HISS. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know him?

Mr. HISS. I identify him, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. As who?

Mr. HISS. As George Crosley.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you know him as George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. According to my best recollection—and I would like to repeat what I have said to the committee before, that I have not had the opportunity to consult records of the time—I first knew him sometime in the winter of 1934 or 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you last see Mr. Crosley, as you have identified him?

Mr. HISS. Prefacing my answer with the same remarks I have just made, I would think sometime in 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1935 was the last time you saw him?

Mr. HISS. According to my best recollection, not having checked the records.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you remain standing a moment, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. Chairman, would you swear in Mr. Chambers?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, do you know the individual who is now standing at the witness stand?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is he?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Alger Hiss.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think about 1934.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1934?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1934.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you last see Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. About 1938.

Mr. STRIPLING. About 1938. Have a seat, Mr. Chambers. Sit down, Mr. Hiss.

Mr. Hiss, when you appeared before the committee on August 3, I think it was——

#### TESTIMONY OF ALGER HISS—Resumed

Mr. Hiss. I appeared on August 5, I think.

Mr. STRIPLING. August 5—I am sorry—you were shown pictures of Mr. Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. Hiss. I was shown a photograph.

Mr. STRIPLING. At that time you could not identify this individual from that photograph.

Mr. Hiss. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you appeared before the committee in executive session in Washington on August 16, you were again shown a picture of Mr. Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. Hiss. I think I was shown two pictures that day, according to my recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. You also failed at that time to identify Mr. Chambers as Mr. Crosley.

Mr. Hiss. I said that the pictures were definitely of a face that was not unfamiliar to me. There was a certain familiarity about it.

Incidentally, Mr. Stripling is referring to certain testimony of mine taken in executive session, Mr. Chairman. I wonder if there is any reason why all of the testimony thus far taken in this case should not be made public. A good deal of it has reached the press by one means or another. There is a considerable amount of distortion and misunderstanding.

I have no reason to want any of that testimony—mine or Mr. Chambers', which I have never seen—to remain secret. It seems to me the public and the press would like to have full access to all of the testimony that has been taken to this date.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the committee make all of the testimony public as of this moment.

Mr. Hiss. I think that would be a very good idea.

Mr. MURDER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that yesterday, in your absence, the members of the committee who were here decided that today we would make all the testimony available provided it was agreeable to the other members of the committee.

Mr. Hiss. I am very gratified.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Without objection, it will all be made public as of this moment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, would you relate to the committee the circumstances under which you first met the person you have identified that you knew as George Crosley?

Mr. Hiss. Mr. Stripling, I have already in an effort to be helpful to the committee when I came to the executive session on the 16th willingly in response to a request from the chairman given the best recollection that I have.

As I said then, I have no opportunity to consult records. The connection between Crosley and Chambers did not enter my mind until Monday morning, the 16th, while I was on the way by train to the afternoon session. According to my best recollection, without checking the records—and I do think it would be more helpful if the committee would go by records; I would like to know what the records say; some of the records I find are not available to me; I believe they are in the custody of the committee. I have attempted through counsel in the last few days to have access to the records.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment, Mr. Hiss. What records have you attempted to obtain which were in the custody of the committee?

Mr. HISS. I have attempted to obtain records of leases of premises where I was resident during the period in question. I have attempted to get the records with respect to the Ford automobile that I owned.

I am informed that the records with respect to the latter in particular are not in their normal, official location but are in the custody of the committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is absolutely untrue. The committee has issued no subpoenas upon any realty company nor has it obtained any leases.

It has subpoenaed a photostatic copy of a document from the Department of Motor Vehicles of the District of Columbia. However, the original document is still in the files.

Mr. HISS. I am told, Mr. Stripling, that the original document is no longer in the files. I tried to have my counsel have access to it.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you try to secure that document?

Mr. HISS. I will have to rely on counsel to say just when they tried.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be interesting to the committee to know from counsel when you tried to get this document.

Mr. DAVIS. A representative of mine tried to get this document yesterday afternoon, I am informed by the representative. I did not myself go to the Motor Vehicle Bureau. He was told that it was photostated at some time prior to yesterday but the document itself had been taken from its normal place yesterday.

Mr. MUNDT. Who was that representative and who told him it was taken from the place and who took it from the place? Let's get down to specific facts. If you were not told yourself, who was your representative?

Mr. DAVIS. I am sorry—I am not trying to be evasive—I do not know who the person was that went. I can ascertain who went to the Bureau to find out. I do not know.

Mr. MUNDT. You do not know who it was who told you that?

Mr. DAVIS. I do not know and I do not know that it was stated that the committee had taken the original. All I know is he was told the original had been removed from its normal place.

Mr. MUNDT. But you don't know who told you that or who told the other man that. That is very vague from the standpoint of our committee, you understand.

Mr. DAVIS. I understand it is very vague. I do not know who it was. I can ascertain who it was during a recess.

Mr. MUNDT. Was he a member of your firm?

Mr. DAVIS. He was not a member of my firm.

Mr. NIXON. How did you find it out, then?

Mr. DAVIS. I was informed.

Mr. NIXON. By whom?

Mr. DAVIS. I was informed of this—

Mr. STRIPLING. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that counsel be sworn if he is going to testify. Perhaps it would be better if you were sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Stand and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DAVIS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

Mr. NIXON. It would be helpful to the committee if counsel would tell us how he received the information that these records were missing from their normal place. Who told him?

Mr. DAVIS. I would be very glad to.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS. I was told, as I recollect, by Mr. Fontaine Bradley, who is an attorney in Washington, and whom I had asked while I was in New York to make certain inquiries in Washington in respect to these matters.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you please identify the firm of which Mr. Fontaine Bradley is a member?

Mr. DAVIS. I believe that Mr. Bradley is a member of the Covington firm.

Mr. NIXON. When did he tell you this?

Mr. DAVIS. He told me this last evening when I saw him when I finally got to Washington.

Mr. NIXON. Then you know this is the man who told you that, don't you? You said "to the best of my recollection." I mean, if he told you last evening, you certainly know if it was he or somebody else, don't you?

Mr. DAVIS. I believe it was he.

Mr. NIXON. You believe. Did you have a conversation with him, Mr. Davis?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I would just like to register a protest at this continuous evasion on the part of these witnesses. I am getting tired of flying half-way across the country to get evasive answers. If the gentleman doesn't know who told him, let him say, "I don't know." If he knows, let him say "I do know." Let's not say "I believe" or "I think."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon, you have the questioning, so you may proceed with the questioning.

Mr. NIXON. I want counsel to take plenty of time to answer the question. I think the question is quite simple.

Last evening somebody told him about these records. Now certainly you can remember who told you last night, Counsel.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Nixon, there were three people present at this time. There was Mr. Bradley, there was a partner of Mr. Bradley, and there was Mr. Hiss and myself, four persons present, as I remember, at the time of this conversation.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. DAVIS. I think it was Mr. Fontaine Bradley who gave me this information.

Mr. NIXON. Who else could it have been?

Mr. DAVIS. It is possible it was his partner who was there who gave me the information, but I do not believe that was so.

Mr. NIXON. Then it definitely was Mr. Bradley or his partner who gave you the information?

Mr. DAVIS. That is to the best of my recollection, and I shouldn't forget what happened last night.

Mr. NIXON. Certainly. This conversation you had wasn't a telephone conversation?

Mr. DAVIS. It was a person-to-person conversation.

Mr. NIXON. Just what did he tell you?

Mr. DAVIS. He told me, as I have just stated, that inquiries—and my memory is not certain whether he said the Commissioner of Motor Vehicles, or what the bureau is, the official bureau where you go with respect to getting the certificates of title—inquiry had been made. I think not by him, but by some agent that he sent, to see if we could examine that certificate, and that he ascertained that the certificate itself had been photostated by the committee, I believe, at some prior time, but that the certificate itself had been removed from its customary place and was not available for inspection by our agent at the time we were there.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you very much, Counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anyone else want to ask counsel any questions before Mr. Stripling proceeds with the witness?

Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, will you continue to give the committee the circumstances under which you met the person you have identified as George Crosley.

Mr. HISS. According to my best recollection, a man representing himself to me as George Crosley came into my office in the Senate Office Building while I was acting as chief counsel to the Senate Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry. He represented himself as a free-lance writer for magazines. He represented himself as preparing a series of articles about the munitions investigation.

As did many other members of the press, research people, and similar people, he had a perfect right to come to my office either directly or by reference from the central office. Very many members of the press and others interested did come to see me about the cases of which I was in charge.

It was one of my duties to give the press such helpful information about the record, such guidance, one might say, as to the significance of what the committee had been developing. That is my best recollection of how I first met George Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Counsel, may I interpose a question here on a matter which Mr. Hiss has previously covered?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, I understood you to say that you felt that the records of the leases should be checked before you could testify actually as to date; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. I was asked, Mr. Nixon, on the 16th and, I think on the 17th—the record will show—

(At this point an unknown person confers with Mr. Davis.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, will you please identify the man who came up?

Mr. DAVIS. The man who came up is Mr. Harold Rosenwald.

Mr. MUNDT. A little further identification, please. Is he counsel?

Mr. DAVIS. He is a practicing lawyer in New York City.

Mr. MUNDT. His address and the name of his firm?

Mr. ROSENWALD. 55 Liberty Street, New York City. The firm is Oseas, Pepper & Segal, O-s-e-a-s-, Pepper & Segal. I am employed by them.

(At this point there was a further consultation between Mr. Rosenwald and Mr. Davis.)

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, since the committee seems to be very much interested in counsel for giving me any kind of assistance, may I just state that not being a man of considerable means, I have been much gratified by the volunteer assistance of friends, many of whom not unnaturally are lawyers.

Mr. Rosenwald, who has just been identified, is a graduate of the same law school that I am. I knew him also in practice in Boston, and have kept in touch with him since.

He has been voluntarily assisting me in attempting to get records and similar materials.

Mr. Davis, who is with me today, is also a personal friend of some standing, some long standing. I have had some difficulty with respect to continuity of counsel.

The first adviser I had, Mr. William Marbury, an old friend in Baltimore, who accompanied me to the other hearing on August 5, was sent within the week or within 10 days to London by the Government on important business.

I have been doing the best I could to get such assistance of a voluntary nature as I possibly could. I think it may be appropriate to put that in, since the committee seems to be very much interested in who are helping.

Various others have volunteered their assistance.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say this for the committee. We are very much interested in hearing what you have to say.

Mr. NIXON, did you have a question?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss was interrupted when he was answering.

Mr. HISS. Will you repeat your question? I am sorry.

Mr. NIXON. I understood you to say that you thought the committee should check the leases and also I thought I understood you to say that you had not yet checked the leases yourself. I wanted to be sure I heard you correctly.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I have not checked the leases myself. I thought I had the leases in my papers in New York.

Mr. NIXON. You so testified.

Mr. HISS. I said on the 16th I thought they were there. I have now looked in my apartment in New York, and I must have got rid of the leases when I moved from the house into an apartment which meant a certain contraction of possessions. I did get rid of a good many old papers at that time, and apparently the leases were among them.

So it has meant going back, first, remembering the real-estate agents I dealt with, and, second, going back to the real-estate agents to find out from them what the actual terms and dates of the leases were.

I was asked on the 16th and on the 17th a good many questions by members of the committee and I think by Mr. Stripling as to where I lived at various times. I was not even able to recall the street cor-

rectly. To the best of my recollection, I testified that I lived on Twenty-ninth Street. I have now ascertained that it was Twenty-eighth Street. My reference to the leases was that I could not after all these years be expected to remember with accuracy and to be really helpful to the committee in its presumed search for truth and the complete truth unless I did have the opportunity to consult records.

But I also told the committee that I was not in any sense going to be evasive. I hope the acting chairman's reference to evasiveness was not in any remote sense an implied reference to me.

I went forward, Mr. Nixon, and said, testifying simply on recollection of rather trivial housekeeping details of 14 years ago, I would tell you the best I could recall, and so I did.

Mr. NIXON. Then, the point is that you have not checked the leases as of this morning?

Mr. HISS. I still have not been able to get hold of all the leases. Some of the leases have been consulted, there have been some telephone conversations with the real-estate people. I have asked counsel to prepare as rapidly as possible a collection of all the available record evidence—photostats, originals, or copies—of all the record evidence on these matters, which it is apparent the committee considers of importance. That has not been completed yet.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. HISS, do you have the lease between you and Mr. Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I have never testified that there was any lease between me and Mr. Crosley. I said that it was an oral arrangement; a sublease orally arranged.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, you gave the committee the circumstances under which you met Mr. Crosley. Could you give us the date, the approximate date?

Mr. HISS. Again, my best recollection would be—and this is a reconstructed memory trying to recall when I did various things with the Nye committee. I have not even been able to get the list of all the staff of the Nye committee, for example.

I would think it must have been either in the late winter of 1934 or the early winter of 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. At this point, I would like to read from your testimony which you gave on August 16.

Mr. HISS. The name of the man I brought in—and he may have no relation to this whole nightmare—is a man named George Crosley. I met him when I was working for the Nye committee. He was a writer. He hoped to sell articles to magazines about the munitions industry. I saw him, as I saw in my office over in the Senate Office Building, dozens of representatives of the press, students, people writing books, research people. It was our job to give them appropriate information out of the record, show what had been put in the record. This fellow was writing a series of articles, according to my best recollection, free lancing, which he hoped to sell to one of the magazines. He was pretty obviously not successful in financial terms, but as far as I know was not actually hard up.

Mr. STRIPLING. What color was his hair?

Mr. HISS. Rather blondish; blonder than any of us here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he married?

Mr. HISS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any children?

Mr. HISS. One little baby, as I remember it, and the way I know that was the subleasing point. After we had taken the house on P Street and had the apartment on our hands, he one day in the course of casual conversation said he was going to specialize all summer in getting his articles done here in Wash-



ington, did not know what he was going to do, and was thinking of bringing his family. I said, "You can have my apartment. It is not terribly cool but it is up in the air and near the Wardman Park." He said he had a wife and little baby. The apartment was not very expensive and I think I let him have it at exact cost. My recollection is that he spent several nights in my house because his furniture van was delayed. We left several pieces of furniture behind. The P Street house belonged to a naval officer overseas and was partly furnished, so we did not need all our furniture, particularly during the summer months, and my recollection is that definitely, as one does with a tenant trying to make him agreeable and comfortable, we left several pieces of furniture behind until the fall. His van was delayed, was not going to bring all the furniture because he was going to be there just during the summer, and we put them up two or three nights in a row, his wife and little baby.

Mr. NIXON. His wife and he and little baby did spend several nights in the house with you?

Mr. HISS. This man Crosley; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, is that as you recall it, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. That was the best recollection I had on the day I testified and that is why I so testified.

I have since learned that my lease on the house began earlier than I thought and my lease on the apartment terminated somewhat earlier than I thought. The overlap which I remembered, and which was the main thing in my memory, was, according to the best records I have so far been able to check, accurate.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first move into the P Street house?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Stripling, I really think the best way for this committee to get full facts is to go to records, if possible. I have said that several times in these hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Witness.

Mr. HISS. I have not been able yet to get—and I will furnish it to the committee as soon as I get it—the actual records of when I took the lease on the P Street house and when I moved into the P Street house.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss, we appreciate your suggestions as to how to conduct these hearings, but if you do not mind, and if the committee does not mind, we have certain questions we would like to proceed with.

Mr. HISS. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to read into the record a letter from Sandoz, Inc., real estate and insurance, dated August 20, 1948, from Teresa B. Mileham, who signed herself as a bookkeeper, addressed to Robert E. Stripling, Chief Investigator:

MY DEAR MR. STRIPLING: This is to certify that our records show that we rented 2905 P Street NW., to Priscilla Hiss for 1 year from May 1, 1935, to June 15, 1936, at a monthly rental of \$105.

Very truly yours.

Does that refresh your recollection on that at all, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Stripling, I would have thought in view of information I have received as to the date during which my tenancy of the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street lasted, that I must have moved into the P Street house a little earlier than the date just read, which I understood to be May 1.

(Mr. Stripling hands letter to Mr. Hiss.)

Mr. HISS (continuing). And again I would like to check all possible records to see whether I moved in before the date of the lease, according to their records, which is sometimes the custom, to be given a

month or so in addition to your regular lease, earlier or later, at the beginning preceding the lease or after its termination; so that again I can't testify with any exactness without an opportunity to refresh my recollection by trying to refer to various records which are not easy to get hold of after all this lapse of time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now I believe you testified earlier, Mr. Hiss, that you sublet your apartment on Twenty-eighth Street—that was apartment 42, at 2831 Twenty-eighth NW.,—to George Crosley. Is that correct?

Mr. HISS. I did so testify and I did so sublet.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you sublet this apartment to George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. My recollection had been that it was at the beginning of the summer. Whether it was a little earlier or a little later than that I couldn't be sure—and again I would want to have access to all the records possible in order to be as accurate as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. What year?

Mr. HISS. What year did what happen?

The CHAIRMAN. The summer of what year?

Mr. STRIPLING. That you sublet the apartment.

Mr. HISS. The summer of 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the agreement regarding this apartment between you and Mr. Crosley?

Mr. HISS. According to my best recollection, the agreement was that of a simple informal sublease at the cost to me, the privilege of his occupying the premises as long as I had disposition of them, and it has been my recollection from Monday, the 16th of this month, on that I did have the disposition of that apartment or could assure the disposition of that apartment over a period of several months after I moved into 2905 P Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall just when your lease for the apartment expired?

Mr. HISS. No; I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long did Mr. Crosley remain in the apartment?

Before you answer that, I believe you testified on August 16 on page 52,<sup>11</sup> you were asked by Mr. Nixon:

Can you state again just when he first rented the apartment?

referring to Mr. Crosley. You say:

I think it was about June of 1935.

Do you recall whether or not it was June?

Mr. HISS. My best recollection at the time I testified was it was about June. Whether it was a little earlier or a little later after 14 years or so, I am afraid I just am not able to recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall how long he remained at the apartment?

Mr. HISS. I have no idea. My recollection is that he was entitled, as far as I was concerned, to remain for several months and that I was in a position to assure him that he could remain for several months. Whether he did or not would be no concern of mine.

Mr. STRIPLING. At this point, then, Mr. Chairman, I should like to read into the record a letter from Raudall H. Hagner & Co., real

<sup>11</sup> Page 52 denotes original transcript. See p. 956, this publication

estate, 1321 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C. The letter is addressed to Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator of the Committee on Un-American Activities, and signed by Mary Petherbridge. The letter reads:

DEAR MR. STRIPLING: Our records show that Alger Hiss made application to us through the manager, Mrs. W. M. Jeffers, on May 29, 1934, for apartment 42, 2831 Twenty-eighth Street NW. His tenancy began on July 1, 1934, for 1 year. We assume from the application that a lease was made. However, our old leases have been destroyed. Mr. Hiss vacated on June 28, 1935. His previous address given at that time was 3411 O Street NW. The number of occupants was listed as two adults and one child. This apartment was vacant for the month of July. On August 1, 1935, it was rented to W. E. Isemann.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Hiss. May I say it is apparent that the committee has been better staffed with people to inquire into records than I have been. May I also say with reference to my earlier statement about the assistance of friends, that I did not mean to exclude any friends who have been helpful by not mentioning their names.

It might be appropriate to mention that Mr. Bradley, whose name has come into the testimony, is also a personal friend of some standing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Hiss, when you moved to the P Street house, did you take your furniture with you?

Mr. Hiss. Mr. Stripling, I have been and will continue to do the best I can to remember these housekeeping details. I have talked to my wife on the telephone and asked her to remember as best she can.

My best recollection is that I did not take all of the furniture that was in the Twenty-eighth Street apartment when I first moved into the P Street house; that I left some of it behind for Mr. Crosley's use.

As I testified, it is my recollection that the house at 2905 P Street was furnished or partly furnished, and that we did not actually need all of our own furniture in order to furnish that house.

Mr. STRIPLING. So you sublet the apartment to Mr. Crosley; is that correct?

Mr. Hiss. Under the circumstances I have stated, according to my best recollection, the answer is "Yes."

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, you stated that Mr. Crosley and his wife and baby stayed several days in your house on P Street prior to moving into the apartment. Is that correct?

Mr. Hiss. That again is to the best of my recollection, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. And the reason they stayed with you is because they were waiting for a moving van to come down?

Mr. Hiss. So I recall, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, I will read your testimony which you gave on August 16, beginning on page 53.<sup>12</sup>

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Stripling, before you go into that may I clear up the matter about the lease?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. I think that from the testimony Mr. Hiss has given and from the documents Mr. Stripling has presented that it is very clear as to what these terminal dates for this lease were.

As I understand it, Mr. Hiss' lease on the house he moved to on P Street started on May 1; is that correct?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is correct.

<sup>12</sup> Page 53 denotes original transcript. See p. 1093, this publication.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss has suggested he might have moved into that house before, that as a courtesy he might have received a month or so free rent before he moved into the house, but the lease as far as the records show—he first had his rental contract on his new house on May 1.

You have also indicated that the apartment which he sublet to Mr. Crosley was rerented to a new tenant, not Mr. Crosley, commencing August 1. Is that correct?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Now, when did Mr. Hiss' lease on the apartment run out? Have you put that matter into the record yet?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is in the record. It expired on the 28th of June.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss' lease on the apartment expired on the 28th of June?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, the amount of time for which his sublease could have run would be approximately from May 1 to June 28. That was the period at which Mr. Hiss had the disposal of the apartment and in which he could have been in the new house. Is that correct?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is what it appears from the records.

Mr. HISS. Is that a question to me or to Mr. Stripling?

Mr. NIXON. I am making the statement. If you have objection to the statement, you are perfectly welcome to make it.

Mr. HISS. The only thing I would like to say, Mr. Nixon, first, in general there seems to me to be relatively little disagreement as between the testimony of Mr. Chambers as he now calls himself and me with respect to the period and the circumstances of our acquaintance.

As I said in the letter which I sent to the chairman, the chairman said he read my letter of yesterday in the newspapers. That was certainly not necessary. The letter was delivered to the chairman's office, a signed letter by me.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to say that the chairman was not in the office when your letter arrived, but he did have an opportunity to read the letter in this morning's New York Herald Tribune.

Mr. HISS. It was delivered to your office yesterday afternoon, Mr. Chairman.

The important issues, the important charges are not questions of leases, but questions of whether I was a Communist, and it was to try to get the issues raised that are the real issues—it seems to be topsy-turvy to be talking only about leases, Mr. Nixon; in such a serious charge as this it seems to me we should be getting after the question of my record and what did people who worked closely and intimately with me think of me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. HISS, I would like to say again that the committee appreciates your suggestions as to how to conduct these hearings, but we do have certain questions to ask and, if you don't mind, Mr. Nixon will continue questioning if he has any more questions.

Mr. NIXON. Yes; I have. I would like to comment upon Mr. Hiss' statement that the only issue in this hearing today is whether or not Mr. Hiss was a Communist.

The issue in this hearing today is whether or not Mr. Hiss or Mr. Chambers has committed perjury before this committee, as well as whether Mr. Hiss is a Communist.

Now, as far as these what are termed housekeeping details by Mr. Hiss are concerned, it isn't the intention of the committee to hold Mr. Hiss to exact dates, it isn't the intention of the committee to hold him to exact details on matters that happened years ago, but it certainly is the intention of the committee to question both Mr. Hiss and Mr. Chambers very closely on the matter of their acquaintanceship, because it is on that issue that the truth or falsity of the statements made by Mr. Hiss and Mr. Chambers will stand or fall.

Mr. HISS. May I say, Mr. Nixon, that that does not seem to me a very rational basis for determining credibility. Obviously, the committee may ask the questions it chooses.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, you are an attorney. I think you are aware probably of the standard instruction which is given to the jury on cases of credibility of witnesses.

That instruction, as I recall it, is that if any matter a witness is found to be telling an untruth on any question which is material and which is raised during the course of the court's proceedings, his credibility on other questions is also suspect.

Now, as far as this matter is concerned, you, yourself, have made an issue of the fact as to (1) whether you knew Chambers at all—that issue has now been resolved; and (2) how well you knew Chambers and whether you knew him as a Communist.

That is the purpose of this questioning now.

Now, I would appreciate it if you would again comment upon the matter of this lease.

Do I understand that May 1 to June 28 would be approximately the length of the rental agreement with Mr. Crosley?

Mr. HISS. May I refer back to what I said earlier this morning, that my recollection in terms of an impression about these events is that I considered that I had the disposition or could assure the disposition of the Twenty-eighth Street apartment for a period of several months. Whether my lease overlapped—whether my legal lease overlapped my moving into the P Street apartment by several months, or whether it was somewhat less than that, and I was aware that anyone who wanted to get the apartment month to month or any other way after my lease expired during the summer, whether that was part of my thinking at the time I frankly can't tell in terms of details.

The significant thing in my memory is my recollection that I was in position to assure Crosley of several months' occupancy of the apartment which I had been living in on Twenty-eighth Street.

Mr. NIXON. I think we can cut through it with these short questions:

You did not lease the apartment to Crosley until you had moved into the other house; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. That is my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Your lease on the other house according to the records began on May 1. You will agree with that?

Mr. HISS. That is what the records seem to show. I have not seen the records myself.

Mr. NIXON. We have the letter which Mr. Stripling just handed

you. If the records show that, you will agree that the records are correct on that point?

Mr. HISS. I have no reason for questioning the records.

Mr. NIXON. You suggested that we go to the records.

Mr. HISS. I didn't hear you.

Mr. NIXON. You suggested that we go to the records.

Mr. HISS. I have, indeed.

Mr. NIXON. That is what we have done, and it shows that lease began on May 1.

Mr. HISS. I have been trying to go to them, too, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Certainly. The records also show that your lease on the apartment ran out on June 28. It is quite apparent, then, that the time Mr. Crosley could have stayed in this apartment was a period of approximately 8 to 9 weeks from May 1 and June 28.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I doubt if this is the occasion for any argumentation as to what the facts mean.

Mr. NIXON. I am not arguing.

Mr. HISS. But I think I heard Mr. Stripling read that the apartment, according to Randall Hagner—were they the agents?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. HISS. According to their records was not leased to anyone during the month of July; so there could be a third month when, if Mr. Crosley had wanted to stay on in that apartment, he could presumably have done so by arrangements with Randall Hagner.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, this might clarify that point. According to the records of the Potomac Electric Co., the electricity was turned off at the Twenty-eighth Street apartment on June 29, 1935.

Mr. NIXON. When was the gas turned off in that apartment?

Mr. STRIPLING. It was turned off on June 26, 1935.

Mr. NIXON. June 26. If Mr. Crosley did stay in that apartment another month up to August 1, he stayed there without gas or electricity.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, may I comment? I have not been testifying at any time as to how long Mr. Crosley stayed there. I have been talking about how long I thought I was in position to let him stay there, to facilitate his staying there, if he so desired.

I do not know and I have not attempted to testify as to how long he in fact stayed there.

Mr. NIXON. You will now agree, though, that it could only have been for 2 months?

Mr. HISS. You mean how long he actually stayed there? On the basis of gas and electricity being turned off and this man's record I don't think I would want to say what he was doing or wasn't doing.

Mr. NIXON. You think he might have stayed in the apartment even with the gas off?

Mr. HISS. Let's not speculate.

Mr. NIXON. With a small baby.

Mr. HISS. Let's not speculate, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Proceed, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. HISS. I don't know whether his wife and baby were with him at that time, or whether they were always with him or not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. HISS, George Crosley, who you testified you first met in 1934—do you know of anyone here in Washington who knew him as George Crosley?

Mr. Hiss. In answer to that question, Mr. Stripling, I have naturally among the very many other things that I have been trying to check in the few days since Monday of last week, I have been trying to run down the list of staff members of the Senate Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry.

As far as I can find out, there is no one single official list anywhere now available. I have recalled certain of the members of the staff. I recalled three names offhand of people that Crosley might have met in addition to me around the committee.

I mentioned Mr. Raushenbush, the chief investigator. He is away on vacation. I have seen in the press that the press reached him and he doesn't have any recollection of Crosley. I want to talk personally to Mr. Raushenbush. I want to see if he can recall from my description of the circumstances under which I knew Crosley more than he has told the press.

I recalled the name of Robert Wohlford.

Mr. STRIPLING. You gave both of these names to the committee in New York?

Mr. Hiss. Yes; I did—who was also a member of the staff. I recalled my off-the-cuff recollection. He is now in New York, I understand. I have asked friends of mine to talk to Bob Wohlford.

I remembered also the name of Miss Elsie Gullender, who was, as it were, the chief receptionist of the committee. She was Mr. Raushenbush's secretary and acted as sort of an over-all chief of the secretarial staff.

If Crosley had been referred to me by the central office of the committee—and our offices were scattered all over the Senate Office Building and we took what space was vacant, what we could get and what we could use—it would probably have been Miss Gullender who would first have sent him to me, although he could have come direct to me because I had been conducting hearings, my name was publicly known, the cases that I was working on were publicly known.

I have been informed that Miss Elsie Gullender is now dead. I am not sure that is the fact. I want, if possible, to locate Miss Gullender. I have been trying to locate other members of the staff and trying to find out the names of some of the other members.

I have a recollection of one man whose name I have not yet been able to recall, though I recall his personality. I would like to find out from him.

I would hope that I will be able to find others than myself and my wife who remember George Crosley under the circumstances I have testified to. I shall certainly continue without rest to attempt to find out all the information I can on this subject and on this man, both as Crosley and as Chambers, and let the committee have whatever I can find out.

I think we were just beginning the inquiry.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Hiss, is this a fair summary, then, of your position up to now?

That as of today you have not found anybody other than your wife who ever knew this man over here under the name of George Crosley?

Mr. Hiss. I received a telephone call—rather, one of my counsel did—from someone, a woman, who said she had known George Crosley at this time, that she was fearful of getting her employer in Dutch

or something by publicity. We were not able to trace the call. She may have been imagining.

So far, the answer to your question is: I have not yet been able to find any witness other than my wife who remembers him as George Crosley.

Mr. MUNDT. Let me ask this question. The possibility would seem very plausible to me that since Mr. Crosley, as you call him, lived in your home for awhile while he was getting his furniture transferred, that your brother Donald undoubtedly visited your home frequently. Have you ever conferred with Donald to see whether he knew this man as George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I have asked him and he has no recollection.

Mr. MUNDT. He had no recollection?

Mr. HISS. No; and I have tried to locate my neighbors in the apartment. My next door neighbor I have been unable to locate, though I have his name and we are doing our best to find him. It takes a long time to reconstruct these details after a long time when one's resources are limited.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, the three names the witness has mentioned—Elsie Gullender, Robert Wohlford, Stephen Raushenbush—were the three that he gave the committee in New York, and we asked him if he could furnish us the names of three people to corroborate his statement that Whittaker Chambers was known to him as George Crosley in 1934 and '35.

The New York Herald Tribune carried a story which stated that they had communicated with Mr. Raushenbush and he had no recollection of it. As Mr. Hiss has stated, according to our investigation, Elsie Gullender died September 24, 1946. We have been endeavoring to locate Robert Wohlford. His office here at the Department of Justice had advised us that he was ill. We have sent numerous telegrams, all of which have been returned.

Now, because Mr. Hiss stated Mr. Crosley was a free-lance writer for American magazine and other publications—

Mr. HISS. May I interrupt? What I think Mr. Stripling has been stating in summary is exactly my recollection of my testimony. I did not testify as a fact that Mr. Crosley wrote for American magazine. I testified that my best recollection was that he had told me that American magazine was one of the magazines he hoped to sell his free-lance articles about the Munitions Committee to.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Chairman, we asked the Library of Congress, Director of Legislative Reference Service, to check their files for any articles by George Crosley.

The following letter was received from Ernest S. Griffith, Director, Legislative Reference Service, addressed to Mr. Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research:

DEAR MR. MANDEL: In response to your request for any writings by George Crosley, the following sources have been examined with reference to George Crosley or Crossley. The results of the search are indicated.

Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, January 1929-June 1941—No reference.



Public Catalogue—Two references, one to a book of poems written by G. Crosley in 1905, the other to a scientific pamphlet on ultraviolet light by G. E. Crosley, M. D., in 1936.

Copyright Division—No additional references.

Any further searching you may suggest, we shall be glad to undertake.

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST S. GRIFFITH,

*Director, Legislative Reference Service.*

I also have a letter here, Mr. Chairman, from the American magazine, that states that they have never published any articles by George Crosley.

Now, Mr. Hiss, I should like to read now from your testimony which you gave before the committee on August 16, page 53:<sup>13</sup>

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of automobile did that fellow have?—

referring to Mr. Crosley.

Mr. HISS. No kind of automobile. I sold him an automobile. I had an old Ford that I threw in with the apartment and had been trying to trade it in and get rid of it. I had an old, old Ford we had kept for sentimental reasons. We got it just before we were married in 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it a model A or model T?

Mr. HISS. Early A model with a trunk on the back, a slightly collegiate model.

Mr. STRIPLING. What color?

Mr. HISS. Dark blue. It wasn't very fancy, but it had a sassy little trunk on the back.

Mr. NIXON. You sold that car?

Mr. HISS. I threw it in. He wanted a way to get around, and I said, "Fine; I want to get rid of it. I have another car, and we kept it for sentimental reasons, not worth a damn. I let him have it along with the rent."

Now, would you give the committee the arrangements of this lease again, Mr. Hiss.

Mr. HISS. Of the lease of the apartment?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right. And the car, the manner in which you threw the car in.

Mr. HISS. My best recollection is that at the time, or shortly after we first talked about Crosley's subletting my apartment, he said that he wished to get a car because his family would be with him while he was in Washington. I think he asked if you could rent a car, and my best recollection is that I told him that I had an old car which I would let him have, a car which had practically no financial value. That is the best recollection I have on the car transaction after all these years.

Mr. MUNDT. Was the reason that that car had no value to you the fact that you had another automobile at the time?

Mr. HISS. My best recollection is that at some time, Mr. Mundt, I had both a Plymouth and this old Ford. Whether that overlap occurred prior to my letting Crosley use the Ford, I cannot recall with positiveness. I do have a very definite, although general, recollection that I had both a Ford and a Plymouth for a period of time, with the Ford of no use, deteriorating, being left outdoors.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, I should like to read from—

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Stripling, may I interrupt there to sort of pursue

<sup>13</sup> Page 53 denotes original transcript. See p. 957, this publication.

this a little further, with regard to what Mr. Mundt has asked Mr. Hiss?

Mr. Hiss, you would remember if you had two automobiles at one time; would you not?

Mr. Hiss. I say I do remember that I did have two automobiles at one time. That made quite an impression on me.

Mr. HÉBERT. It made an impression on you that you owned two automobiles at one time?

Mr. Hiss. That is right. But, as to the particular time when I had the two automobiles, it was sometime during this general period. As to the particular time, without consulting the records, I am not able to testify with positiveness.

Mr. HÉBERT. I want to get this clear. In other words, you would not have given up the mode of transportation if you did not have any transportation yourself.

Mr. Hiss. Unless I was not going to need automobile transportation for a period of time.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then the logical assumption would be that you did have two automobiles at the same time that you gave this man Crosley your automobile.

Mr. Hiss. That is my best recollection. Whether it is accurate in detail I will know better when I get the records and can attempt to refresh my recollection, Mr. Hébert.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, let me put the remainder of the testimony regarding the ownership of the automobile which is on page 56.<sup>14</sup>

Mr. NIXON. You gave this Ford car to Crosley?

Mr. Hiss. Threw it in along with the apartment and charged the rent and threw the car in at the same time.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, added a little to the rent to cover the car?

Mr. Hiss. No; I think I charged him exactly what I was paying for the rent and threw the car in in addition. I don't think I got any compensation.

Mr. STRIPLING. You just gave him the car?

Mr. Hiss. I think the car just went right in with it. I don't remember whether we had settled on the terms of the rent before the car question came up, or whether it came up and then on the basis of the car and the apartment I said, "Well, you ought to pay the full rent."

On page 58<sup>15</sup> the record continues:

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of a bill of sale did you give Crosley?

Mr. Hiss—

referring to the car—

Mr. Hiss. I think I just turned over—in the District you get a certificate of title, I think it is. I think I just simply turned it over to him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Handed it to him?

Mr. Hiss. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. No evidence of any transfer. Did he record the title?

Mr. Hiss. That I haven't any idea. This is a car which had been sitting on the streets in snows for a year or two. I once got a parking fine because I forgot where it was parked. We were using the other car.

Now, Mr. Hiss, is that the testimony, according to your best recollection?

Mr. Hiss. That testimony was according to my best recollection at the time I gave it, and that is why I gave it. I have not yet been able to get the record, as my counsel has testified. We have not been able

<sup>14</sup> Page 56 denotes original transcript. See p. 958, this publication.

<sup>15</sup> Page 58 denotes original transcript. See p. 959, this publication.

to ascertain from the Motor Vehicle Bureau people what their records show with respect to that car.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did Mr. Crosley do with this Ford, do you know?

Mr. HISS. I frankly do not recall. It is possible that he used it; it is even possible that he returned it to me after using it. I really would not be sure of the details.

My impression and recollection was that I got rid of it by giving it to him, but if the records show that it bounced back to me from him, that would not surprise me either.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, as a matter of fact, Mr. Hiss, you sold the car a year later, did you not?

Mr. HISS. Not to my recollection. I have no definite recollection of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not recall selling the car?

Mr. HISS. I have no definite recollection.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you have a Plymouth during this period? Did you have another car?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that I did have a Plymouth during part of the same time that I had the Ford.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have here an application for a certificate of title of the Motor Vehicles and Traffic Bureau of the District of Columbia, wherein it states that Alger Hiss, 2905 P Street, NW, purchased or acquired the

above-described car: Plymouth, new, model PJ; year, 1935; body, sedan.

It gives the serial number, engine number, and states:

How secured: Conditional sale; date, September 7, 1935, purchased from the Smoot Motor Co., Inc.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. NIXON.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, your recollection is still that you gave the car to Crosley as part of the apartment deal: is that correct?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is as definite as it can be after this lapse of time, Mr. Nixon, that as I was able to give him the use of the apartment, I also and simultaneously, I think, although it could possibly have been a little later, gave him the use of the model A 1929 old Ford. That is my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. That was in the spring of 1935?

Mr. HISS. My best recollection is that the car and the apartment transactions were simultaneous. That I cannot be sure of without checking the records more thoroughly.

Mr. NIXON. Well, there were facts, as I recall, just checking through the record, 18 occasions in which you were asked the specific question, specifically about this on Monday and Tuesday in the record, as to whether you had given him the car, sold him the car, threw it in, given him the title, and as to whether it was part of the apartment deal, and in each case you said, "Yes," and at that time you did not qualify your answers with "to the best of my recollection."

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon—excuse me.

Mr. NIXON. Proceed; I am sorry.

Mr. HISS. It is my recollection that on the 16th and on the 17th I informed the committee that I had not been able to check my records.

Mr. NIXON. On the leases.

Mr. HISS. At one point I said to the committee that for them to ask me questions about various personal details of long ago did not seem to me entirely fair to me, because of the various leaks that had been occurring with respect to supposed secret testimony.

I said that in spite of those reservations, if the committee wanted me to testify as to the best of my recollection, unsupported by records, I would, of course, do so, and I remember Mr. Hébert particularly spoke up and said he did want me to, and so did you, and I said, on that understanding of what I had said, made no difference to the committee, they still wanted me to testify, and on the basis of recollection, after all these years, I was perfectly prepared to testify. I think the record would show that, Mr. Nixon, and I am glad the entire record is going to be made generally available to the public and not just excerpts, which, in the past, have somehow reached the press, and which today are being put in out of context by Mr. Stripling.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, in that connection, I think the record should show that you requested and have received, a full copy of your testimony that you have given before this committee, both in public and in executive session; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. May I answer that question by saying it was a long, hard pull to get that testimony. I was promised it long before I got it. I remember the explanation of the committee that Mr. Banister, who was taking it, the stenographer, had not been able to transcribe it. It took me a long time, with my office here constantly calling both the committee and the stenographer, for me ever to get it. I got it quite belatedly.

Mr. NIXON. When did you get it?

Mr. HISS. You gave me part of it, a relatively small part, perhaps half of the 16th, on the 18th.

Mr. NIXON. On the 17th: on the 17th, the day you testified, 24 hours after you gave the testimony, you had the first half.

Mr. HISS. Did you give it to me the day I testified in New York?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS, you recall—

Mr. HISS. Or was it some time—I am asking whether it was the day I testified or the day Mrs. Hiss testified?

Mr. NIXON. You will recall it was the day you testified.

Mr. HISS. Well, I do not challenge what you say. I do remember the difficulty with which I was pursuing getting it. I had been assured that it would be ready the first thing next morning, and it was not.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, the first half of your testimony that you gave in your executive session on Monday you received 24 hours later on Tuesday, when I delivered it to you in New York.

Mr. HISS. After very considerable inquiry and demand, and having heard a variety of stories out of the committee as to why it was not possible. There had to be a letter of approval, there had to be this, and that, and the rest of my testimony I got late Friday, only by having a messenger fly it up to New York to get it to me, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. The messenger received that testimony from the committee on Friday morning, did he not?

Mr. HISS. I do not know the exact time. I know he was not able to get it to me in New York until about 5 or 5:30 of the afternoon of Friday, and I know he flew in order to get it to me, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. That was 48 hours after the testimony had been completed; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. The record will show exactly when the testimony was completed. If it is 48 hours, it is 48 hours.

Mr. NIXON. That is right. In other words, you had the testimony for 5 days then?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, the way you put the question would indicate that if I had done nothing it would have reached me 48 hours after. I had to move heaven and earth to try to get it.

Mr. NIXON. Well, the point is, Mr. HISS, that you got the testimony, didn't you, and you have had it for 5 days?

Mr. HISS. I have had the testimony since Friday afternoon.

Mr. NIXON. All the testimony that you have given before the committee.

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. That is correct.

Now, returning to the automobile, did you give Crosley a car?

Mr. HISS. I gave Crosley, according to my best recollection—

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, just a moment on that point. I do not want to interrupt you on that "to the best of my recollection," but you certainly can testify, "Yes" or "No" as to whether you gave Crosley a car. How many cars have you given away in your life, Mr. HISS? [Laughter.] That is a serious question.

Mr. HISS. I have only had one old car of a financial value of \$25 in my life. That is the car that I let Crosley have the use of.

Mr. NIXON. This was a car that had a certain sentimental meaning to you, I think you said.

Mr. HISS. And that is why I had not been prepared previously to accept merely \$25 for it.

Mr. NIXON. That is right.

Mr. HISS. I was more interested in having it used than in merely getting \$25 for it.

Mr. NIXON. And this car, which had a sentimental value to you, was the only car you ever gave away in your life?

Mr. HISS. It is not only the only car that I ever gave away in my life, it is the only car of that kind that I have described that I ever had.

Mr. NIXON. I see. And you cannot recall whether or not you did give Crosley that car?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, according to my best recollection I definitely gave Crosley the use of the car, as I was able to give him the use of my apartment.

Mr. MUNDT. May I interrupt just a minute? On page 53<sup>16</sup> of these hearings which took place in New York, at which I was not present, the last 2 days, I, too, have read all of the testimony in this whole case, and you were asked the question "What kind of automobile did that fellow have," the man you called Crosley, and you said, "No kind of automobile. I sold him an automobile."

Now, Mr. HISS, I am trying to get at the truth of this, and I wish you would make a statement and stand by it. Once you say, "I sold him an automobile, period." Now, you come here and say "I gave him the use of the car," and then you say "I cannot tell whether or not after he had the car he gave it back to me or not."

<sup>16</sup> P. 53 denotes original transcript. See p. 957, this publication.

Well, now, in 1934 and 1935 we were in a depression; automobiles were not so numerous and so plentiful that a Government employee would forget what happened to the cars that he had in his possession. You certainly know whether or not you gave Crosley an automobile; you know whether or not Crosley gave that car back, and we want the truth, that is all.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, I am as interested in getting at the truth of this matter as any member of this committee can be, and I shall do all I possibly can, whatever it costs me, within my means, to get at the truth.

Mr. MUNDT. Then, tell us the truth.

Mr. HISS. Now, what is the nature of your question? Will you repeat it, please, because I paid more attention to the embellishments—

Mr. MUNDT. Did you not testify in New York under oath to the effect that "I sold him—Crosley—an automobile?" I find it here in the printed testimony which we are now releasing to the public at the request of the committee, and it is your request.

Mr. STUPLING. That is page 58.<sup>17</sup>

Mr. HISS. What is the specific question? The embellishments to your question made more impression on me than the question.

Mr. MUNDT. There are no embellishments, and I ask you: Did you testify under oath in New York—

Mr. HISS. I certainly did.

Mr. MUNDT. As follows: "What kind of automobile did that fellow have?" Pointing at Crosley. And you said, "No kind of automobile. I sold him an automobile."

Did you say that or not?

Mr. HISS. If the record says I said it—

Mr. MUNDT. The record says that.

Mr. HISS. I do not challenge the record.

Mr. MUNDT. Your counsel can look at page 53;<sup>18</sup> there it is, it is in the record.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, there may be one or two inaccuracies in the record which we will have to correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that an inaccuracy?

Mr. HISS. That is not an inaccuracy in the record. I have complete confidence in Mr. Banister as a reporter.

Mr. MUNDT. You also know whether or not Mr. Crosley gave you back the automobile you sold him. You said this car had a good sentimental value to you, you had kept it a long time. You certainly know, and we know that you know, whether you got that car back. We want you to tell us the truth, that is all.

Mr. HISS. You know a great deal, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. It is very hard to know very much about this evasive type of testimony, but I am trying to get at the truth.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, you referred to the depression. It is also a fact that old second-hand cars had a not considerable value during the depression. If the depression is relevant to our question, it seems to me that an additional fact is also relevant. Now, what is the exact question you are asking me.

<sup>17</sup> P. 58 denotes original transcript. See p. 957, this publication.

<sup>18</sup> P. 53 denotes original transcript. See p. 957, this publication.

Mr. MUNDT. You have answered it. I have asked it, and you have answered it.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Mundt, may I interpose a question at that point?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. As far as the value of Ford roadsters at that time go, I think it might be relevant to quote from the want ads which appeared in the Washington Evening Star in June 1935 as to the value of 1929 Ford roadsters. The value which is given here, the lowest cash value, is \$59. In consulting the dealers in Washington, the committee investigators found that the trade-in value on a car would be more than \$59. The lowest cash value of all the want ads that appeared at that time for '29 Ford roadsters was \$59.

I only bring this in to show that the car had something a little more than a sentimental value, even in 1935.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, as I have testified before, my recollection is that I was at no time ever told that that car, during this period, had a value of more than \$25 or \$30 or \$35.

Mr. MUNDT. Well, let us assume it was worth \$35. Are you a man, or were you at that time a man, of such means that \$35 meant nothing to you at all?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, as I have also testified, I had a sentimental attachment to this car which transcended \$35 or \$20 or \$25 or \$30. Rather than simply see it go on the scrap heap through a trade-in, or a casual sale, I had hung on to it as it depreciated in value.

Mr. MUNDT. Very well; but it had depreciated down to \$35, according to your testimony, or \$59, according to the official Blue Book at the time, or something over \$59, as a trade-in value.

Now, you said you sold him the car, and you again repeated that today, and on page 58<sup>19</sup> of your statement.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, I think I also, in the course of that same testimony, and with equal truthfulness, so far as I could recall, said that I gave it to him. I have not been through the record on this particular point. I think you will find various references to the transaction on the 16th, the testimony of the 16th.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right.

Mr. HISS. And the testimony on the 17th.

Mr. MUNDT. You testified originally—

Mr. HISS. It may be—

Mr. MUNDT. Wait a minute. It may be that you testified—

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have one speaker at a time.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; you have something to say?

Mr. HISS. It may be that you are pointing to the one place in the testimony where I said "sold." It may be I said "sold" more than once. I have not checked, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Mundt, may I just, to clear this up, say that I have made a study of this record on the automobile, and I would like to read for the record at this time the references, all the references, which I have been able to find concerning what Mr. Hiss did say about this car. I want the committee to know the type of question and the type of answer.

<sup>19</sup> P. 58 denotes original transcript. See p. 958, this publication.

I also want the committee to know whether or not in these cases Mr. Hiss qualified his answers with the "to the best of my recollection" statement.

I want to say that before I do read this, that Mr. Hiss, as he has stated when he first began to testify said that he did not want to testify concerning his leases, and his apartments, without checking the leases, and that on that point he did want to testify to the best of his recollection.

Now, let me read this just for the record at this point so that there will be no question in the minds of the members of the committee or of Mr. Hiss that we are reading only parts of the record on this automobile.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. MUNDT. That is a good idea.

Mr. NIXON. The first reference comes on page 52,<sup>20</sup> and I shall read:

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of automobile did that fellow have?

Mr. HISS. No kind of automobile. I sold him an automobile. I had an old Ford that I threw in with the apartment and had been trying to trade it in and get rid of it. I had an old, old Ford we had kept for sentimental reasons. We got it just before we were married in 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it a model A or model T?

Mr. HISS. Early A model with a trunk on the back, a slightly collegiate model.

Mr. STRIPLING. What color?

Mr. HISS. Dark blue. It wasn't very fancy but it had a sassy little trunk on the back.

Mr. NIXON. You sold that car?

Mr. HISS. I threw it in. He wanted a way to get around and I said, "Fine. I want to get rid of it. I have another car, and we kept it for sentimental reasons, not worth a damn." I let him have it along with the rent.

Mr. DAVIS. To make the record clear, I think you said page 52—I think it is page 53.<sup>21</sup>

Mr. NIXON. Page 53, you are correct; it is 53 that I am reading from. There is a strike-over on my page; it looks like 52.

Mr. DAVIS. Mine, too.

Mr. NIXON. I have that page:

"I have another car, and we kept it for sentimental reasons, not worth a damn." I let him have it along with the rent.

The next reference to the car comes on page 56<sup>22</sup> of the record, as I recall it, and I must say that there may have been one spot, two spots, that I have missed, but I have attempted to get them all here so that the record will be clear.

Mr. NIXON. You gave this Ford car to Crosley?

Mr. HISS. Threw it in along with the apartment and charged the rent and threw the car in at the same time.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, added a little to the rent to cover the car?

Mr. HISS. No; I think I charged him exactly what I was paying for the rent and threw the car in in addition. I don't think I got any compensation.

Mr. STRIPLING. You just gave him the car?

Mr. HISS. I think the car just went right in with it. I do not remember whether we had settled on the terms of the rent before the car question came up, or whether it came up and then on the basis of the car and the apartment I said, "Well, you ought to pay the full rent."

The next reference that I find in the record concerning the car is on page 58,<sup>23</sup> starting at the bottom of page 57:

<sup>20</sup> P. 52 denotes original transcript. See p. 954, this publication.

<sup>21</sup> P. 53 denotes original transcript. See p. 954, this publication.

<sup>22</sup> P. 56 denotes original transcript. See p. 958, this publication.

<sup>23</sup> Pp. 57 and 58 denote original transcript. See p. 959, this publication.



Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of a car did you get?

Mr. HISS. A Plymouth.

Mr. STRIPLING. A Plymouth?

Mr. HISS. Semisedan.

Mr. STRIPLING. Four-door?

Mr. HISS. I think I have always had only two-door.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of bill of sale did you give Crosley?

I should like to interpose at this point that when a bill of sale is discussed, a bill of sale refers to a transfer of title to an automobile.

Mr. HISS. I think I just turned over—in the District you get a certificate of title, I think it is. I think I just simply turned it over to him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Handed it to him?

Mr. HISS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. No evidence of any transfer. Did he record the title?

Mr. HISS. That I have not any idea. This is a car which had been sitting on the streets in snows for a year or two. I once got a parking fine because I forgot where it was parked. We were using the other car.

I turn now to the testimony—I think this is the next reference—to the testimony given on the following day, on the 17th, and I will refer the committee to page 13<sup>24</sup> of that testimony, and we again pick up the car at that point:

In the course of the negotiation he referred to the fact that he also wanted an automobile.

And then, turning again—that is Mr. Hiss' testimony—I will refer the committee to page 19,<sup>25</sup> the testimony on Tuesday, the 17th—we will start at the bottom of page 18 so that you can get the continuity:

Mr. NIXON. So you agreed with him that he could move into your apartment for 3 months, approximately?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Which would be for a consideration of, say, \$225, roughly?

Mr. HISS. Whatever the actual cost to me was.

Mr. NIXON. And then there was some conversation about a car. What was that?

Mr. HISS. There was. Mr. Crosley said that while he was in Washington he wondered if he could get a rented car or something, because he would like to have it while his family were with with him, get out week ends, something like that. I said, "You came to just the right place. I will be very glad to throw a car in because I have been trying to get rid of an old car which we have kept solely for sentimental reasons which we couldn't get anything on for trade-in or sale." I would be very glad to let him have the car because we wanted somebody to make real use of it. We had had it sitting on the city streets because we had a new one.

Mr. NIXON. It was a '29 Ford?

Mr. HISS. One of the first model A Fords.

Mr. NIXON. The year of this transaction would be 1935?

Mr. HISS. That would be my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. A 6-year-old Ford?

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. You just gave him the car with his \$225 rental?

Mr. HISS. As part of the total contract. That is my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. The rent was simply the going rate, as you indicated?

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And you just threw in this 6-year-old car with it?

Mr. HISS. That is my best recollection. I don't think it figured as a financial element in the transaction.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know the Blue Book value of a 1929 Ford in 1935?

Mr. HISS. I certainly don't. I know what the going rate was with sellers of new cars. I think the most I had ever been offered for it was \$25 or \$30 at that time, a few months before that.

<sup>24</sup> P. 13 denotes original transcript. See p. 980, this publication.

<sup>25</sup> Pp. 18 and 19 denote original transcript. See p. 982, this publication.

Mr. NIXON. So you gave him this car?

Mr. HISS. As part of the whole transaction.

I now turn to page 40<sup>26</sup> of the record on Tuesday:

Mr. NIXON. You never knew this man under the name of Carl?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. NIXON. You never paid this man any money for Communist Party dues?

Mr. HISS. I certainly did not.

Mr. NIXON. This is the man you gave the car to?

Mr. HISS. Car?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. HISS. C-a-r—yes.

On page 41:<sup>27</sup>

Mr. NIXON. You have never given Crosley anything you recall besides the car?

Mr. HISS. I have no such recollection. I don't consider I gave him the car, but threw it in with the whole transaction.

Mr. Chairman, those are the references to the car, and there are these points that I think are significant:

In the first place, we note that Mr. Hiss not only once but at least twice used the word "sold" in referring to the car.

In the second place, we note that there was discussion concerning a title, a transfer of title. A transfer of title on a car is a matter which is discussed when you are selling a car to another person, and transferring it rather than a case where you are loaning the car to another person; and Mr. Hiss discussed the transfer of title along that line.

Mr. Hiss, throughout this testimony, used the words "get rid of" and he used the words "threw it in," and in answer to a question concerning the words "You gave him the car," his answers were as the record has been read.

Now, I have read those portions from the record because I think that Mr. Hiss is entitled to have the entire record on the car read in at this point, and I wanted the committee to know what the references were.

I will say for myself that I am amazed to hear Mr. Hiss say this morning that he can only now testify to the best of his recollection as to whether he ever gave Crosley a car at all, that he is not sure as to whether or not he transferred the car to Crosley, that he might have given it to him for his use only, and that he is not even sure when the transaction occurred, and I think Mr. Hiss should be given every opportunity to explain just what his recollection was as to this car at the present time, and if he wants to change his testimony, that he change it, and tell us exactly what did happen to that car.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I am surprised if not amazed that you said just now that I testified this morning that I could not remember whether I had ever let Mr. Crosley have the use of my car. I don't think I did so testify, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, since you have raised that point, you will recall that when I asked you, did you give Crosley a car, you said:

Mr. Nixon, to the best of my recollection, I did.

Mr. HISS. Right.

<sup>26</sup> P. 40 denotes original transcript. See p. 991, this publication.

<sup>27</sup> P. 41 denotes original transcript. See p. 991, this publication.

Mr. NIXON. And I said:

Mr. Hiss, certainly on this point, you need not qualify your answer with the words "to the best of my recollection." If you gave him a car, you gave him a car, and you should be able to give a categorical answer to the question.

Now, I ask you again, just so that the record will be clear, did you give Crosley a car? And if you can answer the question, "Yes" or "No," I think the committee would be glad to get the answer.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, it is evident that the committee has had access to far more record information than I have had.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, do you have to have records in order to know whether or not you gave a car away, the only car you ever gave away in your life?

Mr. HISS. No; Mr. Nixon, I have testified, and I repeat my testimony, that my best recollection—and to have an exact recollection of trivial housekeeping details of 14 years ago, when I was a very busy man, doing more important things than these matters you are asking me to testify to about this morning, and I have been a relatively busy man since, it does not seem to me, being as objective as I can about it, that it is unusual for a man to preface his statements about the details by which he gave the use of a car, under the circumstances I have described, to a man who meant nothing in particular to him by the words "to the best of my recollection."

Now, I do think that the committee has had access to more records. It has had a fuller staff than I.

In reading over the record over the week end, I noticed one of your questions to me, after I had been testifying to the best of my recollection, that I lived on Twenty-ninth Street, and at one point you said, "Now, this apartment was on Twenty-eighth Street," and I, in my ignorance, corrected you, and said, "No, Twenty-ninth Street," and you said, "Oh, no, Twenty-eighth Street."

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, there is not going to be any question about the committee raising a question as to whether you said Twenty-eighth or Twenty-ninth. That is something that any person could forget. But I do not think—

Mr. HISS. But I think you knew, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. But I do not think—I have not raised the point this morning, and do not intend to.

Mr. HISS. No; but I say I think you knew it was Twenty-eighth Street when you asked me. I think you already had access to records that I had not had time to have access to in order to refresh my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Certainly.

Mr. HISS. That is all on that.

Mr. NIXON. My point on the car is, is your testimony now that you gave Crosley a car, or is it that you did not give him a car?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, my testimony, I believe from the beginning, based upon the best recollection I have, is that I gave Crosley the use of the car, as I gave him the use of the apartment.

Now, whether I transferred title to him in a legal, formal sense, whether he returned the car to me in connection with my upbraiding him for not having repaid various small loans, and the loans stick in my memory as of more significance than the rental of the house itself, because that rental did not involve anything that I was going to get

from any other source in any event, a couple of months left over, a couple of months in the summertime, for an apartment in Washington—that was not a very great financial asset in those days.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, is your testimony this morning then that you did not give Crosley the car, that you gave him the use of the car?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I have testified, and I repeat it, that my best recollection is that I gave Crosley the use of the car. Whether I gave him the car outright, whether the car came back, I don't know.

Mr. NIXON. You do not know whether you had the possession of this car after Crosley left you?

Mr. HISS. That, I am afraid, I cannot recall. I do recall having a Plymouth and a Ford at the same time for some months, not just a few days. I do recall the Ford sitting around because it was not being used, the tires going down because it was just sitting on the street.

Mr. NIXON. In fact, you have testified that that is the reason you gave Crosley the car, because you did have the two cars.

Mr. HISS. I testified that that was the reason, I believe, the car was of no financial consideration to me, Mr. Nixon, during the period we are talking about.

Mr. NIXON. Yes, Mr. HISS. You will recall I had just read the testimony where you said "I gave Crosley the car because I had a new one."

Mr. HISS. That is my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, this transaction in which you gave this car to Crosley occurred after you got your new car, is that correct?

Mr. HISS. That is my recollection, Mr. Nixon. Whether my recollection is accurate or not, I frankly do not know without consulting records which are not available to me.

Mr. NIXON. Now, is your testimony then that you did give Crosley the use of the car?

Mr. HISS. That is my testimony, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. On that point you are sure?

Mr. HISS. As sure as I can be of any of these details of 14 years ago, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS—

Mr. HISS. Have you ever had occasion to have people ask you continuously and over and over again what you did on the night of June 5, 1934 or 1935? It is a novel experience to me, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS, I will answer the question. I will tell you this: That if I had given anybody the use of a car for a period of 2 months, I would remember.

Mr. HISS. Well, I have testified to you that I do recall that.

Mr. NIXON. All right. Now, your testimony is that you did give Crosley the car for a period of 2 months. When did that occur?

Mr. HISS. My best recollection is that it coincided with the sublease. I am not positive that it occurred then, rather than in the fall or some other time.

Mr. NIXON. And you do not know whether it occurred at the time of the sublease or in connection with that transaction?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that it occurred because it is fixed in my memory in a rather vague way as connected with the lease. Whether it preceded or followed or was simultaneous, I am afraid I am not able to testify with exactness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. NIXON. Just a moment. Mr. Hiss, it is not likely that you would have given the car to Crosley after he failed to pay the rent, is it?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall the details of when I concluded he was a fourflusher.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, you have testified that he went—

Mr. HISS. It was sometime—not after this.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony was that you had seen Mr. Crosley after he failed to pay the rent.

Mr. HISS. Yes; I feel quite confident I saw him some time after the sublease transaction.

Mr. NIXON. Now, do I understand you to say that you might have loaned Crosley a car for a couple of months after he failed to pay the rent?

Mr. HISS. I might have, if I had considered that his reasons for not paying were as plausible as his reasons had been for not paying back small loans, because the rent was not a major consideration in my mind. Of that I feel quite confident.

Mr. NIXON. When were the small loans made?

Mr. HISS. Again, Mr. Nixon, I am testifying from the best of my recollection, which I have certainly in the course of the last few days done my very best to go over and over again. I think I loaned Crosley a total, in small amounts, of \$25 or \$30. Whether they were made prior to the sublease, some of them after the sublease, I just frankly do not recall with exactness. But at some stage I reached the conclusion that this had better be terminated, that I was being used, that my kindness was being abused.

Mr. NIXON. And your testimony then is that the car—that you are not sure that the car was tied in to the rental transaction; you think it might not have been.

Mr. HISS. It could have been tied in toward the end, it could have been tied in toward the beginning. My best recollection is that there is a connection between the two transactions.

Mr. NIXON. Could it have taken place several months after the rental transaction?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, it could have.

Mr. NIXON. You mean several months after he had refused to pay the rent?

Mr. HISS. After he failed to pay the rent.

Mr. NIXON. Well, didn't you ask him for the rent?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I don't recall at any time his ever refusing, ever saying, "I just am not going to pay." Quite the contrary, he was always going to pay at some time.

Mr. NIXON. How long after he moved out of his apartment did you decide he was a dead beat?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I am not able to testify with exactness on that.

Mr. NIXON. But you think it is possible that you loaned him a car or gave him a car after he failed to pay the rent?

Mr. HISS. I may very well have given him the use of the car even though he had not paid the rent at that particular time.

Mr. NIXON. And your testimony is that this man was simply a casual acquaintance.

Mr. HISS. This man was an acquaintance. Under the circumstances this man was an acquaintance, under the circumstances to which I have testified.

Mr. NIXON. You said he was not a guest in your home. You objected when Mr. Stripling used that phrase.

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. You objected when there was any suggestion that Mr. Crosley was a friend of yours, and you are now testifying that it is possible that you gave him a car after he failed to pay the rent.

Mr. HISS. Yes, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. All right.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I think we can resolve this matter of a car by a very simple question, and I want to say, first of all, that it is certainly inconceivable, Mr. Hiss, that you would not know some of the details of this automobile in the manner in which you have described it. You have described it as a car that was purchased about the time of your marriage, that you had a sentimental value connected with it, that, I say, is understandable. You say that it had been around for a considerable period of time, and you no longer had a need for it because you had another automobile, and so you either sold or gave or loaned the automobile to the man that you identify as Mr. Crosley.

Now, that is a correct summation, I believe, of your position up to now.

Mr. HISS. It sounds to me quite correct.

Mr. MUNDT. And I want to ask you this question, and on this one, Mr. Hiss, you will not have to consult the records, and I certainly hope that you will not have to use the phrase "to the best of my recollection," which you have used over 75 times thus far before this committee. This one you should be able to say yes or no to. Did you ever dispose of that 1929 automobile to anybody else in any way besides to Mr. George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, I would hate to disappoint you in any expectation.

Mr. MUNDT. You have already done that, but answer the question.

Mr. HISS. I am not able, without consulting the records, to testify with exactness or finality as to the way in which I ultimately completely disposed of my interest in that automobile.

Mr. MUNDT. You have no memory at all of having disposed of the car in any other way except by this series of three possibilities by which you conveyed it to Mr. Crosley? Would you like to have this committee believe, Mr. Hiss, actually believe, that you cannot remember how you finally disposed of an automobile that had such a sentimental attachment to you, and which meant something to you?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, I have already testified that my recollection is that I let Crosley have the use of it; I may have let him have complete disposition. He may be the person who disposed of it.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; just a moment; may I interrupt you? As a matter of fact, whether you gave it to him or loaned it to him or made it part of the—a material part of the lease—unless you had let him make final disposition of it, you certainly would know what you had done with the car after that.

Mr. HISS. If the car came back to me, if he returned the car to me, and I later disposed of it—

Mr. MUNDT. You would know of it.

Mr. HISS. I do not have a recollection of what I did.

Mr. MUNDT. But you would have a recollection of it, of having it back.

Mr. HISS. I would like to have an opportunity to consult the records, and I have been attempting to consult the records, and they are not available to me, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. It is not necessary for anybody in this room to consult a record as to what he did with an automobile that he did not dispose of unless it happened to be an automobile dealer. Individual Government clerks, Mr. HISS, do not have so many automobiles that they are giving them away, and loaning them, or disposing of them with no recollection, and certainly not one with a sentimental value like this 1929 Ford had for you and Mrs. HISS.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, it may not be pertinent for the record, but I did not consider myself simply a Government clerk at the time. I don't know whether that is relevant or not.

Mr. MUNDT. Maybe I misspoke.

The CHAIRMAN. I think Mr. HISS is correct there.

Mr. MUNDT. But you did testify that you were not a man of means, with a whole fleet of automobiles.

Mr. HISS. That is certainly correct.

Mr. MUNDT. So the record shows, then, to the best of your recollection, you do not recall making any other disposition of that car finally except this transfer to Mr. Chambers or Mr. Crosley.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, we have been dealing in off-the-cuff recollections so long the importance which this committee is now evidently attaching to these details is such that I think I should recall with such aids to memory as I possibly can take.

Mr. MUNDT. But you need no aids to your memory on a matter like that automobile. On your leases I can understand, and your address I can understand. From the standpoint of disposing of an automobile of that type you certainly would stretch the credulity of this committee if you would have us believe that you have no memory at all of what happened to this automobile.

Mr. HISS. I am not an expert on the credulity of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. HISS, as a lawyer, don't you think it is a rather peculiar procedure for a tenant who is signatory to a written lease to sublease an apartment containing valuable furniture to a comparative stranger?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Vail, it so happens that I did exactly that same thing 3 or 4 years before. I sublet, without any formal arrangement, a house I then had as the tenant in Georgetown on Thirtieth Street to a man who was then a casual acquaintance in Washington.

I had his name recalled to me this winter through other circumstances. I have asked him or had him asked whether his recollection of that transaction of the summer of 1930, I think it was, is the same as mine, that it was done at the cost to me of my lease, that it was done informally and without writing, and he said to the best of his recollection it was done exactly the same way then.

Last summer and this summer, the two places that I have taken for the summer, I have also taken without a formal lease from the owners of the premises, simply an informal understanding.

Now, to me, Mr. Vail, it is not an unusual procedure, because I have done it on a number of occasions. It may be unusual to other people; it has not seemed so to me.

Mr. VAIL. It would not, however, be a recommendation to a client on your part, as an attorney, would it?

Mr. HISS. No; if I were thinking of protecting a client's interests, who was then handling property of sufficient value to consult an attorney, I would advise him to do it with more written records of the transaction. These, in all of the occasions that I have mentioned, the sums were not very large either from my point of view or from the point of view of the person with whom I was dealing. I have never myself attempted to write out leases, although I am a lawyer. When I came to sell my house in Georgetown, where the sums were greater, I did not attempt to handle the written papers personally. I turned that over to counsel, to the title company.

Mr. VAIL. But on this occasion, Mr. Hiss, you went a step further and took a further risk. You gave to this subtenant the use of an automobile. You owned at the time two cars. Were both of those cars covered by liability insurance?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that from the time I lived in Massachusetts I have had liability insurance. I think in Massachusetts it is obligatory, and I believe that I have had liability insurance.

Mr. VAIL. Were the cars registered in Massachusetts, both cars?

Mr. HISS. No; because I had only the Ford when I was living in Massachusetts.

Mr. VAIL. But you believe that the Ford car at the time that you loaned it to Mr. Chambers was covered by insurance.

Mr. HISS. I am sorry, I do not recall really.

Mr. VAIL. Well, as a lawyer, would you not say that it was a highly important thing that a car that was registered in your name be covered, if operated by a comparative stranger, against liability?

Mr. HISS. I think that is a very good point, Mr. Vail, speaking in terms of hindsight. It did not occur to me at the time.

Mr. VAIL. You are a lawyer, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. I am a lawyer, Mr. Vail.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Hiss, I want to know if we can agree on something here. It was certainly in the spring or summer of 1935 that Mr. Crosley and his family occupied or sublet the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street.

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that correct? It could not have been the following year?

Mr. HISS. Not so far as I can possibly recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. It could not have been in the fall of 1935?

Mr. HISS. Not so far as I can recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.



Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to read from the testimony of Martha Pope, who was a maid in the home of Mr. Hiss during this period. Her testimony was taken yesterday, and I quote from the testimony:

When Mr. Hiss was living at the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street, what kind of an automobile did he have?

Mrs. POPE. A roadster.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of a car was it?

Mrs. POPE. It was with a back, you know, little coupe, with the back seat like—rumble seat.

Mr. STRIPLING. A Ford?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. A Ford rumble seat. What color was it?

Mrs. POPE. I think it was black with one of those tan tops, I think.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, when you moved to the P Street house, did he still have the Ford car?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he still have the Ford car?

Mrs. POPE. That is the only one I remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he ever have anything else while you worked for him?

Mrs. POPE. No.

Mr. Hiss. May I ask, Mr. Stripling, if you asked Martha Pope the dates when she worked for me?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; we did.

Mr. Hiss. Would you mind giving them also?

Mr. STRIPLING. She testified, Mr. Hiss, that she was working for you at the time you moved from the Twenty-eighth Street apartment and that when you moved to the P Street address, and, in fact, she testified that you did not move any furniture.

Now, here is the testimony:

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, did you work for them at this apartment until they left?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you there with them until they left the apartment?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you moved, when they left the apartment, they went over to P Street?

Mrs. POPE. P Street.

Mr. STRIPLING. And moved into a house; did they not?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that house on a corner?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember the corner house. I do not know whether it was a corner house or not.

Mr. STRIPLING. But they did move into this house.

Mrs. POPE. They moved to a P Street house.

Mr. STRIPLING. And it was already furnished?

Mrs. POPE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. In this apartment on Twenty-eighth Street, when they moved out, did they take the furniture?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember them taking the furniture.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you remember their taking any furniture?

Mrs. POPE. I do not remember taking any furniture. All I remember is their going to this P Street house.

Mr. Hiss. Mr. Stripling, you did not quite answer the question I asked. When did Martha Pope testify that she left my employ?

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, she testified, Mr. Hiss, that she was in your employ during the period in question here. I will be glad to make her testimony available to you, but we are dealing here now with a specific period.

Mr. HISS. But you do not know her testimony as to when she left my employ, the actual date; how long after we moved to P Street?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I will have that looked up. It is right here.

In the meantime, Mr. Chairman, I should like now to refer to the testimony of Whittaker Chambers, which he gave on August 7 in New York City in the Federal Building.

Mr. NIXON. Did they have a car?—

referring to Mr. and Mrs. Alger Hiss.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; they did. When I first knew them they had a car. Again I am reasonably sure, I am almost certain it was a Ford, and that it was a roadster. It was black, and it was very dilapidated. There is no question about that. I remember very clearly that it had hand windshield wipers. I remember that because I drove it one rainy day and had to work those windshield wipers by hand.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall any other car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It seems to me in 1936 probably he got a new Plymouth.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall its type?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was a sedan, a two-seated car.

Mr. MANDEL. What did he do with the old car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Communist Party had in Washington a service station; that is, the man in charge or owner of this station was a Communist, or it may have been a car lot.

Mr. NIXON. But the owner was a Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The owner was a Communist. I never knew who he was or where he was. It was against all the rules of the underground organization for Hiss to do anything with his old car but trade it in, and I think this investigation has proved how right the Communists are in such matters, but Hiss insisted that he wanted that car turned over to the open party so it could be of use to some poor organizer in the West or somewhere. Much against my better judgment, and much against Peters' better judgment, he finally got us to permit him to do this thing. Peters knew where this lot was and he either took Hiss there or he gave Hiss the address, and Hiss went there, and to the best of my recollection of his description of that happening, he left the car there and simply went away, and the man in charge of the station took care of the rest of it for him. I should think the records of that transfer would be traceable.

Mr. NIXON. Where was that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In Washington, D. C. I believe; certainly somewhere in the District.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have here a certificate of title, a photostatic copy of a certificate of title, District of Columbia, Director of Vehicles and Traffic. It shows that on July 23, 1936, Alger Hiss assigned the title of this car to the Cherner Motor Co., and I now ask that Mr. Hiss step aside, and that Mr. Russell take the stand.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, before that happens, may I make a request of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS. I would like to ask whether Mr. Chambers' testimony, a transcript of Mr. Chambers' testimony, can be made available to me at this time, so that as this hearing goes along we will have the advantage which the committee has of knowing what the entire testimony is.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to make it available to you, but not at this time.

Mr. DAVIS. You understand the importance of it. This hearing is apparently going to go on for some time.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Counsel, I will make the remark at this point that I think will clear it up, and you, as counsel, will agree.

Mr. Chambers has not had a copy of Mr. Hiss' testimony. In fact, he has not seen a copy of his own testimony, and as far as this matter

is concerned, as you can see, where the credibility of witnesses is concerned, it is important that we question the witness concerning these matters, so that we can get objective answers to objective questions, and, Mr. Chairman, I believe, under the circumstances that we should proceed in the usual order.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. Russell, would you take the stand, please. Stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUSSELL. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. RUSSELL

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, you are an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, he has been identified numerous times for the record. I do not think it is necessary to further identify him.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, I hand you a photostatic copy of an assignment of title, as recorded in the District of Columbia, and ask you to give the committee details of your investigation regarding this sale and assignment of title [handing photostatic copy of document to witness].

Mr. RUSSELL. The space on the back of the document called the certificate of title of a motor vehicle, as issued by the Director of Vehicles and Traffic for the District of Columbia, reflects that on July 23, 1936, one Alger Hiss sold to the Cherner Motor Co. of 1781 Florida Avenue, N.W., a motor vehicle.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, is there any evidence that he sold the motor vehicle, on the face of that?

Mr. RUSSELL. On the face, under the section which reads as follows:

The motor vehicle described on the reverse side of this certificate, and the undersigned hereby warrants that the title to the said motor vehicle, and certifies that at the time of delivery the same is subject to the following liens or encumbrances and none other.

Under that, in typewriting, is the word "None." There is no indication as to the amount of money involved in the transaction.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, did you proceed to the Cherner Motor Co. with a subpoena, and examine their records and subpoena all of their sales records for this date?

Mr. RUSSELL. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have those records with you?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is there any evidence of a sale on that date from the records that we have obtained?

Mr. RUSSELL. In the records which we obtained, which were the only ones available, there is no evidence that a sale or the subsequent sale of a 1929 Ford roadster was made by the Cherner Motor Co. on that date.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, just a moment. Going back to the assignment of title, does the photostatic document reflect that the car was sold or

assigned on the same date that Mr. Hiss turned it in to the Cherner Motor Co?

MR. RUSSELL. Yes; the reassignment of title reflects that on July 23, 1936, which is the same date that the car was turned over to Cherner Motor Co., by Mr. Hiss, that one William Rosen, of 5405 Thirteenth Street, NW., was the purchaser of the same motor vehicle involved for the amount—the amount is not given. However, it states, or there is a statement on this document, that there was a chattel mortgage of \$25.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you go to the address listed there, 5405 Thirteenth Street, NW.?

MR. RUSSELL. No; but investigators attached to my division did.

MR. STRIPLING. Who were the investigators?

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. William A. Wheeler and Mr. Benjamin Mandel and Mrs. Howard also visited that address.

MR. STRIPLING. Did any person by the name of William Rosen reside at that address during 1936?

MR. RUSSELL. No.

MR. STRIPLING. Was there any record of a William Rosen having resided at that address?

MR. RUSSELL. No.

MR. NIXON. Who was the—who resides at that address at the present time?

MR. RUSSELL. Mrs. Howard would have to mention that. I am not familiar with the persons presently residing there.

MR. NIXON. You do not have the information as to that?

MR. RUSSELL. No; Mrs. Howard has that.

MR. NIXON. But what your record shows, I understand, Mr. Russell, is that this car was transferred by Mr. Hiss on what date?

MR. RUSSELL. July 23, 1936.

MR. NIXON. That is a year after the transfer to Chambers is supposed to have taken place?

MR. RUSSELL. Yes.

MR. NIXON. Is that in the handwriting of Mr. Hiss?

MR. RUSSELL. According to an identification of certain handwriting specimens consisting of the known handwriting of Mr. Hiss on the questioned document which is this assignment of title, the handwriting experts have testified that the signature appearing on the back of this document, called assignment of title, was written by Alger Hiss.

MR. STRIPLING. Here is the report of the handwriting experts at this time.

MR. NIXON. Is it true also that the words "Cherner Motor Co.," had been written in by Mr. Hiss, or are in the same handwriting?

MR. RUSSELL. Whether the handwriting examination shows that, I do not know. I do not believe that it does.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Stripling, you have information on that fact?

MR. STRIPLING. We have not made a determination on that point. I want to ask Mr. Hiss.

MR. NIXON. I see. Do the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities or the files which you have consulted disclose any information concerning the William Rosen who gave this address?

MR. STRIPLING. There are two William Rosens. This committee is now checking. We find no William Rosen who ever resided at that address. There are two Rosens. We are checking one in California

and the other in Detroit. We are not prepared at this time to state definitely concerning these two William Rosens.

Could I clear up one point, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Russell, you have the sales slips of the Cherner Motor Co. for the date on which this car was sold to William Rosen.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have the slips for the day before?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. And the following day?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you explain to the committee the numbering system of those sales slips, and tell them whether or not the sales slips, as contained there in the files which were subpoenaed, reflect that this car was sold to William Rosen.

Mr. RUSSELL. These sales invoices are numbered in consecutive order. The last sales invoice for the date July 21, 1936, bore the number 7879.

The first sales invoice for the following day, which was the day before the transaction was recorded on the assignment of title, begins with the number 7880, and ends with the number 7897. There were no invoices missing on that day.

On the following day, July 23, 1936, the date of the transaction, the number was 7898. The last invoice on that date was 7908, and on the following day, July 24, 1936, the invoices begin with the number 7909, and end with number 7923.

If you follow the numbers in consecutive order from the last number of July 21 through July 24, 1936, you will find that there are no sales invoices missing, which indicates that no sales invoice for the sale of this automobile to William Rosen was made out by the Cherner Motor Co. on the day before the sale was recorded on the assignment of title, on the day that the sale was recorded, on the assignment of title, nor on the day following the assignment of title, which was July 24, 1936.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, I think this point should be an occasion for Mr. Nixon, who is chairman of a subcommittee, to state clearly for the record the investigation to this point regarding the Cherner Motor Co.

Yesterday Mr. Cherner, who is head of the motor company, was before the committee, as well as the treasurer, and the vice president in charge of used cars, I believe—three officials of the Cherner Motor Co. who were before the committee. There is no evidence at this time that any of these three officials or that the Cherner Motor Co. might have been a party to any such transaction. It is very possible that a person who was with the Cherner Motor Co. at that time is involved. We expect to have something on that later in the day.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, the subcommittee yesterday heard Mr. Cherner, of the Cherner Motor Co., and Mr. Mensh, who was the sales manager of the Cherner Motor Co., at the time this transaction occurred.

Both witnesses testified at length. Their testimony will, of course, be made public, and I want to say for the record that, as far as both of them were concerned, they had no recollection whatever of this particular transaction, and that, as far as the investigation of the sub-

committee is concerned, there is no implication at all that they were involved in the transaction from the basis of their testimony.

I want that to be made absolutely clear, because the record of their testimony, which will be made public, will bear out what I have just said.

Do I understand, first of all, that you do have the records of the Cherner Motor Co. for the day of that particular transaction?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. And you find nothing in those records at all bearing on this transaction?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You have searched the records carefully to see whether possibly the invoice might have been misplaced?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir. The invoices are numbered in consecutive order; and if you take the day before the transaction occurred, and find that number and trace that through, and the following day, and then take the first invoice for the day after the transaction, you will find that those numbers are in consecutive order, so there could not be a sales invoice for that day missing.

Mr. NIXON. I see. And as far as Mr. William Rosen is concerned, the investigations of your staff have shown that the address that he gave was an address which the occupants of the home at that time deny was his at that time?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. NIXON. That is all I have at this time.

Mr. STRIPLING. I ask that Mr. Hiss be recalled.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. I just want to ask one clarifying question.

In other words, this transfer of title which the Cherner Motor Co. supposedly gave to the man Rosen does not appear officially at all in their files or in their invoices?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Am I to understand also, then, that if such a transaction did take place as reflected by this document from which you read, that it was a cover-up sale?

Mr. STRIPLING. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, what I am trying to clarify, Mr. Strippling, is what connection has the fact—what does it establish, that these invoices are consecutively numbered, and then, you have a missing invoice of a sale which is supposed to have taken place, and that one missing invoice relates to the car sold.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is not a missing invoice.

Mr. HÉBERT. There is not a missing invoice?

Mr. RUSSELL. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. The point we are making is that Mr. Hiss, according to this document, delivered the Ford automobile to the Cherner Motor Co. on July 23, 1936. On that same date this car was sold or transferred to one William Rosen, but there is no evidence in the sales records of this particular transaction.

Mr. HÉBERT. It was an unusual case.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe that the officials—one of the officials of the Cherner Motor Co.—testified yesterday that it was a very unusual case.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is what I wanted to know.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right, Mr. Hiss.

### TESTIMONY OF ALGER HISS—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, I show you this photostatic copy of assignment of title, title No. 245647, for a Ford used, model A, 1929 roadster, and the numbers are A-21888119-19-33—that was the date on which it was originally registered in the District of Columbia. The tag, I believe, was 245647, in the name of Alger Hiss, 3411 O Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Now, Mr. Hiss, is this your signature which appears on the reverse side of this assignment of title? [Showing witness photostatic copy.]

Mr. HISS. Mr. Stripling, it certainly looks like my signature to me. Do you have the original document?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; I do not.

Mr. HISS. This is a photostat. I would prefer to have the original. Do you have the original?

Mr. STRIPLING. The original document, Mr. Chairman, cannot be removed from the Department of Motor Vehicles. They keep it in their possession.

Mr. HISS. They have it in their possession now?

Mr. STRIPLING. I assume they do.

Mr. DAVIS. Could it be subpoenaed?

Mr. STRIPLING. It might be possible to subpoena it here if they bring it up themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Hiss, can't you tell from the photostat what this signature is? Whether it is your signature or not?

Mr. HISS. It looks like my signature to me, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if that were the original, would it look any more like your signature? [Laughter.]

So, it is just reasonable to believe that you can tell from that whether or not it is your signature.

Mr. HISS. I think if I saw the original document I would be able to see whether this photostat is an exact reproduction of the original document. I would just rather deal with originals than with copies.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Stripling, may I interrupt? In other words, in order to give Mr. Hiss every opportunity—if we recall what he did with the photograph, that he did not recognize Mr. Chambers for some time, and he finally recognized him. I suggest that the committee issue a subpoena duces tecum to the motor-vehicle people and let them come in here with the original, and it will be just a matter of hours, and he will have to admit it is his signature.

Mr. HISS. The reason I asked was that we had not been able to get access to the original. I just wondered what had happened to it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will try, and Mr. Stripling, you try at noontime, if we ever reach noontime.

Mr. STRIPLING. I think we can reach it this way. Do you recall ever signing the assignment, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. I do not at the moment recall signing this.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is this your handwriting? There is written here, "Cherner Motor Co., 1781 Florida Avenue NW." Did you write that?

Mr. HISS. I could not be sure from the outline of the letters in this photostatic copy. That also looks not unlike my own handwriting.

Mr. MUNDY. Could you be sure if you saw the original document?

Mr. HISS. I could be surer. [Laughter.]

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. HISS and Mr. Chairman, yesterday the committee subpoenaed before it W. Marvin Smith, who was the notary public who notarized the signature of Mr. HISS. Mr. Smith is an attorney in the Department of Justice in the Solicitor General's office. He has been employed there for 35 years. He testified that he knew Mr. HISS; he does not recall notarizing this particular document, but he did testify that this was his signature.

Mr. HISS. I know Mr. Marvin Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. You know who?

Mr. HISS. I say I know Mr. Marvin Smith.

Mr. STRIPLING. The man who notarized this.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS, you knew Mr. Smith, the notary, who signed this in 1936, did you not?

Mr. HISS. I did.

Mr. NIXON. It is not likely that he would have notarized your signature unless you would have been there?

Mr. HISS. It certainly would not.

Mr. NIXON. On the basis—in other words, you would not want to say now that you question the fact that Mr. Smith might have violated his oath as a notary public in notarizing a forged signature?

Mr. HISS. Definitely not.

Mr. NIXON. Then, as far as you are concerned, this is your signature?

Mr. HISS. As far as I am concerned, with the evidence that has been shown to me, it is.

Mr. NIXON. All right; you are willing to testify now then that since Mr. Smith did notarize your signature as of that time, that it is your signature?

Mr. HISS. On the basis of the assumptions you state, the answer is "Yes."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to say this, Mr. Chairman. While Mr. HISS is on the witness stand I would like to make the following comment: That I have been present every time that Mr. HISS has appeared before this committee and one other time, and in view of the many high and important positions he has held in our Federal Government, I have treated him with every possible courtesy. However, he testified some time ago this morning that there was a rather heavy inference that the Committee on Un-American Activities was stalling in giving him the testimony, the copy of the testimony that was given to him.

I think the record will show that it was constantly through his efforts. I recall his efforts to get the testimony. I was a member of the subcommittee which went to New York, and I believe Mr. HISS came to the Commodore Hotel at my invitation, and I presided there, and I believe he was treated with all of the propriety which a witness should receive at the hearing.



I recall we took along Mr. Banister, the stenographer, who had gotten that far only half of the testimony up, and we delivered the testimony to Mr. Hiss in New York.

I would like to say, Mr. Hiss, that you got your testimony many, many hours before I got mine, and the heat and pressure that you were putting on the committee for the purpose of getting the testimony was nothing at all to the heat and pressure that I was putting on them, and I want to say that there was no slowing down in any way or in any fashion in getting that testimony to you. I think that should be made a part of the record.

Mr. HISS. Mr. McDowell, I am perfectly prepared to accept that as an accurate statement. All that I was saying was that I had difficulty and delays in getting the testimony. I have no reason to think that those difficulties and delays were not explainable on the basis you so stated.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Hiss, now that your memory has been refreshed by the development of the last few minutes, do you recall the transaction whereby you disposed of that Ford that you could not remember this morning?

Mr. HISS. No; I have no present recollection of the disposition of the Ford, Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. In view of the refreshing of your memory that has been presented here this morning?

Mr. HISS. In view of that, and in view of all the other developments.

Mr. HÉBERT. You are a remarkable and agile young man, Mr. Hiss.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, before the committee recesses, I failed to put into the record a letter here which we received from Gerald P. Nye, regarding George Crosley.

The letter is addressed to Mr. Benjamin Mandel, director of research for the committee:

DEAR MR. MANDEL: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of August 18 inquiring of any recollection that might be mine of a writer named George Crosley who allegedly had been engaged in writing articles in connection with the munitions investigations in 1934 and 1935 conducted by a Senate committee of which I was chairman. The name of Crosley does not enter my recollection in any way, shape, or manner.

Very truly yours,

GERALD P. NYE.

The letter is dated August 19, 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more questions from any members?

The Chair would like to announce that we will recess until 2:30 this afternoon, and there will be an executive session downstairs in the committee room at 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 1:05 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. this day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will come to order.

The record will show that those present are Mr. Mundt, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Hébert, and Mr. Thomas. A quorum is present.

Mr. Stripling, the first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Alger Hiss.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss, you, of course understand that you are still testifying under the oath you took this morning.

Mr. HISS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Stripling.

### TESTIMONY OF ALGER HISS—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to introduce into the record certificate of examination and inspection made by the Department of Vehicles and Traffic, District of Columbia, of the Ford car in question.

This certificate, Mr. Chairman, was made by the Cherner Motor Co. to the Department of Vehicles and Traffic of the District of Columbia. It says:

This certifies that this day the physical examination of used motor vehicle trade number Ford 1929, body roadster, discloses the following engine number, 2188811, and that these have been checked against information appearing on certificate of title issued by District of Columbia under 245647.

It is further certified that items of this motor vehicle as shown below have been mechanically inspected and tested and the "O. K." inserted opposite each item. It is noted that they comply with District of Columbia traffic regulations appearing on the first side and that the mechanical condition of this motor vehicle is such as to permit its operation in compliance with general safety.

The items are then listed:

Brakes, headlight, horn, rear view mirror, windshield wiper, windshield glass. All are marked "O. K." The date is July 23, 1936. It says:

The above engine and serial numbers were obtained by physical examination.

It is signed, stamped in, "Cherner Motor Co., by Edward S. Barton"—B-a-r-t-o-n.

"The above engine and serial numbers were checked against the title by Cherner Motor Co."—stamped in—and then "Harry L. Cohen.

"Items of motor vehicle mechanically inspected, Cherner Motor Co."—stamped in, and then—"Edward S. Barton."

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show at this point that Mr. Vail is present.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Hiss, do you know an individual in Washington by the name of Bialek, B-i-a-l-e-k?

Mr. HISS. B-i-a-l-e-k?

Mr. STRIPLING. B-i-a-l-e-k.

Mr. HISS. The name means nothing to me, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall anything of the details concerning the transfer or sale of this car to the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. HISS. As I testified before lunch, Mr. Stripling, I do not have any present recollection of the transfer of title, a photostat of the certificate of which you showed me before lunch.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Nixon, do you have a question? Go right ahead.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, just to summarize this car transaction, what is your testimony now as to what you did with the car?

Mr. HISS. Beginning with what date, what stage in the transaction?

Mr. NIXON. Beginning with the stage when you gave the car to Mr. Crosley.

Mr. HISS. My best recollection, Mr. Nixon, as I believe I have testified previously on several occasions, is that I made the car available to Crosley. Whether I gave it to him outright, whether it came back to me from him, whether at some later stage he or someone else came to me and said "You disposed of a car, there remains a technical transaction to be completed." I have no present recollection.

Mr. NIXON. As I understand your answer then, you are sure that you gave the car to Crosley either for a loan or by transfer.

Mr. HISS. I am. That is my best present recollection.

Mr. NIXON. On that point. But you do not remember whether or not Mr. Crosley gave the car back to you and whether or not you transferred it later to the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. HISS. No; I do not.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall that incident at all?

Mr. HISS. No; I do not.

Mr. NIXON. You don't deny, however, that the notarization of your signature on the transfer to Cherner Motor Co. in July of 1936 is your signature?

Mr. HISS. I certainly do not.

Mr. NIXON. I see. But you don't recall that transaction?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall it. I would want to talk to Mr. Marvin Smith to see what his recollection is. I have no recollection.

Mr. NIXON. The committee took the testimony of Mr. Smith, who testified that he did notarize your signature, that he knew you, and that had you not come before him for notarizing the signature, he would not have notarized the signature.

Mr. HISS. I would have had the same impression, because I know Mr. Smith.

Mr. NIXON. Now, then, there is one point on which the testimony is clear. You have testified that you did give a car to Crosley, but now you say it might have been a loan, that it might not have been simply an outright transfer or gift. Is that correct?

Mr. HISS. I say it may have bounced back or it may have been a loan. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. All right. The possibilities are that you have transferred to him outright and it came back to you or that you may simply have loaned it to him.

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. That is right. Now, when did that transaction occur?

Mr. HISS. The transaction of making the car available to Crosley?

Mr. NIXON. That is correct, whether by loan or by gift.

Mr. HISS. Again, Mr. Nixon, I think I have testified to this before. My best recollection is that that was connected with the subleasing transaction. Whether it was simultaneous, whether it preceded it, or whether it followed it I am not clear in my own recollection at the present time.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony is that you could have given him the car before, during, or after the subleasing transaction?

Mr. HISS. To the best of my recollection I would not be able to be sure.

Mr. NIXON. At the time you gave him the car did you have your new car?

Mr. HISS. Again my recollection, Mr. Nixon, is that I had a Plymouth and the Ford at the same time. Of that I feel very confident.

Mr. NIXON. Of that you are very confident?

Mr. HISS. Whether I had them both at the time of the transaction with Crosley I cannot at this late date be absolutely certain.

Mr. NIXON. Well—

Mr. HISS. My impression is I did and that was one of the reasons why I was prepared voluntarily to make the Ford car available to him.

Mr. NIXON. In any event, Crosley had the car according to your recollection for a period of say 2 months?

Mr. HISS. A period of time, that is correct.

Mr. NIXON. If he had the car for 2 months, it would seem quite obvious that you must have had another car at that time.

Mr. HISS. It may or may not be obvious.

Mr. NIXON. It may or may not be—

Mr. HISS. It may or may not be obvious.

Mr. NIXON. Do I understand you to say that you might have loaned the car to Crosley for 2 months and you didn't have a car during that period?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, if during that particular period I for some reason had no need of a car, either because someone had loaned me a car which was better than that one or because I was on a vacation when the car was of no use to me, there are many possibilities. I don't feel I have exhausted all the possibilities.

Mr. NIXON. Then you wish to change the testimony that you gave on Monday and Tuesday that at the time you gave the car to Crosley you had your new car. Is that correct?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, so far as I am aware I am not changing any testimony. I am doing my best to amplify my testimony, to continue to answer questions asked by this committee.

Mr. NIXON. So far as you are concerned you are not prepared to say whether or not you had a new car at the time you gave this car to Crosley?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is there was a connection between the new car and the transaction with Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Stripling, will you put in evidence at this time the registration for the new Plymouth which Mr.—

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe you have that, Mr. Nixon.

(Short pause.)

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest you look for that later.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Stripling—

Mr. STRIPLING. It was read into the record this morning; as I recall, it was September 6, 1935.

Mr. NIXON. That was read into the record this morning?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. September 6, 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. That is the time when the new Plymouth was registered in Mr. Hiss' name?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Hiss, does that refresh your recollection as to when this transaction with Crosley occurred?

Mr. HISS. No, I am afraid it does not.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony is, then, as I recall, that it is probable that at the time you gave this car to Crosley it was when you had two cars available?

Mr. HISS. That seems probable.

Mr. NIXON. Then it is quite probable, in your opinion, that this transaction took place after September 6, 1935?

Mr. HISS. Again I am not able to recall in terms of actual present memory. I have done the best I can to give this committee all the recollection I have from the very beginning and I will continue to do so.

Mr. NIXON. When did you last see Mr. Crosley?

Mr. HISS. Again my best recollection is some time in 1935. Whether it was the fall or not I am not sure.

Mr. NIXON. How many times after Mr. Crosley's rental agreement expired on June 26 did you see him?

Mr. HISS. I can't recall with exactness. I would think not more than a couple of times—two, three times. But I am not positive.

Mr. NIXON. Not more than two or three times?

Mr. HISS. I would think.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Crosley ever stay overnight with you on any of those occasions?

Mr. HISS. I think I testified when that question was asked me before that he may have, that I have some recollection either before or after the sublease arrangement of Mr. Crosley saying he had been unable to get a reservation, had come into town late or something, but I frankly don't recall his staying overnight except the 2 or 3 days prior to his moving into the apartment.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS, the documentary evidence which you yourself suggested the committee should introduce and which we have introduced shows clearly that you had possession of this car for possibly 12 months and probably for at least 9 months after Mr. Crosley received possession of it. You don't recall having had the car during that period?

Mr. HISS. Excuse me, Mr. Nixon. I am not confident that the documentary evidence at the committee's disposal and at my disposal does demonstrate conclusively that I had possession of the car during that period.

Mr. NIXON. Do you deny that you executed on July—in July 1936, this transfer of the car, the title, to Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I hadn't finished what I was saying. Shall I finish or answer that?

Mr. NIXON. Answer that question and then proceed on the other, if you will.

Mr. HISS. Proceeding in inverse order, the specific question you last asked, I do not deny and have no reason to deny that I executed the document, a photostat of which was shown to me this morning.

What I was saying was that it does not to my mind conclusively demonstrate that in between that date and the time we were talking about in the summer of '35 that I had possession of the car. It is conceivable to me that I did not have possession of the car during that time, that if I was asked to complete a mere formal legal technicality at a later date, I did so, and I am trying to look into that question at the present time. That is one of the reasons I want to talk to

Mr. Marvin Smith and anybody else who could possibly have any information.

Mr. NIXON. You mean the person that had possession of the car at that time might have asked you to complete this transaction?

Mr. HISS. That is quite possible, and someone may have come into my office in the Department of Justice—Mr. Marvin Smith was in the same office where I worked in the Department of Justice—and may have said to me, “You disposed of a car some time ago. There is a technical legal step that needs to be taken. Would you simply sign a statement?” That I have no present recollection of, Mr. Nixon, but I am doing my best to recall to get the evidence.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Crosley come in there and ask you to do that?

Mr. HISS. I have no recollection of seeing Mr. Crosley after 1935.

Mr. NIXON. He is the man you gave the car to?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. He is the man that would have had possession?

Mr. HISS. That doesn't necessarily follow, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Did you give the car to anybody else?

Mr. HISS. You are leaving out some possible steps. He may have given the car to somebody else.

Mr. NIXON. Are you testifying to that?

Mr. HISS. I am not testifying. I am trying to answer your questions, Mr. Nixon, which you seem to think are pertinent and important questions.

Mr. NIXON. They certainly are.

Mr. HISS. And I am doing my best to be responsive to the questions and if you don't think the answers to the questions are evidence, I am afraid that is your fault because you are asking the questions.

Mr. NIXON. Then you think then—your testimony is that at least the title of the car was in your name until July of 1936?

Mr. HISS. The evidence that I have seen today certainly looks that way, Mr. Nixon. You are asking me to speculate and I am doing my best to comply with your request.

Mr. NIXON. If you executed a transfer of title to the car that wasn't yours, that would be something quite unusual, wouldn't it, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. Not if I was merely taking care of a formal detail of transfer.

Mr. NIXON. I asked you if the title was in your name. Obviously the title was in your name or you wouldn't have had to take care of this formal execution. Can't you give me a yes or no answer to that question?

Mr. HISS. The record, Mr. Nixon, as I have seen it today would indicate the title had remained in my name until the date Mr. Stripling has referred to in 1936.

Mr. NIXON. You don't deny then you did execute this title?

Mr. HISS. I do not, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Then the title was in your name at that time.

Mr. HISS. The evidence would so indicate, Mr. Nixon. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. You will say the evidence would indicate that the title was in your name?

Mr. HISS. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe that the title was in your name?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, I have done my best to give you beliefs, conjectures—

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question about that.

Mr. HISS. Speculations, whatever you ask. I am not prepared at this time to say what I believe about something 14 years ago where I don't have positive, definite recollection and where the evidence so far before us does not, to my mind, make it absolutely clear.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that that car was in your name?

Mr. HISS. To the extent that my thoughts are relevant and of interest to this particular committee, it would look to me as of now—I am not now testifying as to past recollection—it would look to me as though, on the record, the car was in my name.

I may have thought I had disposed of it before and may have been told in '36 that I had not completely disposed of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the car in your name?

Mr. HISS. The evidence before this—

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind the evidence. You know whether the car was in your name or not. Was the car in your name?

Mr. HISS. I do not know for certain, Mr. Chairman. I am testifying on the basis of the evidence that has been submitted here today.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS, you are an attorney. You realize that under the law that if the title of the car was in your name, you would have been liable for damages in the event this man had an accident.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Vail asked me that question this morning. I certainly did not realize it. I don't know that I realized it then, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Would you repeat that answer?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Vail asked me a similar question this morning; I certainly did not realize it. I am not sure I had it in mind at the time.

Mr. NIXON. It is rather amazing to me that a man who stood extremely high in his class at Harvard Law School could say that he had gone through law school and wouldn't know that when the title to a car was in his own name, that in the event an accident occurred to that car that he would be liable for damages. You are not testifying to that, are you?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I would like to testify right now that as of the present moment I really do not have a firm opinion as to what the law would be if someone were driving a car registered in my name and were guilty of negligence causing the injury of someone else. I am slightly surprised at your implication that that would automatically make me as the registered owner of the car liable. Even now at this minute.

Mr. NIXON. How much, Mr. HISS—

Mr. HISS. I would like to refer that to counsel.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS, how much did you get from the Cherner Motor Co. when you transferred this car?

Mr. HISS. I have testified that I have no recollection of transferring the car to the Cherner Motor Co. and I certainly have no recollection of receiving any payment.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you are testifying today at least to this fact: That you had never any recollection of receiving any money for this car, to whomever you may have transferred it; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. I have no present recollection of receiving any money for that car. That is correct.

Mr. MURK. Mr. Nixon, I think he said he wanted to refer that question to his counsel. I would like to have his counsel answer that

question. You are an attorney in this city. How do you advise your clients as to the responsibility for an automobile registered in their names?

Mr. DAVIS. No one has asked that question. If anyone asked the question, I would say I want to search the law in the District of Columbia, and if I were pressed for an answer I would say that the registered owner of the car in the District of Columbia was not liable for torts of the driver of the car unless that driver was acting as his agent. [Laughter.]

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Stripling, this car was transferred to one William Rosen.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was sold to one William Rosen, or transferred from the Cherner Motor Co.

Mr. NIXON. What was the address William Rosen gave?

Mr. STRIPLING. 5405 Thirteenth Street, NW.

Mr. NIXON. Who lives there now?

Mr. STRIPLING. You mean now or in 1936?

Mr. NIXON. Who lives there now and who lived there then?

Mr. STRIPLING. A man by the name of Merriam lives there at the present time.

Mr. NIXON. Who lived there then?

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1936?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Bialek, B-i-a-l-e-k.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Bialek says he knows no William Rosen?

Mr. STRIPLING. Benjamin Bialek.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Bialek says no William Rosen lived there in '36?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Bialek said that. Mr. Bialek is ill.

Mr. NIXON. How long did the Bialeks live there after '36, do you know?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I think we have that. They moved from there in 1937.

Mr. NIXON. 1937. Well, now to summarize the situation concerning the car at this time for the record, it would seem that the facts which the committee has available through testimony and through documents are as follows:

Mr. Hiss testified on Monday, the 16th, and on Tuesday, the 17th, substantially to the following facts: He testified that he had a 1929 Ford roadster and that some time in the spring of 1935 at the same time that he sublet an apartment to Mr. George Crosley, that he transferred the car to him. The testimony of Mr. Hiss on that point has been read so the committee could hear it. The testimony certainly left every member of the committee convinced of the fact that Mr. Hiss had conveyed the impression that the transfer was outright, that he didn't get the car back, that it was not a loan, since he had used the words "sold," "get rid of," and that he had even discussed the matter of title when asked about title.

The transfer, according to Mr. Hiss, took place contemporaneously with the making of the lease with Mr. Crosley. The lease with Mr. Crosley, it has been established this morning had to occur because of the rental contracts which Mr. Hiss had—it had to occur between May 1 and June 26, 1935, because Mr. Hiss' contract for the apartment in which Mr. Crosley lived expired on June 26, 1935.



Subsequent to Mr. Hiss' testimony concerning the automobile, the committee investigators went to the Department of Motor Vehicles and also to the dealer from whom Mr. Hiss had purchased the car, and as a result of investigation established these facts from the record:

First, established that Mr. Hiss did not get a new Plymouth automobile, which was the first of the new automobiles that he purchased, until September of 1935, which is 5 months approximately after the time that he indicated in testimony on Monday and Tuesday that he had given the car to Crosley. It should also be said that in his testimony on Monday and Tuesday, Mr. Hiss, on three occasions, said that he gave the car to Crosley at that time because he had a new car and did not need the other car.

It was also established in checking the records that no transfer of any type of an automobile was recorded to Mr. Crosley from Mr. Hiss, either of the '29 Ford or of any other automobile, and it was established through the records that in July of 1936, 1 year after Mr. Hiss testified that he had given the car to Crosley and transferred the car to Crosley, 1 year later, he had transferred the car to the Cherner Motor Co. Also that the Cherner Motor Co. the same day had transferred it to one William Rosen who had given an address which, as the result of the committee's investigation so far, is a false address.

It was apparent to the committee therefore, laying the testimony of Mr. Hiss on Monday and Tuesday—and I might say I read from the record he was questioned concerning the car on at least 20 occasions—it was apparent from the record that Mr. Hiss could not have transferred the car to Crosley as he said he did in the spring of 1935.

It is apparent that if the transfer did occur it occurred 4 months after Mr. Crosley must have moved out of the apartment, 3½ months after Mr. Crosley must have moved out of the apartment.

It is also clear that the transfer was a loan or that he transferred the car to Crosley and Crosley transferred it back to him because Mr. Hiss later had to execute a document in order to transfer the title of the car to the Cherner Motor Co. in July of 1936.

Now, the question has been raised as to why the issue of the car is important. The issue of the car is important in this case for the reason that I stated during the morning session.

The issue before this committee today is whether or not Mr. Whittaker Chambers has falsely accused Mr. Hiss of being a member of the Communist underground during the period that he knew him from 1934 to 1937. Mr. Hiss came before the committee and based his denial on two grounds:

First. He denied that he was a Communist or had ever been a Communist, and he denied it categorically and strongly.

Second. He denied that he had ever known a man by the name of Whittaker Chambers, and when shown a picture of Mr. Chambers, he said he could not identify him at that time and that he would want to see the man himself before making an identification.

By reason of that fact Mr. Hiss in effect cast doubts on the credibility of Mr. Chambers. The committee therefore took the testimony of Mr. Chambers and the testimony of Mr. Hiss on the car has been read into the record. We also took the testimony of Mr. Hiss on the car on Monday and Tuesday with the results that I have just indicated.

I should like to say again that in this connection Mr. Hiss when he identified Mr. Crosley, Mr. Chambers as the man he knew as Crosley, he necessarily did tell the committee that he did not know Crosley as a Communist and in attempting to prove to the committee that he did not know Crosley as a Communist he made these three important points:

He said: (1), "Mr. Crosley was a free-lance writer whom I knew at the Nye committee"; (2), "He was a man that I sublet my apartment to"; (3), "He was a man that I gave a car to"; and I should add another: (4), "He certainly was not to my knowledge a Communist."

The committee has been going into all of these points. We have now gone into the point about the car and it would appear to me, looking at the record objectively, that it is quite apparent that Mr. Hiss could not have been correct in his testimony on Monday and Tuesday concerning the time that he gave the car and of the type of transaction, that it was a gift—I mean, that it was an outright transfer rather than a loan.

It is also quite apparent from the record that if Mr. Hiss did give Mr. Crosley a car at any time, he gave it to him after September 1936, 1935, when he had both of his cars—and in giving him the car at that time he obviously—it would obviously lead the committee to believe that Mr. Hiss knew Mr. Crosley 3 or 4 months after the period that Mr. Crosley, as Mr. Hiss said, wended on his rent.

It also was apparent that he gave the car to him at a time—that he gave the car to him after Mr. Hiss had learned that Mr. Crosley was not financially responsible and that he had not paid his rent.

That is my summary of it, Mr. Chairman, and I have no further questions on the car.

Mr. HISS. May I make a comment at this time, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. HISS. I would like to say that the record which Mr. Nixon has attempted to summarize will, of course, speak for itself. I am glad that the record is now being made public by the committee so that others may make their own summary of it.

I do not accept the summarization that Mr. Nixon has just made. But, of course, that is his privilege. It is the privilege of anyone to summarize the record.

May I at this time renew the request I made earlier to read into the record my statement? At the time I first appeared on the stand this morning you said the committee would reconsider my request. May I at this time be permitted to read into the record—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. May I see your statement, please?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, you say you have already seen it. You said you read it in the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. You said there were some changes from the last one.

Mr. HISS. No; I said I have a few points I would like to add to it, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't mind if I look at it?

Mr. HISS. I have them in notes. I also have some questions that I would like to address to Mr. Crosley-Chambers.

The CHAIRMAN. May I see the statement, just the statement?

Mr. HISS. The statement is the letter that was sent to you yesterday. Do you want to see that?

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you said this morning, though, that there were some changes from that.

Mr. HISS. I said this morning and I say again, Mr. Chairman, in addition to reading that letter into the record I have a few other points I would like to make on which I merely have notes, and there are a few questions I would like to ask Mr. Chambers-Crosley.

The CHAIRMAN. Just let the Chair see that statement and in the meantime Mr. Mundt will ask a question of the witness.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. HISS. I don't know whether you were asked the question or not, but do you know or did you ever know a man by the name of Rosen to whom—who was supposed to be the final owner of that car of yours?

Mr. HISS. So far as I know, I never heard the name before today.

Mr. MUNDT. You have no recollection at all of that?

Mr. HISS. I have no recollection of the name Rosen.

Mr. MUNDT. I want to go into a little different matter with you for a while because this strikes back to the first day you testified before the committee, at which time I was the acting chairman in the absence of Mr. Thomas due to illness.

At the time when you were first appearing before the committee you denied categorically that you ever knew Whittaker Chambers and you also, when presented a picture of Mr. Chambers taken the day he appeared before the committee, said that you could not identify that picture as being anybody whom you had ever known by the name of Mr. Chambers or any other name.

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct. Now, I have a picture that was taken of Mr. Chambers the day he testified, which was shortly before you appeared before the committee at your own request. You will recall you telegraphed the committee that you would like to appear on Thursday morning, and we heard you at that time.

Mr. HISS. I did, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I have here the picture which you were shown at that time, which you will see is an exact likeness of the same Mr. Chambers who is now sitting over there in that corner of the room.

Mr. HISS. May I see this picture?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; you may. I am putting it down for that purpose.

Mr. HISS. I don't wish to be technical, but this is not the picture shown to me on the 5th of August.

Mr. MUNDT. It may not be. That was a picture taken on that day.

Mr. HISS. I was not shown that on August 5. I was shown one picture on that day.

Mr. MUNDT. It is not my point that that was the particular picture, but that is a picture taken on the day he testified.

Mr. STRAPLING. This picture was made by the Associated Press on August 3.

Mr. HISS. What is the question, Mr. Mundt?

Mr. MUNDT. The question is whether you see any marked facial differences at all between Mr. Chambers as he sits over there now and the Mr. Chambers on the picture you now have before you.

Mr. HISS. No marked differences; no, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. You feel if you had seen that picture and then seen Mr. Chambers come walking into the room, that you would identify the two as being the same?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, I would like to remind you—I think you were not in New York on the day when I first saw Mr. Chambers since this testimony of his had occurred.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct. I was not present.

Mr. HISS. I identified Mr. Chambers as the man I had known as Crosley on several different grounds. I said then and still say that I can only regard his present features and pictures and looking at him as having a certain familiarity.

Mr. MUNDT. And you see no marked—

Mr. HISS. I identified him on several grounds, which I think the record will show. One was that he himself had testified he had had major alterations in his teeth.

Mr. STRIPLING. I can read the record on that.

Mr. HISS. I have a recollection of Crosley as a man with notably poor teeth.

I also identified him on the basis of his statement in my presence that he had been in my apartment with my permission when I was not there, but was living on P Street, and on the basis of his statement in my presence that with my permission he had spent several days in my house on P Street at about the same time. And finally because he admitted to the authorship of a tall tale which I remembered Crosley having told me and which I think I testified to the committee on either Monday or Tuesday that I did recall Crosley as having told; namely, that for local color purposes as a writer he had participated in laying the tracks of the first street railway in Washington, D. C.

That struck me when I first heard it as a tall tale. It still does. Mr. Crosley-Chambers, in my presence, before the subcommittee—

Mr. MUNDT. Why do you call him Mr. Crosley-Chambers?

Mr. HISS. I first knew him as Crosley. What his name is today I am not prepared to testify to or what other names he may have had.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you know him as Mr. George Crosley or Mr. Crosley-Chambers?

Mr. HISS. I knew him as Mr. George Crosley.

To complete the statement I was making, when I recited this tall tale in his presence, he spoke up and said, "It is true. I remember the name of the contracting firm I worked for."

When members of the committee expressed some doubt, as I had, as to the credibility of that particular story, he said, "Oh, maybe it wasn't the first street railway; maybe it was the W. B. & A."

On the basis of all those facts I told your committee that I was prepared to identify Chambers as the man I had known under the circumstances I have testified to as Crosley. That is the record. That is the fact. Mr. Hébert accused me of agility. I accept no accusation except that of truth.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, to get back to my question, do you find any major deviations between the picture which I have just shown you, which is a current likeness of Mr. Whittaker Chambers as we now know him, and Mr. Whittaker Chambers seated over there?

Mr. HISS. No; it looks like a moderately good likeness, slightly flattering, I would say. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I will admit that answer called for some laughter, but I think we had better have more order.

Mr. MUNDT. I happen to have here, Mr. Hiss, two pictures of the same Whittaker Chambers which were taken in 1934 at the time he was living in your apartment and known to you. I want to hand those to you and see if you see any marked differences between the pictures taken then and the picture taken on the day Mr. Whittaker Chambers testified before the committee.

Mr. HISS. I am afraid I wouldn't be able to recognize—you can only see part of the face there. Again you can only see part of the face. It would be very hard to say. I have no distinct recollection at this time of the facial appearance of George Crosley, and I have so testified.

My strongest recollection is of the bad teeth. When I saw him for the first time after these hearing began, I asked, as the record will show, if he would please open his mouth so I could look at his teeth.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, on that point there is considerable in the record which will be released today in which you did request Mr. Crosley to open his mouth and in which you even asked the name of his dentist and wanted to consult with his dentist before you made the identification positive.

My question may sound facetious, but I am just wondering: Didn't you ever see Mr. Crosley with his mouth closed? [Laughter.]

I am serious.

Mr. HISS. The striking thing in my memory about Mr. Crosley—

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to answer the question or are you going to bring up another point? Because we want you to answer that particular question.

Mr. HISS. I am attempting to answer the question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. HISS. The striking thing in my recollection about Crosley was not when he had his mouth shut, but when he had his mouth open.

Mr. NIXON. As far as you are concerned, the only way you can identify a person is when he has his mouth open? Is that correct?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I am talking about—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. The Chair would like to say we must have order in here and if you have got any very humorous remarks in the way of answers, call me out later on and give them to me because I always like a good laugh, but let's not have any more laughing in here if we can possibly avoid it.

Mr. HISS. I understood the laughter to be at the question, not at the answer, Mr. Chairman. Maybe you or Mr. Nixon would like to withdraw and tell your jokes.

The CHAIRMAN. It makes no difference whether it is the question or the answer. We have to have order. Now proceed.

Mr. HISS. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. NIXON. As I recall the question, I asked whether or not in identifying a person you have known as you had known Mr. Crosley for several months, it was necessary for you to see him with his mouth open.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, my testimony with respect to Crosley has been with respect to one individual under the circumstances under which I knew that individual. I have not testified that I cannot identify anybody generally except by whether his mouth is open or not

Mr. NIXON. Another point that you raised was this, Mr. Hiss. Did I understand you to say that you were basing or did base your positive identification of Mr. Crosley on, among other facts, the fact that he had agreed that he had told the tale about working on the Washington street railway?

Mr. HISS. That was one of the elements.

Mr. NIXON. Let me read the record to you on that point because I think it will refresh your memory. I am turning to page 31<sup>28</sup> of the record, Counsel, on the day of the identification.

Mr. DAVIS. Will you wait just a second until I get the record.

Mr. NIXON. Certainly. I want you to read it, too. It is page 31 of the 17th. I am sorry, Counsel, it is page 33.<sup>29</sup> I have the page wrong.

Mr. DAVIS. I have it before me. It is still the wrong page.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. McDowell is asking the question:

Well, now, Mr. Hiss, you positively identify—

and Mr. Hiss interrupting:

Positively on the basis of his own statement that he was in my apartment at the time when I say he was there. I have no further question at all. If he had lost both eyes and taken his nose off, I would be sure.

Mr. McDOWELL. Then your identification of George Crosley is complete?

Mr. HISS. Yes; as far as I am concerned, on his own testimony.

And then about 20 minutes later over on page 48.<sup>30</sup> for the first time on that day this story about the Washington street railway came into the testimony.

Now, how could that have entered into this identification of him?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I tell you it did. You quote me a passage in which I said I identified him. I can only say these stories about the street railway made certainty doubly sure.

Mr. NIXON. I see, but you had positively identified him before he told you the story of the street railway?

Mr. HISS. On the basis of his own testimony, if any of his testimony can be believed. He could only be Crosley because no one else had access to my apartment and my house under the circumstances which were described except Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. You consider Crosley an inveterate liar, I understand.

Mr. HISS. I wouldn't want to overstate anything before this committee.

Mr. NIXON. And yet you believed him completely when he told you he stayed in your apartment.

Mr. HISS. But I did agree with one part of your summarization when you said I had attacked his credibility.

Mr. NIXON. And yet when he told you he stayed in your apartment you took that statement at face value?

Mr. HISS. I said I didn't see how anyone could have testified to details about my personal belongings and the furnishings and the places I lived, could have testified that he had been in my apartment and my house under the circumstances that Crosley had been unless it were Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. And you had positively identified Mr. Crosley as Crosley long before the matter of the street railway came up. That is what the record shows.

<sup>28</sup> P. 31 denotes original transcript.

<sup>29</sup> P. 33 denotes original transcript. See p. 988, this publication.

<sup>30</sup> P. 48 denotes original transcript. See p. 994, this publication.

Mr. HISS. The record shows what it shows.

Mr. NIXON. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. May I put this into the record, Mr. Chairman? I believe you testified that Mr. Crosley gave you a rug at one time in part payment for the apartment.

Mr. HISS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. You recall then that he gave you a rug but you don't recall whether he gave you the car back. Is that correct?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, going on, I have shown these two pictures of Mr. Chambers taken in 1934, together with a picture of Mr. Chambers taken a few hours before your testimony, to a great many objective people, members of this committee and others, and you are the only one up to now who has said he wouldn't be able to see the striking similarity between the pictures taken in 1934 and the picture now.

Mr. HISS. I said, Mr. Mundt—

Mr. MUNDT. There is a little portion of the baby's clothing cutting off one portion of the ear and part of the teeth of Mr. Chambers, but his eyes are both evident, his hair is evident, the general facial characteristics are evident, and what is hard for me to understand is why a man whom you now recognize, you say, as being Mr. Crosley, and looks as much as he does like the gentleman whose picture was taken here in 1934, why you should have told us on that first day that you never laid eyes on the man.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, I told you on that first day that I, as far as I knew, had never laid eyes on Whittaker Chambers. I have also said—and the record will show I said it to the committee on the 16th and I said it to others before that—that there was a certain familiarity about the pictures I had seen in the press of the man who calls himself Chambers. There is still a certain familiarity. That is all I am able to say about his present appearance.

If the George Crosley of 1934 could somehow be materialized and walk into the room, particularly if he kept his mouth closed, Mr. Nixon, I am not sure that I would be able definitely to pick him out of a group of other people. I have no clear recollection.

Mr. MUNDT. When did you first conclude—because I was not present, I wasn't at that portion of the hearing—that instead of this Whittaker Chambers being a man about whom you knew nothing about, whom you had never seen, that perhaps he was a George Crosley with whom you had had a great many personal dealings? When did you first conclude that and why?

Mr. HISS. That question is, to say the least, a slightly loaded question. You talked about "a great many personal dealings."

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. You loaned him a car or gave it to him, and you loaned him your apartment or gave it to him, you loaned him money or you gave it to him, you entertained him in your home, you took him out to lunch. I think that stands as "a great many personal associations."

Mr. HISS. That is your privilege, Mr. Mundt. Leaving aside that aspect of the question, I think the record will show that in my testimony on the 16th I told the subcommittee that on the basis of certain press leaks that I had seen Monday morning about testimony with respect to my places of abode, personal details, I had tried to think of anyone who could be in position to give Chambers information

about me and I had written down a name because it didn't come readily, and that name I gave to the subcommittee in the course of my testimony Monday afternoon, the 16th.

Mr. MUNDT. Let me change now to another topic.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, would it be possible to have those pictures put into the record of this committee as an exhibit or in some manner because there has been a lot of testimony about them, and it seems to me the printed record without the pictures would be hard to understand.

Mr. MUNDT. I hope so, if we can induce the Government Printing Office to put in a photograph. I don't know if they will or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be ordered that they will be put in the record at this point.

Mr. STRIPLING. All three of the pictures?

Mr. MUNDT. All three of the pictures.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. That is a good idea.

(The three pictures referred to above are below and on the facing page.)



Whittaker Chambers and his child. Snapshots taken in 1934.

Mr. MUNDT. Since the question has come up so often, the thing we are really trying to get to, Mr. Hiss, is the credibility of your testimony versus the credibility of the testimony of Mr. Chambers and whether you have been completely forthright with this committee or whether you have been concealing some of the details which you cannot remember. I think the following question would be pertinent:

Let me ask, first of all, when did you first get employment with the Carnegie Foundation?



Mr. HISS. I was elected to my present position in December 1946 by the board of trustees.

Mr. MUNDT. At that time did you tell anything to any of the people who interviewed you or talked with you about that employment? Did you tell them about these questions which had been raised by the FBI when they came and interviewed you?

Mr. HISS. At that time, Mr. Mundt, the FBI had not come to interview me.

Mr. MUNDT. They came to you subsequent to your employment?

Mr. HISS. They did.



Associated Press photo.

Whittaker Chambers photographed at time of his testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D. C., August 3, 1948.

Mr. NIXON. Did you tell them at that time about the fact that you had had the interview with Mr. Tamm and his people as a result of Mr. Byrnes having told you in 1946 that there were charges that were going to be made by Members of Congress and as a result you should see the FBI? Did you tell them about that FBI interview?

Mr. HISS. My recollection on that point, Mr. Nixon, is that shortly after I had been elected but before I had assumed office I had a conversation with Mr. John Foster Dulles in which he said that he had heard reports that people had called me a Communist. We discussed those reports at that time.

I can only assume—this being at least a month before I assumed office—more than a month—that Mr. Dulles was satisfied that there was nothing to the reports, as I was myself.

Mr. MUNDT. You missed my question. I want to read from your testimony on page 370,<sup>31</sup> which you gave on August 5, the first day you appeared before the committee. You said:

In 1946, shortly after I came back from London where I had been at the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Justice Byrnes, then Secretary of State and my chief, called me into his office. He said that several Members of Congress were preparing to make statements on the floor of Congress that I was a Communist. He asked me if I were, and I said I was not. He said, "This is a very serious matter. I think all the stories center from the FBI. I think they are the people who have obtained whatever information has been obtained. I think you would be well advised to go directly to the FBI and offer yourself for a very full inquiry and investigation."

Then without burdening the record with the rest of your testimony, you testified that you did go to the FBI and that you talked either with Mr. Tamm or with a Mr. Ladd.

The point I raise is this: The test of forthrightness of your statements, whether before you accepted employment with the Carnegie Peace Foundation you told your prospective employers of this conversation with Mr. Justice Byrnes and of your subsequent talk with the FBI, both of which occurred before you took the position with the Carnegie Peace Foundation.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, to the best of my recollection, the circumstances to which you allude are as follows:

I had been anxious to return to private life sometime before 1946; at the conclusion of the San Francisco Conference in particular. I had had talks with my old law firm in Boston. I told my then chief, Secretary Stettinius, my desire and he urged—that is not too strong a word for me to use—me to stay for at least one further year because of the grasp of details relating to United Nations affairs which I had.

I stayed at his urging. At the time that Justice Byrnes spoke to me and that I went on my own initiative promptly to Mr. Ladd or to Mr. Tamm, I thought that that disposed of the matter. At the time when I accepted election as president of the Carnegie Endowment I particularly checked with Justice Byrnes as to whether I had my work in the Department in sufficient shape so that it was appropriate without injury to the Government's interests for me to leave.

I particularly reminded him that at the time when these charges had first come up in March I had said to him, "If there is any embarrassment to the Department about any of this, Mr. Byrnes, I will of course be prepared immediately to resign from the Department. I don't like to resign under fire or in a fight." He agreed with me.

In the late fall or early winter when I was preparing to accept election as president of the Carnegie Endowment, I checked with him specifically as to whether he thought the issue had been laid to rest, whether it was then an appropriate time for me to carry out the desire I had long had or whether he thought there was still a fight.

It was his impression, as I recall it, as it was certainly mine—I had been asked only cursory questions when I went to Mr. Ladd's office—that the matter had been entirely laid to rest.

Mr. MUNDT. That is a very long answer, but if I understand the pertinent parts, the answer means that you did not then give that information to the directors or the employing officials of the Carnegie Peace Foundation at the time they employed you.

<sup>31</sup> P. 370 denotes original transcript. See p. 648, this publication.

You may have thought it was immaterial or may have thought it was laid to rest, but at all events you did not take it up with them and they did not know about it at that time.

Mr. HISS. Before I assumed office, the matter was discussed between me and Mr. Dulles, as I testified. It was sometime in December. I assumed office February 1, 1947. Sometime in December 1946 the matter was discussed between me and Mr. Dulles.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you bring it up with Mr. Dulles or did Mr. Dulles bring it up with you?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Dulles called me and said he had had a report. I said, "I thought that had been laid to rest," and I discussed it with him then.

Mr. MUNDT. So, it still stands for the record, whether it has any pertinency or not, that you of your own volition did not bring this matter up with your prospective employers?

Mr. HISS. It stands for the record the way I testified.

Mr. MUNDT. That is the way you have testified.

Now, let me ask you when you first heard of the fact that Whittaker Chambers went to A. A. Berle in the presence of Isaac Don Levine and told about his operations as a Communist functionary and gave your name as one of the people with whom he had been associated, when did you first hear about that?

Mr. HISS. Not until either the day or the date after Whittaker Chambers testified before this committee or subsequent to then—whether I heard about it right then I do not know, but I did not hear of it at anytime before August 3 of this year.

Mr. MUNDT. It had never been brought to your attention?

Mr. HISS. It had never been brought to my attention.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement which I would like to make as a preface to the statement that Mr. Hiss is going to make subsequently, but I shall defer to see what other members of the committee have questions first.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. The Chair would like to make a statement.

Will the officer over at the door please clear the people away from the door so people can get in and out?

Will the officer who seems to be lost in the crowd see if he can do something?

Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. HISS, you just testified in answer to a question of Mr. Mundt's that you had never heard of the accusations of Chambers until August 3, I think it was, when these inquiries began.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Hébert, I testified that I had never heard until August 3 that when Whittaker Chambers had been to Mr. Berle with accusations about me. I had heard earlier than that date that a man named Chambers had said I was a Communist. I think I testified to that in the record.

Mr. HÉBERT. You heard that a man named Chambers had said you were a Communist. What did you do about it?

Mr. HISS. May I again tell you the circumstances under which I heard about it?

Sometime in the past winter I learned indirectly, not from the individual friend involved, that a friend of mine attending a dinner

party had heard a fellow guest at the dinner party say that Alger Hiss was a Communist and had been when he was in Government service.

This friend of mine had challenged this fellow guest and the fellow guest said, "I know it, because a man named Chambers said so."

The friend, according to the report as I got it, had followed it up, and had been told several days later by that same person that the person had checked back, and the person had been told that Chambers had been talking too much and was not saying now; so that I paid no further attention to it.

A lot of people, Mr. Hébert, have been called Communists in recent years.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Hiss, is it then your testimony that the first time you ever heard of Whittaker Chambers in connection with allegations that you are a Communist was during this past winter?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. That would be the winter of 19—

Mr. HISS. 1948.

Mr. MUNDT. You never heard about it before?

Mr. HISS. I did not.

Mr. MUNDT. You are sure of that?

Mr. HISS. I am confident of it. That is my very best recollection.

Mr. MUNDT. Let me read this, Mr. Hiss, because this is one of the disturbing parts of your testimony. Let me read what you told us in your prepared statement when you came here on August 5 of your own volition, testifying under oath. Counsel will find it on page 357:<sup>32</sup>

To the best of my knowledge I never heard of Whittaker Chambers until in 1947 when two representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation asked me if I knew him and various other people, some of whom I knew and some of whom I did not know.

Now, what do you expect this committee to do with a fabric of contradictory evidence like that, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, may I say that I am profoundly shocked by your characterization of what you have just read. I think you will find in the record—if not, it is high time it got in the record, and I hope you can get from the FBI agents who interviewed me their account of the interview—I think I testified that when those two men came to see me, they asked me if I knew a long list of names—30, 40—I wouldn't remember how many—I would say according to my recollection there must have been 15 names that I had never heard of before.

One of the names I had never heard of before was Chambers, Whittaker Chambers. I remembered the name, because of the way in which the name had come up in the conversation.

Mr. MUNDT. That was in 1947?

Mr. HISS. Just a moment, Mr. Mundt. They in no way indicated that Chambers or any one of the other names I had or had not heard of was making any charge against me. It was merely one of a number of names, some of which I knew and a considerable number of which I had never heard of before.

There is no contradiction, and I resent and protest your saying it was contradictory testimony.

Mr. MUNDT. There is a contradiction because you just testified to Mr. Hébert that the first time you had ever heard of Mr. Whittaker Chambers was last winter.

<sup>32</sup> P. 357 denotes original transcript. See p. 643, this publication.

Mr. HISS. I do not——

Mr. MUNDT. Now you say you heard about him in 1947. If that isn't a contradiction, I don't recognize it.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Mundt, I do not think I testified to Mr. Hébert that the first time I ever heard of Chambers was last winter. I understood Mr. Hébert to ask me when I first heard that Chambers had said I was a Communist, and those are two very different statements.

Mr. MUNDT. We will have to let the record speak for that.

Mr. HISS. We certainly will.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Hiss, when the picture of Mr. Chambers was first presented to you here when you first appeared, at that time you said you would rather see the man to positively identify him.

Mr. HISS. I did.

Mr. HÉBERT. Today you say, you told the committee that you did recognize some familiarity in the photograph.

Mr. HISS. I did not testify today that I told the committee that on the 5th. It was in my mind. I do not find it in the record. I do recall having said that to a number of individuals on the 4th, the day before I testified. I did testify to it on the 16th.

The fact is, there was a certain familiarity in the features. I could not tell whether I was imagining it. There is still a certain familiarity.

Mr. HÉBERT. You told somebody before you appeared before the committee that there was a familiarity?

Mr. HISS. I told several people.

Mr. HÉBERT. Several people?

Mr. HISS. Yes, I did.

Mr. HÉBERT. Why didn't you tell the committee that?

Mr. HISS. The committee did not specifically ask me. I was shown a photograph. I was asked if I could identify it.

Mr. HÉBERT. I will read from the record, Mr. Hiss, and you have read the record, too—you seem to have studied it pretty well.

Counsel, this is page 367:<sup>33</sup>

Mr. STRILING. I have here, Mr. Chairman, a picture which was made last Monday by the Associated Press. I understand from people who knew Mr. Chambers during 1934 and '35 that he is much heavier today than he was at that time, but I show you this picture, Mr. Hiss, and ask you if you have ever known an individual who resembles this picture.

It seems to me that is quite a direct question. To which you replied:

Mr. HISS. I would much rather see the individual. I have looked at all the pictures I was able to get hold of in, I think it was, yesterday's paper which had the pictures. If this is a picture of Mr. Chambers, he is not particularly unusual looking. He looks like a lot of people. I might even mistake him for the chairman of this committee.

The chairman of the committee was Mr. Mundt at that time.

Mr. Mundt replied:

I hope you are wrong in that.

Mr. Hiss replied:

I didn't mean to be facetious, but very seriously I would not want to take oath that I have never seen that man. I would like to see him and then I think I would be better able to tell whether I had ever seen him. Is he here today?

<sup>33</sup> P. 367 denotes original transcript. See p. 647, this publication.

Mr. MUNDT. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. HISS. I hoped he would be.

Now, that is the cold record, Mr. Hiss. Why didn't you tell us that the picture looked familiar to you at that time? Although you took occasion to tell people the day before?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Hébert, as you read the record, you will notice there was an interruption and the committee did not proceed with much more about the photograph. There was an interruption when I said I did not mean to be facetious, and I did not, but there had been an interruption. I have no way of knowing why I did not happen to mention everything that was in my mind on that particular occasion. I have told you—and it is the truth—that I did notice a certain familiarity in the pictures. I was not sure that that familiarity was significant.

I could be imagining it. It was not an unusual face as I saw it in the pictures.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you did think it of importance to tell other people before you appeared before this committee that there was some familiarity about the man's pictures?

Mr. HISS. People with whom I was discussing this strange occurrence and proceeding.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you didn't think it of importance to tell this committee that?

Mr. HISS. It did not at the moment that I was testifying on the particular subject of recognition. I don't remember how many other passages there were in the record about recognition. It didn't seem of sufficient importance for me to mention; that seems obvious.

Mr. HÉBERT. We were trying to establish an identity which is most important and very pertinent to this inquiry, and you left the committee with this impression, and I am sure everybody else that heard it, that you had never seen this man Chambers or anybody who even remotely looked like him.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Hébert, you are better able to testify as to the impressions of the committee than I am.

Mr. NIXON. On that point here is another reference.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment.

Mr. Hébert, do you yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. I am reading from page 355:<sup>34</sup>

Mr. MUNDT. I am getting to it. I want to say for one member of the committee that it is extremely puzzling that a man who is senior editor of Time magazine, by the name of Whittaker Chambers, whom I had never seen until a day or two ago, and whom you say you have never seen—

Mr. HISS. As far as I know, I have never seen him.

Now, the impression that was left with me—and I must join Mr. Hébert in this—I think the committee left with the press and I have read most of the stories that appeared in the newspapers the following day—was that you testified you had never seen his man.

Mr. DAVIS. This page was 365:<sup>35</sup>

Mr. NIXON. 365.

Mr. DAVIS. And the page Mr. Hébert was reading was what?

<sup>34</sup> P. 355 denotes original transcript.

<sup>35</sup> P. 365 denotes original transcript. See p. 646, this publication.

Mr. HÉBERT. 367.<sup>36</sup>

Mr. DAVIS. The picture had not been shown at this time. It was a question of names rather than pictures.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss had previously testified he had seen the pictures the day before. Mr. Hiss testified he had been studying the pictures the day before. He knew what we were referring to and he still said, "As far as I know, I have never seen him." I can only say that the impression left with the committee was that he had never seen this man.

Now, I understand his testimony now is that he did recognize a certain familiarity and told friends the day before that he did recognize that familiarity.

Mr. HISS. That is correct, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. But you didn't tell this committee that.

Mr. HISS. You have referred to the impression not only of the committee but to the impression of the press. My recollection is that Mr. Stripling at one of the hearings in New York also referred to the impression of the press and I replied to him that perhaps he had helped create the impression of the press, which did not have any basis that I could see simply from the record to have any such basis.

Mr. MUNDT. At that point, if he will yield—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert has the floor.

Mr. HÉBERT. Of course, Mr. Hiss, the record speaks for itself. Your replies were heard by the press and the people in this room and Mr. Stripling, as a matter of fact, had nothing to do to create any impression except by what you said.

Mr. HISS. Well, now—

Mr. HÉBERT. Let me finish. I might also say, Mr. Hiss, that you created a most favorable impression the first day you appeared.

Mr. HISS. Thank you, Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. And when anybody had an opportunity, however, to read the cold record, they didn't get the same impression from the record as they thought they had gotten when you were testifying orally because as I told you before, you are a very agile young man.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Hébert—

Mr. HÉBERT. Wait just a minute. I will let you make all the speeches you want. Let me get mine in now.

I repeat you are a very agile young man and a very clever young man and your conduct on all appearances before this committee has shown that you are very self-possessed and you know what you are doing and you know yourself why you are answering and how you are answering.

Now, that is the reason why I am trying to find out exactly where the truth lies. I can't understand and I can't reconcile and resolve the situation that an individual of your intellect and your ability who gives to casual people his apartment, who tosses in an automobile, who doesn't know the laws of liability, who lends money to an individual just casually, is so cautious another time.

It seems to me it is a demonstration of a very remarkable agility. Now, that is the reason why I want to be sure in repeatedly asking these questions that there can be no doubt in anybody's mind about what you mean to say as contrasted to what you say.

<sup>36</sup> P. 367 denotes original transcript. See p. 647, this publication.

Now, the impression was definite that you had never seen that picture—and, incidentally, these pictures have been shown to several people, innumerable people, of Chambers taken in '34 and the picture today. Without hesitancy every individual has remarked about the striking similarity between the two men, which are naturally the same man.

And yet you and you alone—you, and you alone—sit here today and stand out as a lone individual who hedges and resorts to technicalities that you can't tell.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Hébert, that was a very loaded statement.

Mr. HÉBERT. I hope it was because I want you to get the full impact of it. [Applause.]

Mr. HISS. Mr. Hébert, we will see people's judgment of the photographs when the photographs are made public. I don't know how many people have seen them.

Now, your specific question of me, I understand, again relates to the question of why I was unable to identify a picture, a single picture that was shown to me, and I think it would be wise if the record showed the particular picture which was shown to me.

My recollection is it was a picture taken at a candid-camera angle from under the chin. I don't know whether Mr. Stripling still has or marked as an exhibit the particular picture shown to me. I think that picture is relevant.

The CHAIRMAN. May I see those pictures again?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the pictures shown Mr. Hiss that day be put in the record. I think you were shown two pictures.<sup>37</sup>

Mr. HISS. I think just one picture. My recollection is only one picture.

Mr. MUNDT. It should be in the record.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Hébert, the name Crosley was not in my mind at all when I was testifying before this committee. There was not remote connection in my mind between that man, the transactions I had had with him, and the charges that a man named Chambers was now making against me.

Why should I have connected the two people at that time? Perhaps you knew more connections between them than I did. I knew of no connection.

I first thought of Crosley after various accounts apparently from his own secret testimony of his having personal knowledge about me came to my attention, while I was on the train coming down here voluntarily, willingly, and promptly in response to a telegram from the chairman of your committee as to whether I would appear in executive session on Monday, the 16th.

Now, all the confusion might very well have been avoided if you had had him here the first day. I hoped he would be. I remarked on the fact that he was not here the first day.

Mr. HÉBERT. Of course, that is mere speculation on what you would have done the first day.

Mr. HISS. You said I could continue after you had finished, Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. Certainly. I apologize.

<sup>37</sup> See pp. 1132 and 1133.



Mr. HISS. Thank you. You have compared what you term my caution in testifying on what to me was a very important fact: Who was my accuser on such a serious charge? You have compared that in importance to trivial transactions of 14 years earlier. I do not think that is a fair comparison. I do not think it is fair to say that because I acted in that particular case, acted with what I have said before seems to me ordinary kindness in dealing with people on relatively unimportant matters, that that is inconsistent on such an important matter as my public testimony on such a charge as has been made.

I said I would want to see the man face to face. You are privileged to have your own interpretation, Mr. Hébert, and, thank goodness, I am privileged to have mine.

Mr. HÉBERT. I always respect your interpretation of anything the same as I think the committee wants its interpretation respected here, and we are only trying to get to the truth. As I told you the other day in executive session, I told you that either you or Mr. Chambers was the damnedest liar that ever came on the American scene.

Mr. HISS. And I am just as anxious to get at the truth as you are.

Mr. HÉBERT. And whichever one of you is lying is the greatest actor we have ever seen in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Stripling, the name Bialek is a rather unusual one and one that rings a bell in my memory. About a year ago four students of the DePaul University in Chicago came into my office and said they were down here for the purpose of lobbying in behalf of the GI subsistence bill and certain things had occurred that they thought merited congressional attention.

They said when they arrived in Washington, they were met at the train by a man named Robert Bialek. Mr. Bialek undertook to find them housing and he took them to the home of a man named Lichtenstein. Mr. Lichtenstein proved to be a very cordial host. One of the things they noticed when they entered the hall in going up the stairs was a large framed picture of Joe Stalin, and when they reached the rooms to which they were assigned, they found a table in the center of each room loaded with communistic literature.

Subsequently they were escorted to parties where they were subjected to communistic propaganda.

So they reported the incident and we held a hearing and went into the matter quite thoroughly, and it is a matter of the committee records. I think this particular phase of this matter, in view of the fact that the automobile we are discussing found its way into the hands of a man named Rosen who resided at this same address of Robert Bialek, is sufficient of a coincidence to justify some exploration.

Have you any information, Mr. Stripling, as to whether or not there was any relation between Robert Bialek and Benjamin Bialek?

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert is the son of Benjamin Bialek.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have a couple of very minor questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HISS, you served as, I believe, the assistant counsel to the old Nye committee.

Mr. HISS. I was the chief attorney they had.

Mr. McDowell. You were the chief attorney?

Mr. Hiss. The chief investigator was Mr. Rauschenbush. He was my superior. I was sort of second in command, but I was the chief attorney they had.

Mr. McDowell. However, during the many, many hearings they held, I presume you directed questions at various witnesses.

Mr. Hiss. I conducted a number of the cases directly myself in the preparation and the actual presentation of the cases; yes, Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDowell. Do you have a copy of the hearings?

Mr. Hiss. Those hearings were all published. They are in the Senate records. They were published by the committee. They are in libraries all over the country, Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDowell. That is all the questions I have. I would like to say one short thing to Mr. Hiss.

This is a committee of Congress designated by the Congress to do exactly what we are doing. Without making any accusations, Mr. Hiss, at all, and without getting into any sort of a controversy as to who is lying or who is not lying in this matter, a highly intelligent American and a former high officer of the Government, if the story Mr. Chambers told is true and that a Communist had established himself in a very high place in various divisions of the Government, that in view of the fact that we represent the safety of 140,000,000 people who obviously don't want the flag of the hammer and sickle flying over the Capitol—would it be your idea that we should exhaust every possible trace to find out if it were true?

Mr. Hiss. Mr. McDowell, I urged this committee in the letter I sent to the committee yesterday—and I hope I will have a chance to read that letter into the record—

The CHAIRMAN. You certainly will have a chance.

Mr. Hiss. It ought to be a part of the record. What did you say?

The CHAIRMAN. You certainly will have a chance.

Mr. Hiss. I certainly urged this committee not to follow any hit-and-run tactics, to keep right after this issue of who is Chambers, what credibility to give to his fantastic testimony. I certainly do and I intend to do the best I can to get to the bottom of this and to give this committee any information I can dig up, and I have asked my counsel so to do as my counsel digs up any facts.

Mr. McDowell. Thank you, Mr. Hiss. You may be sure this will be no hit-and-run affair at all. We will follow it down to the very last thread, regardless of the cost, regardless of the time, regardless of who is to be embarrassed.

So far as smearing goes, I have been talked about so much during these hearings—no Americans have been subjected to any more smears than all of the members of this committee, from various angles.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss, you referred to a picture you had seen, I believe you said that some member of the committee had shown you this picture or you saw the picture in the newspaper. You said the picture was taken at an angle from below the person.

Mr. Hiss. That is my recollection of the picture that was shown me on August 5, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It wasn't the picture you saw today, then?

Mr. Hiss. I don't think so, Mr. Chairman. It is not my recollection.

Mr. DAVIS. I have asked Mr. Stripling when he identifies the picture which was shown to Mr. Hiss, if he is willing to, to check with us to be sure that the same picture was shown.

The CHAIRMAN. These are the pictures that will go in.

Mr. DAVIS. It has been agreed that the picture shown to Mr. Hiss at his public testimony would go into the record, and that is the one I want to be sure is the picture that was shown to him at his public testimony.

Mr. STRIPLING. It is the Associated Press picture.

The CHAIRMAN. It will go in and these will go in, too.

Now, Mr. Hiss, I am going to ask you a question that has already been asked, but I just wanted you to try very hard to determine in your own mind whether you can really recognize this person. First I am going to show you this picture and ask you who that is supposed to be.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, this is the same picture I was shown a few minutes ago. I may have been shown it in one of the executive sessions. It was identified to me as a picture of Whittaker Chambers taken while he was testifying, I believe, or sometime recently. It looks like a picture of Whittaker Chambers.

The CHAIRMAN. It looks like him, doesn't it?

Mr. HISS. Yes, it looks—as I said before, it is slightly flattering, but it still looks like him.

The CHAIRMAN. It really looks like him, doesn't it?

Mr. HISS. It looks like him; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to show you these two pictures and then you look at Whittaker Chambers and see if they don't look like him.

Mr. HISS. These are the same two snapshots that were shown me earlier.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct, but I am asking the question now: Do these pictures look like the man over here who calls himself Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. HISS. Speaking with as much care as I am capable of, Mr. Chairman, the face is partly in the shadow, the hair is tousled, a child's clothing obscures more than the ear, which one of the committee members mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. You have chin, nose, and mouth left. Does it look like this man?

Mr. HISS. It obscures a good deal more than an ear. I would not be able to say this is the picture of Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest——

Mr. HISS. If it is, it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind, you keep quiet.

Mr. HISS. If it is a picture of Whittaker Chambers, it is a picture of him. You were asking me whether I would be able to say that it is. I don't know the man well enough to have any great confidence in recognizing it. I don't think it is a particularly clear photograph for purposes of identification.

The CHAIRMAN. I can well imagine how you might not recognize the baby there, but the baby was 8 months old when that picture was taken. How old was the baby when she was with you?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that baby look anything like the baby? That is an unusual picture of the baby, too. That is not like the picture of Mr. Chambers.

Mr. HISS. Maybe I had better look at both of them.

The CHAIRMAN. No, no; you be quiet for a moment [addressing Mr. Davis].

(At this point there was a conference between Mr. Hiss and Mr. Davis.)

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, I do not recognize this baby as any baby I have ever seen before. [Laughter.]

We are talking about two different photographs. Let's try to get clear which one in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They are both approximately the same.

Mr. HISS. Could we call one exhibit A and the other exhibit B? Or something like that?

The CHAIRMAN. That is what your counsel has told you, that they are both approximately the same and it doesn't make any difference right at this point what we number them.

Mr. STRIPLING. The first one you looked at will be exhibit A.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now I want you to take those pictures over to Mr. Chambers, Mr. Stripling, and ask him if they are pictures of Mr. Chambers.

(Mr. Stripling takes pictures to Mr. Chambers and has a conversation with him.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are those pictures of Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe, Mr. Chairman, it would be better to take the direct testimony of Mr. Chambers regarding the pictures. However, for the purpose of the record he told me that they were pictures of himself and of the baby, and it was the baby that visited in the home of Mr. Hiss for 3 or 4 days.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hiss, you are unable to identify them as pictures of Whittaker Chambers. Are they photographs of George Crosley?

Mr. HISS. Again, Mr. Chairman, I am not able to identify them with any confidence as pictures of George Crosley. I have told you that I do not have very clear visual recollection in my own mind of Crosley's appearance.

When I identified him in New York, I tried to be as careful as I could. I wanted to bring no more names into this record than was necessary. I didn't know at the time who or what Crosley was or what damage would be done to Crosley to drag his name in. I did not testify on Monday, the 16th, until after your subcommittee had urged me in spite of the reservations I expressed, to tell them as best I could my off-the-cuff recollection of those events. I tried to be careful about dragging names into this hearing. I think the record will show that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hiss, when you were in New York and you identified this man over here who calls himself Whittaker Chambers as George Crosley, that was in 1948. Now, here is a picture we show you of George Crosley in 1934. Isn't it reasonable to believe that it would be easier for you to recognize him from the picture than from George Crosley up in New York in the Commodore Hotel in 1948?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Chairman, I think I have already testified that if it were possible to materialize by spiritualism George Crosley of 1934, if

he were to walk into the room, I still couldn't testify with absolute certainty as to recollection of him. Maybe I could.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to look at those photographs once again.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is A.

Mr. HISS. I am now talking about A.

The CHAIRMAN. A or B.

Mr. STRIPLING. A has the bird bath in the background.

Mr. HISS. Yes; I have both in front of me, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, don't they look like George Crosley to you as you knew him?

Mr. HISS. I can only repeat what I have said about the photographs of Chambers in recent days, that there is a certain familiarity about the face.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't there a familiarity between those pictures and this one right here?

Mr. HISS. Not very great to my eyes; some, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Some?

Mr. HISS. Yes; I think it has to be judged by people who look at the different photographs.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Hiss, I don't want to come to any conclusion or make any comments about the testimony, but I want to tell you that I would almost be willing to wager if we showed these three pictures around this room or any place, any group in Washington, they would conclude that it was all the same person.

Mr. HISS. I am not raising any question as to whether they are the same person. I have not said I thought they were not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they are?

Mr. HISS. I am perfectly willing to accept the statement that they are.

The CHAIRMAN. Not the statement that they are—Do you think they are?

Mr. HISS. There is certainly a certain similarity between the pictures.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Hiss, when Mr. Chambers testified before the committee on August 3, he mentioned that those involved in this alleged group were Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt, John Abt, Henry Collins, Donald Hiss, Harold Ware, Charles Kramer, and Victor Perlo. We have had all of the individuals in before the committee who were supposed to have comprised that group, with the exception of Harold Ware, who is dead.

Now, you have testified, I believe, that you knew John Abt.

Mr. HISS. I have testified the extent to which I knew John Abt, the occasions and the circumstances.

Mr. STRIPLING. I want the record to show, Mr. Chairman, that when Mr. Abt was testifying before the committee on August 20, when he was asked the question by Mr. Stripling, "Mr. Abt, are you acquainted with Alger Hiss?" that he replied:

On the grounds of objection stated by my counsel on the first amendment to the Constitution, and by virtue of the prior objections, that the subject matter of this inquiry is a matter of judicial rather than congressional investigation, under article III of the Constitution, and on the ground of unlawful and improper composition of this committee under the fourteenth amendment, and in exercise of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment, I decline to answer that question.

When Mr. Pressman, whom you are also acquainted with, according to your testimony—

Mr. HISS. The record will show my testimony as to the nature under which I have known Mr. Pressman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pressman has been in your home, has he not?

Mr. HISS. I would be quite sure he has; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. And Mr. Abt also?

Mr. HISS. Yes, I would think probably Mr. Abt has also during the period in both cases when we were in triple A. I don't think either of them has been in my home since I left the triple A.

Mr. STRIPLING. But during the period in question they were in your home?

Mr. HISS. I think almost certainly they were. I have no specific recollection of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Pressman in testifying before the committee on August 20 was asked:

Do you know an individual by the name of Alger Hiss?

Mr. Pressman answered:

Mr. Chairman, for the same reason I have given before I decline to answer that question.

The reasons being, among others, self-incrimination.

When Mr. Witt, who also testified on the same day and who, according to Mr. Chambers, was head of this group at one time, was asked:

Did you know Alger Hiss?

He said:

The same answer, if I may.

And the answer, the grounds upon which he refused to answer, were the same as given by the other two witnesses, self-incrimination.

When Victor Perlo was before the committee he was asked:

Do you know Alger Hiss?

He said:

I must refuse to answer that question on the ground of self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Stripling, may I interrupt?

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment.

Mr. HISS. I think I have testified I didn't know, as far as I know, Mr. Perlo.

Mr. STRIPLING. I didn't say you did, Mr. HISS.

Now, you did testify that you knew Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. Yes; the record will so show.

Mr. STRIPLING. I am dealing here, Mr. HISS, with the members of the alleged group.

Mr. HISS. You are also dealing with people some of whom I knew and some of whom I believe I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did not know Mr. Perlo?

Mr. HISS. I do not believe I knew Mr. Perlo.

Mr. STRIPLING. You knew all the rest?

Mr. HISS. All the rest of the names you have just read out I did, and the record will show how I knew them, how well, and the extent to which I knew them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you testify that you had been to Henry Collins' apartment at St. Matthews Court?

Mr. HISS. I testified that I probably had because I have been in a number of places where Mr. Collins resided and he has certainly been in my house in a number of houses or apartments that I have had. I have known him over a long period of time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall whether you were at his apartment in St. Matthews Court at any time when Mr. Pressman, Mr. Abt, Mr. Perlo, Mr. Kramer, or Mr. Ware were present?

Mr. HISS. I would be quite sure that I was never in Mr. Collins' apartment anywhere when Mr. Ware was present. I have testified as to the extent to which I knew Mr. Ware. I would be quite confident I have never been in any place of abode of Mr. Collins when Mr. Perlo was present because I don't think I know Mr. Perlo.

As to the others, I may have been in one or another place of Mr. Collins' abode when one or another or more than one of the other people you have referred to may have been present.

If so, it was on some social occasion—dinner, cocktails, something of that sort.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chambers has testified that this apartment at St. Matthews Court was the place where this group met. Now, we asked Mr. Collins when he testified before the committee on August 11, "Did you ever meet Alger Hiss at that apartment?" and he replied:

I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

And he had just stated as his reason for declining to answer the previous question the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Charles Kramer testified before the committee on August 12. He was asked, "Do you know Alger Hiss?" He answered:

I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

The same reason being self-incrimination.

Every one of these witnesses who appeared before the committee likewise refused to answer the question on whether or not they were or had ever been members of the Communist Party on the grounds that they might incriminate themselves.

I believe you have testified, Mr. Hiss, that to your knowledge none of these people were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. HISS. I did not testify that to my knowledge they are not.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you testify?

Mr. HISS. I testified that I had no basis of knowing whether they were or were not.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe you testified that you didn't know a single Communist.

Mr. HISS. To the best of my knowledge, none of my friends is a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I think we should clear up one point at this stage. In replying to questions by Mr. Hébert as to the impression left by Mr. Hiss the first day he was before the committee, at which time he

concealed from us—or at least declined to reveal to us—the fact that he had told several of his friends that the picture presented of Mr. Chambers had a slight familiarity, it was brought out that the impression the committee received was that he had never laid eyes on Mr. Chambers and had never seen Mr. Chambers and never knew him at all, to which Mr. Hiss said:

I can't be responsible for what the impression is that the committee got.

And then he elaborated on that by saying that perhaps Mr. Stripling sort of directed the thinking of the press, but when we suggested the press also had the same impression—I think the best thing in that connection would be to let the press speak for itself, Mr. Chairman.

I have here issues of the press coming out the night Mr. Hiss testified, and also the following morning. Certainly Mr. Stripling could not influence the press that extensively and that quickly had he tried, and I am sure he didn't try. But after Mr. Hiss had concealed from us that he saw a similarity, a familiarity, a semblance of familiarity between that picture and somebody he knew, after he had failed to tell us that, having told it to other friends of his, the press of the Nation responded as follows:

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, morning issue of August 6, which was the following morning after that, says that Hiss went on the stand today and denied the charges completely. He said he didn't even know his accuser.

Then I have here the New York Daily News, issue of Friday, August 6, also a morning paper, coming out the next day, saying:

Never met him. Hiss denies ever meeting Chambers, and when a photo of the Time Magazine editor was held before him, said "I might even mistake him for the chairman of this committee." He said, "I don't recall a man by the name of Chambers ever coming to my house."

We have here the issue of the Daily Worker—I don't want Mr. Hiss just to think we are selecting these papers, but we are taking them as they come. It says:

Hiss, former State Department official, has categorically denied spy charges or even knowing Whittaker Chambers.

I have next the issue of the Daily News of August 6 in which it says in another edition:

Hiss, 44, began his testimony at Mundt's hearing belittling Chambers' spy accusation as a complete fabrication. "So far as I know I never laid eyes on him," Hiss declares.

Here is the Christian Science Monitor, published in Boston, a report by Mary Hornaday, saying:

Mr. Hiss, who served in the State Department from 1936 to 1947 and helped write the United Nations Charter, said as far as he knew he had never laid eyes on Mr. Chambers, who also had accused his brother Donald of being a Communist.

Here is an Associated Press picture showing Mr. Hiss and Mr. Stripling, saying:

Hiss unable to identify picture. Alger Hiss seated looking at a photograph of Whittaker Chambers. He told the House Un-American Activities Committee Thursday that he was unable to identify the picture.

The same statements appear with very slight variations, but all bearing the impression to the country that Mr. Hiss had never seen



Chambers, recognized no similarity between that picture and anybody he ever saw.

Here is the Scranton, Pa., Times for Monday, August 9.

Here is the Washington Evening Star. An article in the evening issue of August 6, August 5, the day he testified, by Miriam Ottenberg:

Hiss said he had never laid eyes on Mr. Chambers; said he would like to have an opportunity to do so.

Baltimore Evening Sun reporting these hearings said that—

Mr. Hiss testified under oath that he was not now and never had been a Communist and that, moreover, to the best of his knowledge he had never laid eyes on Chambers.

I have here the Chicago Daily News, Thursday, August 5. Edwin A. Leahy, who is present in the room and has been very faithful in attending these hearings—and I might add, Mr. Hiss, has been very charitable to your whole viewpoint, certainly not biased against you, somewhat critical of the committee because your name was brought in, said:

House committee members listen closely to detailed denials by Hiss of everything said under oath by Chambers whom Hiss said he never had met.

I think that the record of those papers should be placed in there because it is a crass accusation that Mr. Stripling endeavored to influence the reports in the press of the country. The committee and the general public gathered from your testimony that you had never seen Chambers, had never known him by any name, had never seen anybody whose picture he recalled to your memory, and still the record shows you told friends of yours that there was a similarity between that picture and the picture presented to you.

I regret that you were not more forthright in your testimony before the committee on that occasion so that this that you now say is a false impression went out to the country generally.

Mr. Hiss. Mr. Mundt, you used the word "concealed." I came before this committee voluntarily and I appreciate your letting me appear. I came on the 16th and on the 17th in response to a request. I said on the 16th I would be glad to be here on the 25th, today. I have concealed nothing from this committee. I have sought no privilege against answering any question.

Mr. Chairman, may I now have the opportunity to read my statement into the record?

Mr. Nixon. I have just a few more questions, Mr. Hiss.

The point at issue in this hearing today is whether or not you knew Crosley under the circumstances that you have indicated to the committee or whether you knew Crosley under the circumstances he indicated to the committee. After your testimony in public session the committee started on the premise that you did not know Chambers and that premise, of course, now has been changed. We do have agreement on the point that you and Mr. Chambers were acquainted under another name.

Mr. Hiss. I did not know Chambers. The name meant nothing to me and I so informed your committee by wire. And so testified.

Mr. Nixon. You understood, Mr. Hiss, I think, that I said "under another name."

Mr. Hiss. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. It has been established, in other words, that you two knew each other. Mr. Chambers said he knew you as a Communist and that it was in that connection that his acquaintanceship with you occurred, and he has indicated the circumstances of the acquaintanceship as he recalled them.

You, on the other hand, have indicated that your acquaintanceship with Mr. Chambers was with a man named Crosley, a man with whom you had only a casual acquaintance, that he was not a friend in that sense, that he was not what we would term even a guest in your house at the time he stayed there, but it was a business relationship at most, and that in the end Mr. Chambers had been a man who had failed to pay his debts and with whom you built up relations because of his failure to pay his debts.

Now, just to get the record straight today as to those points on which you are sure on your recollection of this conversation with Mr. Chambers, I would like to go through four or five points to be sure the record is straight.

We have your testimony of Monday and Tuesday which is pretty clear on these points, but you have indicated today in the case of the car that the testimony of Monday and Tuesday should not be accepted at face value, that at least the interpretation placed on that testimony would have to be changed in view of the facts that have been brought to your attention.

Mr. HISS. It should be accepted on the basis on which I gave it, as my best recollection under the circumstances, without access to records.

Mr. NIXON. You don't mean to say now that you are still insisting that you transferred title of this car to Chambers in May of 1935?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I am insisting that at all times I have testified to this committee to the best of my then recollection. That is what I am insisting.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Now, in regard to the lease on the apartment, as you testified previously, it was at the going rate—that is, whatever the apartment was to you.

I might say that the investigation of the committee has brought forth the fact that the apartment at that time was leased to you at \$60 a month.

Mr. HISS. My recollection was it was a moderate rental. I don't remember.

Mr. NIXON. You testified in New York that it was somewhat less than \$75. Now, as we have indicated from the records, Mr. Chambers could have been in the apartment from May 1 to June 26. That was the point at which you had jurisdiction of the apartment.

From that, then, it would appear that Mr. Chambers owed you approximately \$120 in rent at the conclusion of his tenancy in the apartment.

Now, I do understand that you are testifying today that you did lease the apartment to Chambers. There is no question about that.

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And it was a financial transaction.

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And it was agreed he was to pay you for the apartment?

Mr. HISS. That is correct. I have also testified, Mr. Nixon, that the apartment did not seem to me then and does not seem to me now to have

been a very significant financial value on the market, on the market at the time. I had some more time to go after I moved out there.

It was not a readily leaseable asset or readily disposable asset at the time.

Mr. NIXON. My point is that Chambers owed you \$120 approximately when he left the apartment.

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that the arrangement was at cost. I wouldn't want to say, though, that it hadn't been somewhat less than cost, but I just don't recall.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Now, is it your recollection that previous to the time when Mr. Chambers went into the apartment, Mrs. Chambers, Mr. Chambers, and their infant daughter visited you and your wife in your house on P Street?

Mr. HISS. That is my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Are you sure on that point or are you not sure?

Mr. HISS. I am not sure of the exact time. That is my best recollection. It is fixed in my recollection in connection with the subleasing of the apartment.

Mr. NIXON. Could the visit have taken place after the lease on the apartment expired?

Mr. HISS. It could.

Mr. NIXON. You mean it is possible you might have had Chambers and his wife and child in your house for several nights after he welsed on the rent?

Mr. HISS. I cannot recall any reason why that would have happened. My recollection, as I have testified to already, is that it was in connection with his not having adequate furniture to move into the apartment. I am not able to testify at this late date with absolute certainty about where I was on the night of May something, 1934 or 1935.

I have told you to the best of my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Could it have occurred 6 months after the lease on the apartment expired?

Mr. HISS. I don't see how it could.

Mr. NIXON. Can you testify on that point?

Mr. HISS. I will testify to the best of my recollection it could not. I will testify to the best of my recollection it could not.

Mr. NIXON. Then as far as your answer to that question is concerned, you think Mr. Chambers was in your house as a guest with his wife for 2, 3, or 4 days, as you testified, before he went into the apartment?

Mr. HISS. That is right, spring or early summer of 1935, if that is the date.

Mr. NIXON. But you have indicated it might have been afterward?

Mr. HISS. Might, only in the sense of a possibility. - I have no recollection.

Mr. NIXON. But you don't want to indicate positively that it was before?

Mr. HISS. It is my best recollection that it was before and was in connection with the circumstances I have testified to.

Mr. NIXON. Now, is it your testimony Mr. Chambers told you his furniture van was coming down and that is why he was waiting?

Mr. HISS. That is my best recollection and that is why they couldn't move into the apartment; something that he needed.

Mr. NIXON. Where was it coming from, do you recall?

Mr. HISS. My best recollection, as I think I have already testified, is that I had the impression that Mr. Chambers, Crosley, came from New York; that I had seen him three or four times; that he came to Washington in order to get material and information for the articles he was writing. He may have been living in Washington for all I know positively. I had the impression that he was coming from New York and that he returned to New York after his business.

Mr. NIXON. Your recollection is the conversation was Mr. Chambers was bringing down his furniture in the van for the 8-week period he was subletting the apartment?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is he told me he wanted to complete the research he had been doing on the munitions case, that he wanted to stay in Washington for quite a period, which further confirms my recollection that he hadn't been living in Washington to my knowledge before.

Mr. NIXON. He was bringing furniture for that 8-week period?

Mr. HISS. He was bringing his wife and child and I think he was bringing some furniture, not complete because I left some furniture behind.

Mr. NIXON. Now, we have already touched upon the car and I think it has been summarized, my statement is in the record and your statement is in the record on that.

Do you have anything to add on the car?

Mr. HISS. Not at this time, Mr. Nixon. I hope I will have something to add in the future.

Mr. NIXON. In any event, as far as your testimony given in New York is concerned, the answers which, as I indicated, were quite categorical on the nature of the transaction and the time of the transaction, you now wish to qualify to the best of your recollection; is that correct?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I would like to reply to that that the record should speak for itself. My testimony then and my testimony today—

Mr. NIXON. The answers weren't qualified then, Mr. Hiss. Do you want to qualify them now? You have a right to.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I thought that at all times I had qualified my answers by saying I was testifying to the best of my recollection without having had access to records.

Mr. NIXON. You are not yet prepared to say what kind of a transaction this was?

Mr. HISS. I have tried to indicate to the committee—and the record will show, Mr. Nixon—my best recollection of the nature of the transaction.

Mr. NIXON. But you are sure you gave Chambers a car for a period of time?

Mr. HISS. I am confident according to my best recollection I gave him the use of the car for at least a period of time, as I gave him the use of my apartment.

Mr. NIXON. How many times did you see Chambers before he went into the apartment?

Mr. HISS. I would estimate four or five. I am not confident at all that I can tell the exact number.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony in New York was 10 or 11.

Mr. HISS. That is my recollection. If that is my testimony, that is my recollection of how many times I saw the man altogether.

Mr. NIXON. Is your testimony now you have seen Chambers 10 or 11 times altogether?

Mr. HISS. That would be my impression.

Mr. NIXON. I see. And that you only saw him four or five times before he moved into the apartment.

Mr. HISS. It could have been more than four or five times. It could have been five or six, six or seven.

Mr. NIXON. Did you take him to lunch on any of those occasions?

Mr. HISS. I think I remember occasions when we went out to lunch in the Senate Office Building while we were talking about the munitions investigation.

Mr. NIXON. Were you always alone with him at those times?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall whether anyone else on the staff was with me. I am doing my best to get in contact with former members of the staff who may have known him at the same time I did.

Mr. NIXON. You know of no persons at the present time who were with you at the time you had those luncheon engagements with him?

Mr. HISS. I have not found anybody.

Mr. NIXON. Nobody visited him at the time Mr. and Mrs. Chambers were at your house?

Mr. HISS. I have attempted also to check with my friends, any friends who saw him go into the house when he was there.

Mr. NIXON. Now, in regard to the rental agreement, I should like to refer you to the testimony of—and, Mr. Counsel, if you will get your testimony out—concerning the matter of payment. On page 82 of the testimony on Monday, the 16th, in the middle of the page—Mr. Counsel, when you have it, you will let me know. Page 82: <sup>38</sup>

Mr. NIXON. Did he pay any rent all the time he was in your house?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is he paid \$15 or \$20, and he gave me a rug which I have still got.

Now, the following day, 24 hours later, on page 15 of the testimony on Tuesday—

Mr. DAVIS. Just a minute, Mr. Nixon. What page is that?

Mr. NIXON. Page 15, a little above the middle of the page.<sup>39</sup>

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you.

Mr. NIXON (reading):

Mr. NIXON. Did he ever pay any rent at all?

Mr. HISS. My recollection is that he paid no cash, that he once paid in kind,

Now, which is the true statement?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I think I have testified that my recollection is that in addition to the apartment transaction I loaned Crosley, perhaps, over a period of time as much as \$20 or \$25. Whether my recollection is also that he paid some money, some nominal amount back to me, never the full amount—whether I regarded whatever he may have returned as paying the \$15 or \$20, I remember lending him, or for rent, I would not recall, and I am not sure that he ever paid anything.

Mr. NIXON. Then your testimony today is—

Mr. HISS. If I testified that he paid something, that was my best recollection.

<sup>38</sup> P. 82 denotes original transcript. See p. 969, this publication.

<sup>39</sup> P. 15 denotes original transcript. See p. 981, this publication.

Mr. NIXON. Well, one day you testified he paid nothing; the next day you testified—I mean, the first day you testified that he paid \$15 or \$20 and the next day you said nothing. Now, I want to know which is which.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, the main recollection is the fact that he—

Mr. NIXON. Paid anything?

Mr. HISS. And did not pay in full; and my recollection, as best as I recall it now, is that I got nothing from the transactions I had had with him. I would not want to take an absolute, positive oath that he had never paid back a single cent. My recollection is I got nothing except something in kind.

Mr. NIXON. Then, since Monday when you said, "My recollection is that he paid \$15 or \$20," you wish to tell us now that he paid nothing; is that right?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, if I testified on Monday, I did so to the best of my recollection then. The record will have to show what it shows. I do not have a definite present recollection of receiving anything from Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. How many loans did you make to him?

Mr. HISS. Again, my recollection is that it was over a couple of transactions, two or three. I think I recall letting him have \$10 or so at the time that he was moving into the apartment in connection with expenses then.

Mr. NIXON. Was that the first loan you made to him?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall that. I may have let him have \$5 or so on an occasion. I am sorry I do not recall that.

Mr. NIXON. When was the last loan you made to him?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall the last date of the last loan.

Mr. NIXON. Did you make any loans to him after he moved out of the apartment?

Mr. HISS. That, I do not recall. What I do recall is the succession of favors requested and obtained, and the cumulative effect, and the impression that this had better be put an end to.

Mr. NIXON. Well, did he make some loans after you moved out of the apartment?

Mr. HISS. I am unable to testify with positiveness as to whether he did or not.

Mr. NIXON. You might have?

Mr. HISS. I am trying to go back to my old checks and records. If I were to find a check as of, say, September, I certainly would accept it.

Mr. NIXON. At the end of the first month did you dun him for the rent?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall, frankly, the nature of the dunning process. I do recall making it plain to him that he owed me money, and was not paying it, and I do recall his indicating that he was going to in good time. When he marketed these articles, when he could do that, and so on, he would pay me.

Mr. NIXON. You testified, Mr. HISS, that on one occasion you gave Mr. Chambers a ride to New York from Washington.

Mr. HISS. I think I recall an occasion when I was going to New York, and when Mr. Crosley went along with me, either because I mentioned that I was going, and he asked for the ride, or some other reason.

I have taken other people. I have picked up hitch-hikers, I have frequently taken people on rides when I was driving from one place to another.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone else go on that trip to New York?

Mr. HISS. I am unable to recall. I have asked my wife whether she went. I do not think she is clear in her own mind as to whether she did or did not.

Mr. NIXON. What car did you use?

Mr. HISS. It would depend on the date; it would depend on the car I had.

Mr. NIXON. Well, if you used the Ford, it would have taken a long time.

Mr. HISS. If I used the Ford, it would have taken as long as a model A Ford would take to get there.

Mr. NIXON. It would be about 9 or 10 hours.

Mr. HISS. I do not recall how long it took a model A Ford to go from Washington to New York.

Mr. NIXON. In any event, your testimony is that you spent anywhere from 7 to 10 hours, depending on the automobile, with Mr. Chambers, in a car.

Mr. HISS. If we were in fact driving to New York together—if we, in fact, drove to New York together, that is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Let me get this clear. Are you testifying that you did go to New York with him or you did not go to New York with him?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I am testifying that I think I recall driving him to New York. I am not testifying that I remember clearly that I positively did. I have told the committee over and over again that these were matters of no consequence to me at the time they occurred. That I have no fixed, vivid recollection of them.

Mr. NIXON. You are not sure that you took him to New York?

Mr. HISS. I would not be prepared to swear positively that I did. The committee asked me if I ever had, and I said I might have.

Mr. NIXON. How many times did you see him after the rental agreement was over?

Mr. HISS. I could not testify with certainty that I did see him at all. I could not testify with certainty that I did, or if I did, just how many times I did. I would be surprised if I saw him in all more than 10 or 11 times.

Mr. NIXON. As I read your testimony, Mr. Hiss, you said that you might have stayed overnight with him.

Mr. HISS. With him?

Mr. NIXON. I am sorry—that he might have stayed overnight with you after the rental agreement expired.

Mr. HISS. You asked me if it could have been possible, and my recollection of my reply is that it could have been possible.

Mr. NIXON. What did you call Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I think I just called him Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. You had known this man by that time about 9 months, and you just called him Crosley?

Mr. HISS. I would not be surprised if I called him George. Newspapermen have a way of themselves being quite informal, and of

expecting informal treatment. I have known a number of newspapermen not too intimately, who called me by my first name, and whom I called by their first name rather quickly in our acquaintance.

Mr. NIXON. Then, as I understand from this testimony, the only thing you are willing to testify for sure to is that you did let him have your apartment, and that he did see you at the Nye committee; is that right?

Mr. HISS. Well, "is that the only thing," that is a rather hard question to answer just that way. The record will show just exactly what I have testified to, and what I have not, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. The record will be very clear on that point.

Mr. HISS. An attempted summation in a few words is difficult to do with exactness.

Mr. NIXON. What else are you sure of? You are sure of the lease, you are sure of the Nye committee. What else are you sure of?

Mr. HISS. I am sure that I let him have the use of the car. I am reasonably sure.

Mr. NIXON. You do not know when, how, or why?

Mr. HISS. I think it must have been in connection with the lease transaction.

Mr. NIXON. Even though you did not have two cars at that time?

Mr. HISS. During, before, or after. The question of what cars I had available to me will certainly have a bearing upon my final determination of my own recollection. If I find that some friend lent me a car during the summer, that will have a bearing. If I find that I acquired another car earlier than the one that Mr. Stripling has referred to, that will have a bearing.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS, how many times in the last 15 years have you borrowed a car from a friend for the summer?

Mr. HISS. I would want to search my recollection and the recollection of friends.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Chairman would like to intercede right there.

Mr. NIXON. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. In the interest of accuracy of the record, in connection with my remarks a few minutes ago, I refreshed my memory by reference to the record, and I find that two of those boys stayed at the home of Lichtenstein, two of them at the home of a man named Hyde, and the picture to which I refer was a picture of Karl Marx instead of Joe Stalin. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. HISS, you said that if you could find a check issued to George Crosley in September, in the nature of a loan, that that would help you very much, and it would certainly help this committee very much.

Mr. HISS. Yes, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. You made a series of loans to this Mr. Crosley, Mr. HISS. Did you ever make a loan to him by check?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall, and one of the reasons I am trying to get my old checks and stubs is to find out.

Mr. MUNDT. You think you might have given him one by check?

Mr. HISS. I might have.



Mr. MUNDT. Now, Mr. Hiss, these hearings are drawing to a close, and I want to review with you briefly, as briefly as I can, the reactions of just one member of this committee to the testimony in which you are involved, and after I conclude my statement, which I shall make without interruption, you then make the statements that you have to make without interruption. But I wish you would take notes on what I am going to say so that you can correct me in your statement where you think I am in error, or where you set my trend of thinking right, where you think it is deviating from a logical course.

We started out in these hearings simply to get at the truth concerning espionage activities in Government. One of our early witnesses, Mr. Whittaker Chambers, mentions your name and the name of your brother, Donald Hiss, in connection with other individuals, most of whom have refused under oath to deny the charges or to deny the fact that they are members of the Communist Party.

You suggested when you first came before the committee that in an effort to get at the facts that we take certain steps, one of which was to go to the records, wherever the records are available. We have done that, and we have spread those records wherever available into this testimony.

You suggested that you be confronted with your accuser. We have done that, both in executive session and in open session.

You suggested that we check all the verifiable details, which we have done.

Your testimony that first day was that, to the best of your recollection, you did not know Whittaker Chambers, and that the picture which was presented to you by counsel, Mr. Stripling, did not bring back the memory of anybody whom you had seen by that picture.

The next step in this proceeding was, and I might say here that you made a very fine impression on me, as acting chairman, that first day. I was inclined to be in your corner from the standpoint of accepting the validity of what you said. You were given every consideration by the committee and not cross-examined very clearly or carefully by the committee on that first day, and that, despite the fact, that as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I had frequently heard the name of Alger Hiss bandied around as having possible Communist connections in years past. I never had seen you; I never had met you; I do not believe your name had ever passed my lips or had been written by me in any correspondence up to that time. But it was, as you have later testified, rather common scuttle-but, should we say, around Washington that one Alger Hiss had been labeled by some as a fellow traveler or Communist. The most recent indication of that is a statement in the morning paper, by George E. Sokolsky. I will read you just two paragraphs from his column, *These Days*. It says:

Way back in 1941 I came across the existence of the Ware group—that is the Harold Ware whom you testified that you knew—

the Ware group in Washington, who were engaged in placing Communists in the most critical positions in the Federal Government. I was then told who the original 10 were, and among them was mentioned Alger Hiss.

In spite of that, after hearing your testimony, I was convinced that either Whittaker Chambers must have been falsifying before this committee or else there was a mistaken identity.

So, I asked a subcommittee to go to New York for the purpose of interviewing Mr. Chambers to see whether, by some chance, he had confused Alger Hiss with someone else, whether or not he could substantiate his statement that he knew Alger Hiss, and, if so, how well, and what details he could supply, which are verifiable. He supplied a great many details, all of which are in the executive testimony, which has been released to the press today.

Then, you were again interviewed in Washington, and at that time you verified these same details, which were given us by Mr. Chambers, intimate details about your family, about your hobby, about your pets, about the decorations in the room, and after verifying a number of these details, you said, "I might have known a man who had access to that information," and you said that man, if you knew him at all, was one George Crosley.

The next day the committee went to New York City and brought you and Mr. Chambers together, at which time you identified him positively; you identified him as the George Crosley, but you said then that you sublet him your apartment. You said then that you gave or sold him an automobile. You said then that you had him living with you several days in your own home. You said then that you had also seen him at sometime later than the time when he occupied your apartment, and you said then that you had made a series of small loans.

We have tried since then to verify further the testimony of both yourself and Mr. Chambers. We have been unable to find anybody who knows or who has seen George Crosley. You have been unable to produce anybody for us who knows or has seen George Crosley.

Therefore, in summary, it would seem to me that you have left me, as one member of the committee, in this position—and I came back from South Dakota by air to get at the facts of this case, because, as I say, when you first appeared before the committee, you left me with the feeling that you were telling the truth and that you were not concealing or evading information which we needed to have in this committee.

Now, I find that while you said earlier that you did not know Mr. Whittaker Chambers or any man answering that description or looking like him, it is now established testimony that you did know him and that you do know him.

There is some doubt about the name, but there is no question about your having known the individual, and I find that while you said in the testimony that you were sure anybody who could have lived in your house over a period of time would be somebody whose picture you would be able to identify, but I find that you were unable to identify from the picture, although you now testify that this man did live in your home over a period of days.

You said that you gave Chambers your car, that you sold or traded it to him, and now the written records show that you signed a transfer of your car to the Cherner Motor Co. or else to one William T. Rosen.

You testified that you had given money to Crosley in the nature of a loan. He testified that he had received money from you in the nature of payment of Communist dues. The points in agreement, as they looked to me, are these:

You knew this man; you knew him very well. You knew him so well that you even trusted him with your apartment; you let him

use your furniture; you let him use or gave him your automobile. You think that you probably took him to New York. You bought him lunches in the Senate Restaurant. You had him staying in your home when it was inconvenient for him to stay in the apartment, and made him a series of small loans. There seems no question about that.

In other words, there seems no question about your associations with a man who told this committee that he associated with you.

The points in disagreement, as I see them, are these:

Were you or were you not a Communist. This committee never had any illusions that we would be able to prove definitely whether or not you are a Communist because, in dealing with people charged with being Communists over a period of years, we have found that those who are guilty, refused to admit it and dodged the question, or deliberately lied.

We know that we cannot get the records of the Communist Party. We cannot get their membership cards, but that was a point we could not hope to establish by verifiable evidence, and it is now a point in dispute.

The second point in dispute is that were you a member of the so-called Ware group who are alleged to have worked together to promote their associates into key positions of Government. You say you were not. Mr. Chambers says that you were. Mr. Chambers said that you were and that you were associated in this activity with John Abt, Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt, Henry Collins, Harold Ware, and Charles Kramer. You admit that you knew John Abt, Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt, Henry Collins, Harold Ware, and Charles Kramer, but you did not know whether or not they were Communists and that whether or not they were, that you were not associated with them in an effort to promote your associates into key Government positions.

There is one other point in dispute, and that is while you both admit this association at the time when it was supposed to have taken place, Mr. Chambers said that you knew him as Carl, and you say that you knew him as Crosley. To me, that is not a very important distinction. The important thing is how close your associations were with this man, who is admittedly a Communist at that time.

He is a Communist functionary. Whether he was living in your home as George Crosley or Carl or Whittaker Chambers is comparatively immaterial. The important thing to me, Mr. Hiss, is that he was living in your home, that you were associating with him, that you were taking him out in the car, that you were letting him use your car, that you were letting him use your apartment, and making him loans and having associations with him of that nature.

In an endeavor to determine the credibility of two witnesses whose testimony conflicts on so many of these points, which are still in dispute, we endeavored to establish that by checking, first, Mr. Chambers' testimony to see whether or not it would stand up, to see whether or not you were an ornithologist, to see whether or not you had a car which had a hand windshield wiper, to see whether or not he had this rather intimate association with you, which the testimony of both of you now conclusively proves did exist.

We also endeavored to check the fact as to whether he lived in your home or spent time in your home, as he said he did. Now, both of you testify to the fact that that actually took place.

We endeavored to verify other aspects of his testimony, about transfers that your son made in school, about certain intimate details of the furniture and material in your home, and on every point on which we have been able to verify, on which we have had verifiable evidence before us, the testimony of Mr. Chambers has stood up. It stands unchallenged. Most of it you admit, although you place understandably a different interpretation upon it from what he has.

You, on the other hand, have also supplied some verifiable data. You have talked about an automobile; you have talked about these pictures of identification; you have described the conditions under which he occupied your home; but in the matter of the car your testimony is clearly refuted by the tangible evidence of the sales slips from the Cherner Motor Co., by the registration material.

On some of the other items your testimony is clouded by a strangely deficient memory. You can recall vividly certain very specific details, but you cannot recall at all whether this automobile that meant so much to you was ever given to Crosley and returned to you, whether you sold it to him, or what the eventual disposition of this car was; and that car plays a very important part, as does the subletting of the apartment in the whole testimony, because in testing the credibility of your testimony and that of Mr. Chambers we have to rely on those pieces of evidence which are verifiable, and those happen to be verifiable ones.

We proceed on the conclusion that if either one of you is telling the truth on the verifiable data, that you are telling the truth on all of it. And if either one of you is concealing the truth from the committee on verifiable data, it points out that you are concealing from us the truth on obviously the points that we cannot prove.

I wanted you to have that reaction, Mr. Hiss, from one member of the committee who, as I say, came in cold, with no predisposition as to your conduct or reputation whatsoever; who, after you first testified, was very frankly inclined to accept it at its face value.

I said something to that effect in the written testimony. I gave a statement to the press.

Now, I have set before you the mental processes of one member of the committee, which I wanted you to have before you make your statement, and I will be glad to have you refute them in detail, or challenge them or correct them in any way you see fit.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hiss, you have heard Mr. Mundt. You may have all the time you will require to answer Mr. Mundt. You may read your statement at this time, and just take as much time as you want.

(At this point, Mr. Hiss attempts to consult with Mr. Davis.)

Mr. MUNDT. No; I want Mr. Hiss to talk now, and you may talk later. I want Mr. Hiss to talk now.

Mr. Hiss. Commenting on Mr. Mundt's so-called summation, I would like to point out that the man who calls himself Chambers has, by his own testimony, been peddling to various Government agencies for 10 years or so stories about me.

During that time he has had an opportunity to check on all sorts of details about my personality.

You referred to my interest in ornithology. I am only an amateur ornithologist, but that fact, that is one of my hobbies, appears in Who's Who.

I have had no chance to see Chambers' testimony, which you have characterized as standing up in verifiable details.

I am very anxious to see that testimony to see how verifiable they are.

From the questions asked me on the 16th, I got the impression that he had testified also from some newspaper reports, that I had transferred my stepson from one school to another in order to save money, which I could donate to the Communist Party.

The facts are, the personal facts are, that my stepson's educational expenses were paid by his own father. I could not possibly have saved any money by sending him to any cheaper school. At no time did I transfer him from one school to another for any purpose, except to benefit his education.

As a matter of fact, while he was in Washington, he went, after only 1 year at the Friends School, to another more expensive school, and, when I concluded that he should go to a boarding school, his own father was not then in a position to meet the full expenses and I paid part of the expenses.

I am anxious to examine other points. I may be erroneously informed as to what he has testified about on this particular point.

I notice that the committee did not ask me questions about my stepson's education today, only about certain other points.

You referred to the fact that I, since Monday, when the name of Crosley first came to me in connection with these hearings, as possibly being involved, have not produced witnesses who are able to say that they, too, knew him as Crosley. I shall do my very best to produce such witnesses.

The time has been very short. If this man actually was a Communist at the time, as he testifies—and, so far as I know, you have only his unsupported testimony for that particular allegation—it is not surprising that that is true, that he was secretive. It is not surprising that it is difficult to get information about him.

I have found it very difficult, with my resources, to get information about him, even during the past 10 years, when he has been, I understand, a member of the staff of Time magazine.

I would want to read Mr. Mundt's summation carefully against the record. I do not, for a minute, want to make this impromptu response to what Mr. Mundt has said my final answer to Mr. Mundt.

I would appreciate, if I could now read into the record, as I understood the chairman permitted me to, the letter which I sent to the chairman yesterday, and which is not now a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. Everybody is trying to talk to me here at the same time. What is it now that you want, Mr. Hiss?

Mr. HISS. I understood that you were going to give me permission I asked for at the beginning of this session to read into the record the letter which I sent you yesterday, and some additional points.

The CHAIRMAN. That is perfectly all right. Go ahead.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, may I—

Mr. MUNDT. I object, Mr. Chairman. I want Mr. Hiss to finish his statement without any interruption by counsel. You may speak afterward.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. Now, counsel has asked to bring up a point, and what is it you want to ask?

Mr. DAVIS. I want to make a reference to the record in connection with the statement that may have been made. I do not wish to do more

than—I will do no more than read what is in the record or make the reference. I would rather read it so that the significance will be brought out.

The CHAIRMAN. It is agreeable with Mr. Hiss that you read that first, and then you make your statement later?

Mr. HISS. I do not know the points he is going to make, but I will be glad to have him go ahead.

Mr. MUNDT. With that understanding, I will promise him no interruption.

The CHAIRMAN. Just go ahead, Mr. Hiss, and read your letter, and you wait, Mr. Counsel, until he gets through.

Mr. HISS. We are doing this at your choice. I do not know what you prefer.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted to get started, and everybody was getting in your way. Go ahead.

Mr. HISS. The letter which I sent to the chairman yesterday afternoon is as follows:

Tomorrow—

that is now today—

will mark my fourth appearance before your committee. I urge, in advance of that hearing, that your committee delay no longer in penetrating to the bed-rock of the facts relevant to the charge which you have publicized—that I am or have been a Communist.

This charge goes beyond the personal. Attempts will be made to use it, and the resulting publicity, to discredit recent great achievements of this country in which I was privileged to participate.

Certain members of your committee have already demonstrated that this use of your hearings and the ensuing publicity is not a mere possibility, it is a reality. Your acting chairman, Mr. Mundt, himself, was trigger quick to cast such discredit.

Although he now says that he was very favorably impressed with my testimony.

Before I had a chance to testify, even before the press had a chance to reach me for comment—

after Chambers' testimony—

before you had—

so far as I am aware—

sought one single fact to support the charge made by a self-confessed liar, spy, and traitor, your acting chairman pronounced judgment that I am guilty as charged, by stating that the country should beware of the peace work with which I have been connected.

I urge that these committee members—

your committee members—

abandon such verdict-first-and-testimony-later tactics, along with dramatic confrontations in secret sessions, and get down to business.

First, my record should be explored. It is inconceivable that there could have been on my part, during 15 years or more in public office, serving all three branches of the Government, judicial, legislative, and executive, any departure from the highest rectitude without its being known. It is inconceivable that the men with whom I was intimately associated during those 15 years should not know my true character far better than this accuser. It is inconceivable that if I had not been of the highest character, this would not have manifested itself at some time or other, in at least one of the innumerable actions I took as a high official, actions publicly recorded in the greatest detail.

During the period cited by this accuser, I was chief counsel to the Senate Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry, at a great many public hear-

ings, fully reported in volumes to be found in libraries in every major American city. During my term of service under the Solicitor General of the United States, I participated in the preparation of briefs on a great many of the largest issues affecting the United States. Those briefs are on public file in the United States Supreme Court, in the Department of Justice, and in law libraries in various American cities.

As an official of the Department of State, I was appointed secretary general, the top administrative officer, of the peace-building international assembly that created the United Nations. My actions in that post are a matter of detailed public record. The same is true of my actions at other peace-building and peace-strengthening international meetings in which I participated—at Dumbarton Oaks and elsewhere in this country, at Malta, at Yalta, at London, and in other foreign cities. All my actions in the executive branch of the Government, including my work in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration on farm problems, are fully recorded in the public records.

In all this work I was frequently, and for extensive periods, under the eye of the American press and of the statesmen under whom or in association with whom I worked. They saw my every gesture, my every movement, my every facial expression. They heard the tones in which I spoke, the words I uttered, the words spoken by others in my presence. They knew my every act relating to official business, both in public and in executive conference.

Here is a list of the living personages of recognized stature under whom or in association with whom I worked in the Government (there may be omissions which I should like to supply in a supplemental list):

1. Men now in the United States Senate:

Senator Tom Connally, one of the United States delegates to the San Francisco Conference which created the United Nations, and to the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in London—

where I was present.

Senator Arthur Vandenberg, a member of the Senate Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry—

under whom I served—

and a member of the San Francisco Conference and London General Assembly delegations.

Next—

Men now in the House of Representatives:

Representative Sol Bloom, a member of both the San Francisco and the London delegations.

Representative Charles Eaton, also a member of both the San Francisco and the London delegations, although his health kept him from making the trip to London.

Next—

Former Secretaries of State:

Cordell Hull, Edward Stettinius, James Byrnes.

Former Under Secretaries of State—

under whom I served—

Joseph Grew, also a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation, Dean Acheson, and William Clayton.

United States judges:

Stanley Reed, Associate Justice now of the United States Supreme Court, who as Solicitor General was my immediate superior during my service in the Department of Justice.

Homer Bone, former Senator from Washington, who was also a member of the Munitions Committee.

Bennett Clark, a former Senator who was a member of the Munitions Committee.

Jerome Frank who as general counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was my immediate chief in the Department of Agriculture.

Men formerly in Congress:

Former United States Senator Gerald Nye, chairman of the Munitions Committee, who appointed me as the chief attorney of that committee.

Former United States Senator James Pope, who was a member of the Munitions Committee, and who is now, I believe, a director of TVA.

Former United States Senator John Townsend, a member of the London delegation.

Others at international conferences where I assisted their labors to build the peace:

Isaiah Bowman, member of Dumbarton Oaks delegation, president of Johns Hopkins University.

John Foster Dulles, a chief adviser of the San Francisco delegation, and a member of each delegation to the meetings of the General Assembly.

Lt. Gen. Stanley Embick, a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation.

Charles Fahy, former legal adviser of the Department of State and member of the United States delegation to the General Assembly.

Gen. Muir Fairchild of the Air Corps, a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation.

Henry Fletcher, former Assistant Secretary of State, and member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation.

Green Hackworth, former legal adviser of the Department of State and a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation, now a judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

Admiral Arthur Hepburn, member of the United States delegation at Dumbarton Oaks.

Stanley Hornbeck, a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation, later our Ambassador to The Hague, and earlier, as chief far-eastern expert of the Department of State, my immediate superior from the fall of 1939 until the early winter of 1944.

Breckenridge Long, former Assistant Secretary of State, and a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a member of the San Francisco delegation and also of each United States delegation to the meetings of the General Assembly.

I am not sure that my memory is correct as to Mrs. Roosevelt's participation in San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. I should imagine so.

Mr. HISS (continuing):

Harold Stassen, a member of the United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference.

Rear Adm. Harold Train, member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation.

Frank Walker, former Postmaster General and member of the delegation to the London meeting of the General Assembly.

Edwin Wilson, my predecessor as director of the office for United Nations Affairs and my last immediate superior in the Department of State who was also a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation, now our Ambassador at Ankara.

Other superiors to whom I reported:

Chester Davis, Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration when I was there, and now president of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.

Francis Sayre, my first direct supervisor in the Department of State, former Assistant Secretary of State and United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, now United States representative to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations and member of the United States delegation to the General Assembly.

These are the men whom I was honored to help in carrying out the finest and deepest American traditions. That is my record. I, too, have had a not insignificant role in that magnificent achievements of our Nation in recent times.

These men I have listed are the men with whom and under whom I worked intimately during my 15 years in Government service—the men best able to testify concerning the loyalty with which I performed the duties assigned me. All are persons of unimpeachable character, in a position to know my work from day to day and hour to hour through many years. Ask them if they ever found in me anything except the highest adherence to duty and honor.

Then the committee can judge, and the public can judge, whether to believe a self-discredited accuser whose names and aliases are as numerous and as casual as his accusations.

The other side of this question is the reliability of the allegations before this committee, the undocumented statements of the man who now calls himself Whittaker Chambers.

Is he a man of consistent reliability, truthfulness, and honor? Clearly not. He admits it, and the committee knows it. Indeed, is he a man of sanity?

Getting the facts about Whittaker Chambers, if that is his name, will not be easy. My own counsel have made inquiries in the past few days and have learned



that his career is not, like those of normal men, an open book. His operations have been furtive and concealed. Why? What does he have to hide?

I am glad to help get the facts.

At this point I should like to repeat suggestions made by me at preceding hearings with respect to the most effective method of getting facts so far as I can supply them. The suggestions I made, beginning with the very first time I appeared before your committee, were not then accepted, and the result has only been confusion and delay. Let me illustrate by recalling to your minds what I said when you asked me to identify the accuser, not by producing him under your subpoena power but by producing only a newspaper photograph taken many years after the time when, by his own statements, I had last seen him. I said to you on the occasion of my first appearance:

"I would much rather see the individual—I would not want to take oath that I have never seen that man. I would like to see him, and I would be better able to tell whether I had ever seen him. Is he here today—I hoped he would be."

Let me add one further example of how the procedures followed have caused confusion and delay. In your secret sessions you asked me housekeeping and minor details of years ago that few if any busy men would possibly retain in their memories with accuracy. I told you, and one of your own members acknowledged, that you or I should consult the records. I warned you that I had not checked them and that I doubted if I could be helpful under those circumstances.

I am having a check made of the records, and will furnish the results to you.

One personal word. My action in being kind to Crosley years ago was one of humaneness, with results which surely some members of the committee have experienced. You do a favor for a man, he comes for another, he gets a third favor from you. When you finally realize he is an inveterate repeater, you get rid of him. If your loss is only a loss of time and money, you are lucky. You may find yourself calumniated in a degree depending on whether the man is unbalanced or worse.

Now, I would like this committee to ask these questions on my behalf of the man who calls himself Whittaker Chambers, and I would like these to be part of the statement which the committee has authorized me to make.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment.

Mr. HISS. Where does he reside now?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Mr. STRIPLING. I notice that counsel is passing out these questions to the press.

Mr. DAVIS. I will let you have these.

Mr. HISS. "Where do you reside?" I would like that question asked of Whittaker Chambers.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed. The meeting will come to order. Everyone will please take his seat.

Mr. HISS. Before reading these questions, I would also like to repeat in public what I said on the occasion of the executive session in New York, where I—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. Will you please take your seats?

Mr. HISS. I would like to repeat in public, and in public session, what I said in New York at the executive session, where Chambers was present, and I said it in his presence. I challenge him to make the statements about me with respect to communism in public that he has made under privilege to this committee.

The questions that I would like this committee on my behalf to ask him—many questions have been asked of me, and I do not know what questions have been asked of him—I would like you to ask him where he now resides and I would like to know the answer. I have not been able to find out even where he lives at the present time. Shall I go on with the questions?

Mr. MUNDT. Oh, yes; go ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. HISS. I would ask that you ask him to list the various places where he has lived since 1930, indicating the length of time he has lived at each place, and the name he has used at each place. As far as I am concerned, that is all a matter of the record of the committee as to where I have lived, and the name I have used.

Next, what name was he given when he was born? What names has he used at any time since his birth for any purpose?

Ask him to give his complete employment record during his membership in the Communist Party, since his resignation from the Communist Party, stating the name of each employer, stating his occupation, and his compensation, also the name by which he was employed in each instance.

I would like him to give a complete bibliography of all his writings. He says that he was a writer. Give the writings under any and every name he has used.

I would like him to be asked whether he has ever been charged or convicted of any crime.

I would like him to give the full particulars, if so, as to where, when, and for what.

I would like him to be asked whether he has ever been treated for a mental illness.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt there to tell Mr. Hiss that at least one question has been asked Mr. Chambers, No. 7. I asked him in New York whether he had ever been treated for any mental illness, whether he was ever in a mental institution or not, and he replied in the negative, and added also he was not an alcoholic. So, you can strike that. That was asked already.

Mr. HISS. Was that the extent of the committee's inquiry into that subject?

Mr. HÉBERT. The committee's inquiry into that was because a typical Communist smear is: When a man gets up to testify, and particularly a former Communist, is to say he is insane or an alcoholic or something else is wrong with him.

Immediately after Mr. Chambers testified before this committee, the committee heard reverberations already of the fact that he was a mental case; in fact, it said it came from Time magazine by his own associates, so I have always believed the only way to find out anything to start off with is to ask the individual involved, and I asked Mr. Chambers a direct question. "Mr. Chambers, were you ever in a mental institution or treated for any mental disease?" I wanted to know, and I wanted to ask him, and then check back from there.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say—

Mr. HÉBERT. I asked him, and he denied it, and said, "No," and also added to that that he was not an alcoholic, which was another charge that was made against him.

I may say to you now, Mr. Hiss, that I do not accept Mr. Chambers' word on his own statement. I intend to check that, too.

Mr. HISS. So do I.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, Mr. Hiss, and also to the members of the committee, that Mr. Chambers will take the stand directly after you finish on the stand today.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, excuse me, do you have any evidence that you would like to present at this time that Mr. Chambers has been in a mental institution? You made the charge that he has been.

Mr. HISS. I have made no such charge.

Mr. NIXON. The charge has appeared in the newspapers.

Mr. HISS. Not from me. I have made no such charge.

Mr. NIXON. Then, you do not mean that by your statement?

Mr. HISS. I mean that I am making no charges. I am seeking information.

Mr. NIXON. The charge appeared yesterday from your letter, as you recall—the suggestion of Mr. Chambers being a mental case. Now, do you have any evidence to present to the committee that he is?

Mr. HISS. I have made no such charge. I just read the record here—the letter into the record. I asked the question, “Is he a man of sanity?”

Mr. NIXON. Will you answer the question as to whether you have any evidence of his having been in a mental institution?

Mr. HISS. I have had various reports made to me to the effect that he has been.

Mr. NIXON. What reports have you had?

Mr. HISS. I have had reports made by individuals.

Mr. NIXON. What individuals?

Mr. HISS. They are so far only hearsay.

The reports that came to me were from individuals, individual members of the press, so far, that they had heard rumors to that effect.

Mr. NIXON. What members of the press?

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. Mundt, can he finish his statement?

I understood we were not to be interrupted. Let them take notes and then ask the questions after he finishes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, go ahead and finish the questions.

Mr. HISS. I would like the committee to ask him if he has ever been treated for mental illness, where, and when, and by whom.

I would like him to be asked where, when, and to whom he has been married. How many children he has; where does his wife now reside.

I would like him to be asked to describe the circumstances under which he came in contact with this committee and to make public all written memoranda which he may have handed to any representative of the committee.

I would like to know whether he is willing, as I said at the out-set of these questions, to make before this committee, in a manner free from the protections of this committee, the statements so that I may test his veracity in a suit for slander or libel.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, does any member of the committee have any questions to ask Mr. Hiss over the statement he made or in relation to these questions he wants the committee to ask?

Mr. HÉBERT. I would like to, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. With this impromptu rebuttal of Mr. Mundt's statement, there were just three facts or three statements which he made which I think merit attention. One was the reference to his stepson's father paying for the boy's education.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Chambers told us that himself in the conference in New York. He told us that your stepson's education was paid for by the boy's father.

Mr. HISS. I do not know what Mr. Chambers said.

Mr. HÉBERT. I know; I know you don't. You will find out a lot that he said before these hearings are over, indicating that the man did know you at a time when you denied ever having known the man.

We were trying to find out whether he knew you. That was a very intimate thing, that only a man who knew you could testify.

Mr. HISS. Unless he was checking very carefully on me in the last 10 years.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is correct; unless he was checking on you in the last 10 years. That is the one thing I have not resolved in my own mind. What motive could the man have to go into such detail as to know all about your private life and to come before this committee and tell us these things? That is the unsolved riddle, as far as I am concerned at this time.

This man was confronted by us within 48 hours after you appeared, and, as I told you in executive session last Monday, the committee literally ran out of questions. He had no occasion to know, and he had no indication at all of knowing, what we were going to ask him. He did not have any indication at all as to what fields we would explore, and he unhesitatingly answered every question in the minutest of details which, as Mr. Mundt has indicated, comes back and checks, even down to the automobile sale.

Mr. HISS. Who would remember—how would any man remember all those details about any other man after 14 years?

Mr. HÉBERT. Unless he knew him extremely well.

Mr. HISS. Unless he was studying up on it.

Mr. HÉBERT. Unless he knew him extremely well. You made mention here before that you are an ornithologist.

Mr. HISS. Amateur.

Mr. HÉBERT. Amateur. And that information could be obtained in Who's Who. Now, to anybody reading that or hearing that, why, that is a very plausible statement.

Mr. HISS. It is a factual statement.

Mr. HÉBERT. I am not saying it is not a factual statement, but the implication that you leave, as I tried to indicate before, Mr. Hiss—and we understand each other; you know we do—the implication that you leave is, why, anybody could look in Who's Who and see that you are an ornithologist.

Mr. HISS. That is certainly the case.

Mr. HÉBERT. But nobody could read in Who's Who that you found a rare bird, which I will ask Mr. McDowell to describe.

Mr. STRIPLING. A prothonotary warbler.

Mr. HÉBERT. A warbler, and the other day, in executive session, we asked you about that particular bird, and you said, "Yes." Now, that is not from Who's Who.

Mr. HISS. I have told many, many people that I have seen a prothonotary warbler, and I am very, very proud. If Mr. McDowell has seen it, he has told very, very many people about it.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, the question has been asked: "Do you recall certain individuals with whom you were friendly?" I will recall

them from memory and ask you each question. Do you recall Henry Collins well?

Mr. HISS. I have answered that I have known Henry Collins since we were boys together at a boys' camp in Maine.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know that Henry Collins is a Communist?

Mr. HISS. I do not know that Henry Collins is a Communist. I do not know that he is not a Communist.

Mr. HÉBERT. You do not know whether he is or is not a Communist?

Mr. HISS. No; that is not the kind of thing I would know.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know John Abt?

Mr. HISS. I do know John Abt, and I have testified as to the circumstances under which I know and have known John Abt.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know John Abt as a Communist or not as a Communist?

Mr. HISS. I have never known John Abt as a Communist. I do not know whether he is or not.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know Lee Pressman?

Mr. HISS. I know Lee Pressman, and I have testified as to how and when I knew Lee Pressman.

Mr. HÉBERT. Do you know whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. HISS. I do not know whether or not Lee Pressman is a Communist.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you know Harold Ware?

Mr. HISS. I knew Harold Ware only to the extent that I have testified to in my public testimony.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, I will say this, that it is an established fact that Harold Ware was a Communist when he was living.

Mr. HISS. I knew Harold Ware to the extent I testified to in 1933 or 1945. It was not my practice then to ask people whom I met casually whether they were Communists.

Mr. HÉBERT. But you do not know whether any of these people were Communists or not.

Mr. HISS. I do not.

Mr. HÉBERT. And particular reference with regard to Henry Collins who refused to testify here that it might incriminate himself.

Mr. HISS. I have no reason for knowing what counsel advised Mr. Collins to do with respect to his rights.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, the reason I ask those questions, Mr. Hiss, is to bring you up to date on your letter which you just read and recited a long list of persons who would know you and know what you were about, and know who you are and what you are.

Mr. HISS. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. And it was an imposing array of fine American people. How would they know whether you are a Communist or not, when you don't know about intimate people that you know, whether they are communists or not?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Hébert, I did not cite their names on that issue. I cited their names on my record, because I think my record is relevant to this inquiry.

Mr. HÉBERT. You cited that list of names to leave the impression that these people could testify that you are not a Communist?

Mr. HISS. I said, and I say now, that those people can testify as to whether they noticed in my demeanor over sometimes prolonged periods any indication of any departure from the highest rectitude.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, none of these people could testify as to whether or not you are a Communist, could they?

Mr. HISS. Have any of them testified?

Mr. HÉBERT. I did not ask that.

Mr. HISS. Whether I departed from rectitude, in their opinion?

Mr. HÉBERT. I asked you a question: Can any of them testify whether or not you are or are not a Communist?

Mr. HISS. That is for them to say.

Mr. HÉBERT. Can they testify? You have injected their names in the hearing. I did not.

Mr. HISS. I did not cite them for that purpose, to you, Mr. Hébert. If you wish to ask them that question, that is your privilege. If you do not wish to ask them, I shall attempt to obtain affidavits from them for the committee's information.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, their testimony would not be worth any more than your testimony will be against Ware, Collins, Abt, Pressman.

Mr. HISS. That is your opinion. I have told you why I think their testimony as to my character would be relevant.

Mr. HÉBERT. But they could not testify whether or not you are a Communist.

Mr. HISS. That is up to them, Mr. Hébert.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions and no objections to these questions that he wants us to ask Mr. Chambers with the single exception of No. 10, which I consider to be none of the committee's business, nor pertinent to this inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, when did you last see Crosley?

Mr. HISS. Are you talking about that individual there?

Mr. NIXON. I am talking to you, and I am asking when did you last see Crosley.

Mr. HISS. The man I knew as Crosley, I see over there now. What do you mean?

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Hiss, I realize that you are trying to be facetious. It is a serious question. I am attempting to find out the terminal date on your acquaintanceship with Mr. Crosley. Now, when did you last see him during the thirties?

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, I have testified repeatedly that to the best of my recollection I think I must have last seen him sometime in 1935.

Mr. NIXON. In the fall of 1935?

Mr. HISS. Whether it would be the fall or the summer, I am not absolutely confident of my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Did you see him in 1936?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my recollection, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Can you say positively that you did not see Crosley in 1936?

Mr. HISS. It would be very difficult for me to say positively that I had not seen anybody in 1936, Mr. Nixon. I do not believe I saw Crosley in 1936.

Mr. NIXON. But you are leaving open the possibility that you might have seen Crosley in 1936, do I understand you correctly?

Mr. HISS. I think you understand me correctly.

Mr. NIXON. Now, how about 1937? Did you see Crosley in 1937?

Mr. HISS. Not to the best of my recollection, and I would be confident that I did not. I would be absolutely confident that I did not see him at anytime under the circumstances he has testified to.

Mr. NIXON. My question is: Are you positive you did not see Crosley in 1937?

Mr. HISS. I am reasonably positive that I did not see or lay eyes on Crosley in 1937.

Mr. NIXON. Will you testify to the effect that you did not see him in 1937?

Mr. HISS. I'll testify that to the best of my knowledge and recollection I did not.

Mr. NIXON. Then, you are leaving the implication that it is possible that you could have seen him in 1937.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, it seems to me I must leave that implication. I cannot be sure that I did not see anybody——

Mr. NIXON. Did you see Crosley in 1938?

Mr. HISS. I would like to reply exactly the same way to that. I feel confident I did not.

Mr. NIXON. But it is possible that you might have?

Mr. HISS. It is certainly conceivable and possible.

Mr. NIXON. Now, the committee is going into a matter very carefully with various witnesses which bears on the next question that I want to ask you, and I want you to pay particular attention to this question. Have you ever seen George Crosley, Whittaker Chambers, or Carl, or Crosley under any other name in the apartment of Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. To the best of my recollection, I am confident I have not. There is no reason why I should have. I have no recollection whatsoever of ever seeing Crosley except under the circumstances I have testified to.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. HISS, you mean to tell me you are leaving open the possibility that you could have seen Crosley in the apartment of Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. I would not wish to leave that open as anything other than a physical possibility in the sense of what are infinite possibilities. I am confident that I have never seen Crosley in the apartment of Henry Collins.

Mr. NIXON. Will you testify that you did not see Crosley in the apartment of Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. I will testify that to the best of my knowledge and recollection I have never seen Crosley in the apartment of Henry Collins.

Mr. NIXON. Well, of course, you are leaving open the possibility that you might have seen him in the event that that should come out in the proof before the committee.

Mr. HISS. You can put it that way if you choose, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Well, do you wish it to be left that way?

Mr. HISS. I wish it to be left as I have just stated it, that to the best of my knowledge and recollection I am very confident that I never saw Crosley in the apartment of Henry Collins.

Mr. NIXON. But you won't say categorically that you did not see him in the apartment of Henry Collins?

Mr. HISS. I do not see how one can say categorically that one has not seen anybody. If he was attending social functions, if there were a large number of people at some occasion, and he was present, I could not testify with absolute positive finality.

Mr. NIXON. I am not questioning you concerning social functions. I am questioning you as to whether you have seen this man in the apartment of Henry Collins in the presence of others.

Mr. HISS. You mean when a relatively few people were gathered together for an occasion when they were all as a small group among themselves in the apartment of Henry Collins? I testify positively that that did not occur.

Mr. NIXON. When you speak of a relatively small group, what do you mean?

Mr. HISS. What do you mean? I would say up to 7 or 8, 9, 10, 11 people.

Mr. NIXON. Then, you are testifying positively now that you have never seen Crosley in the apartment of Collins when as many as 11 people were there?

Mr. HISS. I am.

Mr. NIXON. You are testifying positively to that fact?

Mr. HISS. Yes, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Now, have you ever seen Crosley in any of the—in the house that you lived in on Thirtieth Street?

Mr. HISS. I have no recollection whatever of ever having seen Crosley in that house.

Mr. NIXON. Can you testify that you have never seen him in that house?

Mr. HISS. I would testify that to the best of my recollection I am confident I never saw him in that house.

Mr. NIXON. But you won't testify categorically that you did not see him in that house?

Mr. HISS. Only for the reasons that I have already given, that it is impossible to testify with absolute finality on such a point, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Hiss, you took this Thirtieth Street house, as you will recall, yourself, in July of 1936.

Mr. HISS. Well, if that is what the records show that is when I took it. I do not have it in mind at the moment.

Mr. NIXON. That is a year after this lease, over a year after this lease with Crosley expired. Now, do you want to leave this committee with the impression that there is a possibility, even a remote possibility, that you were still seeing Crosley over a year after he had welsled on the rent?

Mr. HISS. I would put it the other way. I cannot testify positively to the possibility that Crosley did not come to see me.

Mr. NIXON. Then, it is possible that he did see you in that apartment?



Mr. HISS. That I would not be able to testify to with absolute finality.

Mr. NIXON. You will recall your testimony, which was final on Monday before this committee, that Crosley definitely had seen you in only two apartments or dwellings that you know.

Mr. HISS. That is the best of my recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Did you say "to the best of my recollection" on Monday?

Mr. HISS. Whatever the record says is what I said.

Mr. NIXON. You want to stand by that record?

Mr. HISS. I do not question the record as to what I said. I am testifying now in specific answer to your specific question, that to the best of my recollection I never saw Crosley except at the Twenty-eighth Street apartment, my office in the Senate Office Building, my house on P Street, and when I went to lunch with him, and perhaps if I drove him to New York.

Mr. NIXON. I understood you to say that you have found it difficult to check Mr. Whittaker Chambers during the last 10 years, his record during the last 10 years. What did you mean by that?

Mr. HISS. The check that I was making was not made during the last 10 years. The check I have been making is within the last few days.

Mr. NIXON. I assumed that.

Mr. HISS. I found it difficult to find where he lived, who knew him, what his habits were.

Mr. NIXON. I would also find it difficult to find out what your habits were.

Mr. HISS. I would not think so. I have lived a normal, open, public life in Washington, and the last year or so in New York.

Mr. NIXON. The total amount that George Crosley owed you, as you have testified, and the leases which, of course, as you yourself have said, are the best evidence, could not have been over \$150.

Mr. HISS. I should not think that it would have been more than that.

Mr. NIXON. Two months. We have established that, and I think there can be no argument on that, and your loans, you said you did not think exceeded \$30, as I recall your testimony.

Mr. HISS. That is my best recollection.

Mr. NIXON. Now, what is the implication that is left from the testimony that because of that \$150 loan, which Crosley owed you, that he has willfully circulated this charge that you are a Communist?

Mr. HISS. I did not testify to your committee that I had any understanding of the motive which could have led him to make such a serious charge. I am not prepared to say that I understand or have any inkling as to what could have led him to make such a charge, Mr. Nixon.

I would not want to say that the words we had over these relatively minor financial transactions could possibly motivate any normal person to make such a charge.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, of course, as you have indicated, the charge that you or anybody else is a Communist now is a serious charge. Also the inference which, of course, the statements regarding which you made before the committee, and your answers to questions which you have given to the committee that somebody has been treated for a mental illness today is also a serious charge. I would appreciate,

in helping the committee, to find out what the motive could have been, to find out whether possibly there is a mental condition here, if you would tell the committee now, what your sources are that you have for believing that Mr. Crosley has been treated for a mental illness.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, the first reference to that which came to my attention was on the afternoon of the morning which occurred after I first testified before the committee. One of two friends, who came to the hearing with me, a lawyer who was at law school with me, and who came with me to the hearings, simply as a friend, was told by a representative of the press that there had been reports being received by the press ever since Chambers had testified that he had spent a considerable part of the last 4 or 5 years in mental institutions. That seemed to me to be a significant assertion, and I have attempted to run it down. I have not found any evidence as yet. I shall continue to search for evidence.

Mr. NIXON. Can you tell us who that was?

Mr. HISS. The friend who accompanied me?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. HISS. He was Joseph Johnston, of Birmingham, Ala., who happened to be in Washington at that time. What press person spoke to him, I do not know. I have not asked him what press person it was. I think it was a member of the press who came up to him casually while he was sitting with me.

Mr. NIXON. And, Mr. Johnston told you that a member of the press had told him—

Mr. HISS. Just what I have told you.

Mr. NIXON. What you have just told me?

Mr. HISS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And on the basis of that statement, which is hearsay twice removed, you are leaving the implication that Mr. Crosley has been in a mental institution.

Mr. HISS. Mr. Nixon, you say I am leaving an implication.

Mr. NIXON. Well, I cannot gather anything else from your statement.

Mr. HISS. There have been other reports made to me.

Mr. NIXON. What other reports?

Mr. HISS. That an individual who formerly worked on Time said that Chambers had been to a mental institution.

Mr. NIXON. Who told you that?

Mr. HISS. This also came to me from a second-hand source. The name of the individual who was supposed to have made the statement—I do not like to bring names in unnecessarily, however, if you insist—

Mr. NIXON. I insist.

Mr. HISS. The name is of a person named Walton, who, I understand, formerly worked on Time, and who, I do not know that Walton, he said definitely that Chambers had been to a mental institution in 1946. The statement was made that Walton understood that or thought that.

Mr. NIXON. Now, who else?

Mr. HISS. I do not recall any other specific information because I have not personally been attempting to go into it. I have asked counsel if they could check on it. It is not an easy thing to check. It is not easy to check on.

Mr. NIXON. Well, the committee is interested in this information because we, too, have the obligation to check on it.

As I understand, both of your statements are made on the basis of what other people told you—

Mr. HISS. Entirely.

Mr. NIXON. Concerning things which have been told them.

Mr. HISS. Entirely, and I have not gone into it personally. I have asked counsel to see if there is any way they could find out about it.

Mr. NIXON. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, you have something there that you wanted to bring up some time ago. What is that?

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Will you bear with me? It won't take but just a minute. It seems as if it is ancient history now, but after Mr. Mundt made his statements, I felt I wanted to refer the committee to a statement made by Mr. Mundt during the hearing, the first public hearing, at which Mr. Hiss' name came up, and I would like to just read the two paragraphs:

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chambers, I am very much interested in trying to check the career of Alger Hiss. I know nothing about Donald Hiss, but, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the personnel committee, I have had some occasion to check the activities of Alger Hiss while he was in the State Department. There is reason to believe that he organized within the Department one of the Communist cells, which endeavored to influence our Chinese policy, and bring about the condemnation of Chiang Kai-shek, which put Marzani in an important position there and, I think, it is important to know what happened to these people after they leave the Government. Do you know where Alger Hiss is employed now?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I am glad you read that, Mr. Counsel, because I was just going to make that statement now, and I won't have to do it, in connection with a statement in the letter of Mr. Hiss in which he implied or gave the impression that my disagreement with American foreign policy was because he had been connected with it, and I would not want it to go out that my only disagreement with some of these policies is because of your connection with them.

As far as I am concerned, Mr. Hiss, our policy toward China, the political agreement at Yalta, which you said you helped write, and the Morgenthau plan, you mentioned three of them, are hopelessly bad, and I shall continue to consider them hopelessly bad even though you prove yourself to be the president of the American Daughters of the Revolution.

The fact that you were connected with them may or may not, when these hearings have terminated, increase my skepticism about their wisdom.

It is true, as I said in my summation, that as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee I have had brought to my attention several times the mention of the name Alger Hiss in connection with our Chinese policy.

It is also true that after listening to him testify the following day I said publicly, and I said in the record, that he had been a very persuasive and convincing witness, and had very well convinced me of his reliability.

In fact, I advised Mrs. Mundt at dinner that night, and she said I had been taken in by his suavity. Perhaps a woman's intuition is

better than a man's. I do not know, but at all events, I am willing to again state that Mr. Hiss was a willing and persuasive witness as far as I am concerned.

I would like to say just one other thing with regard to that part of the letter, Mr. Chairman, which says it is inconceivable that he, Mr. Hiss, could have worked in the Government for these many years and still have been a member of the Communist Party or disloyal. That is not inconceivable to me without in any way attempting at this time to indict the credibility of Mr. Hiss. But I wish to point out that John Peurifoy, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of security, has notified Congress that 134 members of the State Department had weasled their way into the State Department alone, and had been removed from the Department for disloyalty reasons.

So it is not at all inconceivable that the number could just as well have been 135 as 134.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? Mr. Hiss, you have had a trying day, and you may sit back there among the comfortable seats. We are going to recess for 7 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, the next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Whittaker Chambers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chambers, you have been sworn, but I might as well swear you again.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Sit right down there and talk in the microphone.

Mr. CHAMBERS. This one?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

#### TESTIMONY OF WHITTAKER CHAMBERS—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, would you state your full name for the record.

Mr. CHAMBERS. My full name is J. David Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was born in Philadelphia in 1901, April 1.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am senior editor of Time magazine.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you at one time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was a member of the Communist Party from 1924 until about 1937 or 1938, early '38.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you detail to the committee the various positions which you held in the Communist Party.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I was at one time a writer on the Daily Worker, later foreign news editor of the Daily Worker, later, in fact, managing editor of the Daily Worker, editor of the New Masses, and a functionary in the underground.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, when you were with the New Masses, were you known as Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. I show you a copy of the New Masses of May 1932, No. 11, volume 7, and on the masthead it says: "Editorial board." The first name is that of Whittaker Chambers. The next name is Robert Evans, the next name is Hugo Gellert, the next name Michael Gold, and the next name is that of the managing editor. I show you a photostatic copy of the New Masses, and ask you if you are familiar with the men who are listed here as members of the editorial board [showing document to witness].

Mr. CHAMBERS. I recognize all except Robert Evans, which is very likely a pseudonym. I recognize all the names except Robert Evans, which I suspect is a pseudonym for Joseph Freeman.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were associated with all of these people on the editorial board of the New Masses?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. And could you identify the New Masses? Was it the official organ of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; it was not the official organ of the Communist Party. It was the intellectual organ of the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. The intellectual organ of the Communist Party. That was in 1932?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The distinction I would make is that it did not assert its Communist affiliations at that time, but of these men, one, two, three, four, five, were either open or concealed Communists.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you were a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you contribute other articles to the New Masses?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I contributed a number of short stories just prior to this period.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have here, Mr. Chairman, a photostatic copy of the New Masses of December 1931, an article by Whittaker Chambers, Death of the Communist, a story.

Also an article in New Masses for March 1931, by Whittaker Chambers, Can You Make Out Their Voices?

I have also the New Masses of October 1931, an article by Whittaker Chambers, Our Comrade Munn, a Story.

Did you ever serve as the editor in fact of the Daily Worker?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The editor in fact; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was listed as the editor?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Robert Minor, I believe.

Mr. STRIPLING. And during what period was that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was probably between 1927 and 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have here Mr. Chambers, the original of a copy of the New Masses of July 1931, which contains a picture of Whittaker Chambers, with the caption—

Whittaker Chambers was born in Philadelphia, 1901; boyhood in eastern United States; youth as, periodically, a vagrant laborer in the deep South, Plains, Northwest; brief college experience, ending with atheist publication. Formerly member of Industrial Union 310, IWW.

Would you mind stating what that is, Mr. Mandel?

MR. MANDEL. IWW—Industrial Workers of the World.

MR. STRIPLING. Industrial Workers of the World.

Joined revolutionary movement in 1935; contributed to numerous publications; former staff member of Daily Worker; contributing editor of the New Masses.

Is that a picture of you, Mr. Chambers [showing photograph to witness]?

MR. CHAMBERS. It is.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you know when this picture was taken or about when?

MR. CHAMBERS. It was taken just about this date, which is July 1931.

MR. STRIPLING. You testified, Mr. Chambers, that you were a member of the underground, of the Communist Party.

MR. CHAMBERS. I did.

MR. STRIPLING. During what period were you a member of the underground of the Communist Party?

MR. CHAMBERS. From 1932, roughly, through 1937.

MR. STRIPLING. During that period, did you meet the person who was on the witness stand today, Alger Hiss?

MR. CHAMBERS. I did meet Mr. Alger Hiss.

MR. STRIPLING. Would you now give to the committee a chronological résumé of your meeting with Mr. Hiss, and how long you knew Mr. Hiss and the circumstances under which you met him?

MR. CHAMBERS. I believe that I was first introduced to Mr. Hiss by Harold Ware and J. Peters, who was the head of the underground of the American Communist Party.

The meeting took place in Washington, and I believe in a restaurant. I then continued to know Mr. Hiss until I broke with the Communist Party in early 1938, and I saw him once again toward the end of 1938.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Mr. Hiss at the offices of the Nye Investigating Committee in the Senate Office Building?

MR. CHAMBERS. I never did.

MR. STRIPLING. You never did?

MR. CHAMBERS. No.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Mr. Hiss at his apartment on Twenty-eighth Street?

MR. CHAMBERS. I did.

MR. STRIPLING. How many times did you meet Mr. Hiss, would you say, at the address on Twenty-eighth Street?

MR. CHAMBERS. I could not state accurately, but I should say a number of times.

MR. STRIPLING. About how many times; over 50?

MR. CHAMBERS. Not at Twenty-eighth Street. I would think—well, let's say 20 times.

MR. STRIPLING. Twenty times at Twenty-eighth Street.

Were you ever known or did you represent yourself to Mr. Hiss, when you first met, as being an individual by the name of George Crosley?

MR. CHAMBERS. I did not.

MR. STRIPLING. You did not. Did Mr. Hiss ever sublease an apartment to you on Twenty-eighth Street?

MR. CHAMBERS. He did not.

MR. STRIPLING. He did not. Did he ever permit you to live in an apartment on Twenty-eighth Street?

MR. CHAMBERS. He did.

Mr. STRIPLING. He did. Did Mr. Hiss, at any time, sell you a Ford automobile, model A, 1929 model?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. He did not. Do you have a question, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Not at this time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you and your family, your wife and child, ever visit or were you ever guests in the home of Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. We were.

Mr. STRIPLING. When?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My recollection is—we are now talking about the house on P Street. I take it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever guests, you and your wife, in his apartment on Twenty-eighth Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. We were guests in the apartment for the period after Mr. Hiss moved to his house on P Street. My recollection of that period is 3 or 4 weeks, I should think; at the utmost, 6 weeks.

Mr. NIXON. Just a moment, Mr. Stripling. You have not made the question clear.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I will clarify it. I will repeat the question, Mr. Chambers. Were you ever—you and your family, were you ever guests at Mr. Hiss' apartment while he and his wife were living in the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I do not believe that we were. My recollection is that we came in after the Hisses moved into their new house. I could be mistaken about that, but I do not believe I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not recall ever visiting him on Twenty-eighth Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I personally visited him.

Mr. STRIPLING. You personally visited, but not with your family?

Mr. CHAMBERS. But I do not believe my family did until after the Hisses moved out.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever have an oral agreement with Mr. Hiss regarding a sublease of an apartment on Twenty-eighth Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. There was no talk of a sublease, no question of a sublease.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did you move into the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I wanted to have my family with me in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Hiss volunteer to loan you the apartment?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is my recollection that he made the suggestion.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall when this was?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I should have thought it was during the early summer of 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. Early summer of 1935?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, may I interpose there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Going back a moment to when you first met Mr. Hiss, do you recall approximately when that was; what year?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I had originally thought that it was early in 1935. The testimony of Mr. Hiss seems to put it in 1934, which is quite possible.

Mr. NIXON. What is your recollection on it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I can only—

Mr. NIXON. Apart from his testimony.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can only assume that it was probably in 1934.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, what was the occasion of that? You had come to Washington in what capacity?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I had come to Washington as a functionary of the Communist Party. Shall I describe the set-up of the Communist Party here in Washington?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Harold Ware, who is the son of Ella Reeve Bloor, a well-known Communist, had gone down to Washington, to the best of my knowledge, about 1933. He was chiefly interested in farm activities of some kind, but he discovered, after he got there, that he could recruit a large number of people in the Government for the Communist Party. It is possible that some of the people were Communists already, and he simply came in touch with them; others, I am sure, he recruited himself.

He set up, perhaps with the help of J. Peters, an apparatus consisting of a number of organizations, a number of cells, each cell being led by a man who formed part of a committee, and an underground committee which met regularly at the home of Henry Collins in St. Matthews Court.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the last name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Henry Collins.

The CHAIRMAN. After that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. At St. Matthews Court.

The members of that group, when I first came to know them, were Henry Collins, Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Charles Kramer or Krevitsky, Victor Perlo, John Abt, Nathan Witt—it seems to me I have forgotten one—Lee Pressman, of course.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, when you came to Washington in the latter part of 1934, you came as a Communist functionary; is that your testimony?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. You say then that you were introduced to Mr. Hiss at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was introduced to all these people sooner or later. I think I was introduced to most of them separately, individually, before I met them among this group.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you meet them all in a group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I met them at Henry Collins' in St. Matthews Court.

Mr. NIXON. Have you seen all these individuals at Henry Collins' apartment?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have.

Mr. NIXON. At St. Matthews Court?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Are you sure of that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Quite, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. I failed to let the record show that Mr. Chambers is here in response to a subpoena which was served on him by Louis J. Russell on August 17, to appear here today at 10 o'clock. You are here in response to that subpoena; are you not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you were introduced to Mr. Hiss, as you recall, by Harold Ware, and J. Peters.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe so.



Mr. NIXON. Who is J. Peters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. J. Peters was the head of the underground section of the American Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Nixon; you may proceed.

Mr. NIXON. Was J. Peters your immediate superior?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was.

Mr. NIXON. Now, on how many occasions, approximately, do you recall having been in the apartment of Henry Collins when Mr. Hiss was there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would say—

Mr. NIXON. Was it more than once?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; more than once, but perhaps not more than five times, because we separated Mr. Alger Hiss from that group rather early.

Mr. NIXON. What do you mean by "separating from that group"?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The intention was to set up a parallel group of men whose opportunities for penetrating into the Government and arriving at positions of power and influence seemed best.

Mr. NIXON. Was it then that you saw Mr. Alger Hiss individually; do I understand?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I think I had been introduced to him before I actually went to Henry Collins' house.

Mr. NIXON. When did you first go to Alger Hiss' house, his apartment; do you recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Very shortly after I met him.

Mr. NIXON. Do you ever recall having stayed overnight in his apartment by yourself, not when your family was there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, I do not, and I do not believe I did, but it is barely possible.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Now, you have indicated, at least the assumption has been in your testimony, that Mr. Hiss was introduced to you as a Communist. How do you know that he was a Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The assumption was in the whole set-up. J. Peters was the organizer of the underground section of the Communist Party. He was dealing with party comrades, and these were dues-paying members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. J. Peters introduced Alger Hiss to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That was understood.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Do you have any other information on which to base your statement that Mr. Hiss was a member of the Communist Party, other than J. Peters told you he was?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss obeyed party discipline in every respect.

Mr. NIXON. Did you yourself have occasion at any time to take dues from Mr. Hiss for the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did.

Mr. NIXON. You did?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. On one occasion or more occasions than one?

Mr. CHAMBERS. At least on one occasion, and I would think on at least three occasions.

Mr. NIXON. Could it have been more or less than that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It could have been more than that.

Mr. NIXON. It could have been more than that. Who collected dues for Mr. Hiss generally?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Henry Collins.

Mr. NIXON. Henry Collins?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Henry Collins was the treasurer of that group.

Mr. NIXON. Did J. Peters ever collect dues from Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, he did.

Mr. NIXON. To your knowledge?

Mr. CHAMBERS. To my knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. Now, did you and your family spend some time with Mr. Hiss in his house on P Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I think we spent a few days there, sometime after we had moved out of the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street.

Mr. NIXON. Now, going back to the apartment for a moment, did you bring any furniture with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did not.

Mr. NIXON. You did not bring any furniture. Where did you come from?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I came from my mother's house on Long Island.

Mr. NIXON. In New York?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Outside New York.

Mr. NIXON. And how long was the stay, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think, not longer than 6 weeks. I would think that was on the outside.

Mr. NIXON. Could it have been less?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It could have been less.

Mr. NIXON. Could it have been more?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It could have been possibly more.

Mr. NIXON. You are sure you did not bring any furniture?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Absolutely sure.

Mr. NIXON. You are sure there was no agreement for rental?

Mr. CHAMBERS. There was no agreement for rental.

Mr. NIXON. Why would Mr. Hiss let you go in there for nothing?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Because Mr. Hiss and I were Communists, and that was a comradely way of treating one another. There is nothing unusual in such a procedure among Communists.

Mr. NIXON. You say it is not unusual?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is not at all unusual.

Mr. NIXON. Now, going to this automobile, at the time that you went into this apartment, did Mr. Hiss sell you an automobile?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; he did not.

Mr. NIXON. Did he loan you an automobile for the period that you were in the apartment?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; he did not.

Mr. NIXON. Did he at any time sell you an automobile?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He never sold me an automobile.

Mr. NIXON. Did he loan you an automobile for a period of 8 to 10 weeks at any time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; he did not.

Mr. NIXON. Are you certain of that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know what kind of an automobile Mr. Hiss had at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The first car, the car that Mr. Hiss had when I first knew him, was a Ford.

Mr. NIXON. What did he get after that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. A Plymouth.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever ridden in that Plymouth?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you ride to?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think we made one trip together in that Plymouth.

Mr. NIXON. Well, you think. Do you know whether you made that trip? Do you recall that trip?

Mr. CHAMBERS. We made a trip to New York in the Plymouth.

Mr. NIXON. You can state that you did make a trip to New York?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can state that.

Mr. NIXON. You recall that trip specifically? Who was along? You were along, Mr. Hiss, and who else?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe Mrs. Hiss was there also.

Mr. NIXON. Mrs. Hiss was along?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe so.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know approximately when that trip occurred?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That would be difficult to say, but I should think sometime in 1936 or 1937.

Mr. NIXON. As far as the car is concerned, the Ford car, did Mr. Hiss have that car after he acquired this Plymouth?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; he had it for some time afterward, I believe, for some time; I would think some months.

Mr. NIXON. For some months. Well, how do you know that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, to the best of my knowledge and recollection.

Mr. NIXON. I mean, have you seen it there, have you seen his car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. NIXON. You saw his car. Then, in other words, you are testifying as a matter of fact that you did see that car after he had the Plymouth?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; that is right. I am merely trying to be circumspect.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know what became of that car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I do.

Mr. NIXON. Tell the committee what became of that car.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss was a devoted, and at that time a rather romantic Communist. According to the organization of the underground, there should be no communication between the open Communist Party and the underground Communist Party, except through people delegated by either of those sections.

Mr. Hiss, however, insisted that his old car should be given to the open Communist Party to be used by some poor Communist organizer in the West or elsewhere.

I was very much opposed to this. J. Peters was also very much opposed to it, but Mr. Hiss prevailed on us because the question of morale was always involved in these groups, and Peters told me that in Washington or somewhere in the District, the Communist Party had an individual who owned or worked in a service station, and old-car lot.

The plan was for Mr. Hiss to take the Ford and leave it at the car lot, which he did.

Mr. NIXON. Now, how do you know that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I know that both because Mr. Hiss told me, and because I heard it through Mr. Peters, who told me that.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss and Mr. Peters both told you that is what happened to the car. Do you recall when that occurred?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I should think in 1936.

Mr. NIXON. And your recollection is that the visit that you and your family paid to Mr. Hiss was after you lived in the apartment?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think so.

Mr. NIXON. Now, did you see Mr. Hiss any time after 1935?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I saw Mr. Hiss constantly through 1937, until I broke with the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Well, how many times?

Mr. CHAMBERS. By constantly, I mean at least once a week.

Mr. NIXON. You saw him once a week?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. After 1935?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. NIXON. You saw Mr. Hiss—during 1936 you saw him, and through the whole year?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I saw him through 1936, 1937, up until the time I broke with the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you see him on these occasions?

Mr. CHAMBERS. After our first meeting together, I saw him nearly always at his home.

Mr. NIXON. Nearly always in his home?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Nearly always in his home.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever stay overnight in his home?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I stayed overnight frequently in his home.

Mr. NIXON. When you say "frequently," do you mean twice or more than that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I mean that I made his home a kind of headquarters.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss' home was a kind of a headquarters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. And you stayed in his home overnight on several occasions in 1936, did you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly, and also in 1937.

Mr. NIXON. And also in 1937.

On these occasions when you stayed in his home, what did you discuss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, we discussed a variety of subjects, including Mr. Hiss' prospects in Government, the actual conditions of his work, the world revolution, Russian foreign policy, the Spanish Civil War, and ornithology.

Mr. NIXON. Are you an ornithologist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I am a very amateur bird watcher.

Mr. NIXON. Well, are you an amateur ornithologist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would not say that. I am simply a bird watcher, and not on a par with Mr. Hiss, but I am interested in birds. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. We are, too.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever take a meal with Mr. Hiss during that period?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did, indeed.

Mr. NIXON. I mean on the occasions when you stayed overnight. Is that when you took the meal?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would certainly take a meal with him at that time.

Mr. NIXON. What arrangement was made for paying Mr. Hiss at the time of staying overnight?

Mr. CHAMBERS. There was no question of payment involved at any time.

Mr. NIXON. You mean you never paid him for the occasions you did stay with him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Quite so.

Mr. NIXON. What is the reason for that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss considered it a privilege to have a superior in the Communist organization at his home.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you definitely say that you did see Mr. Hiss then in the P Street house, you had been there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I have.

Mr. NIXON. What house have you been in since the P Street house?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The house on the street which crosses P Street, which I have never identified by its correct name.

Mr. NIXON. Well, where is it in relation to the P Street house?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It, I think, was about two or three blocks away, but it is up and down street in Georgetown.

Mr. NIXON. And you have been in that house, as well?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have, indeed.

Mr. NIXON. On several occasions?

Mr. CHAMBERS. On several occasions.

Mr. NIXON. Would you describe your recollection of that house?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. As nearly as I can recall it, it was a considerably smaller house than the P Street house. It was on the right-hand side of the street, as you go up. The entrance was a flight of brick steps, and I think there were steps going up on both sides, a little iron railing at the stage.

The dining room was downstairs in the rear of the house. As I recall, he had a particular——

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever stayed in that house overnight, can you recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I am sure I have.

Mr. NIXON. And your testimony is that you have seen Mr. Hiss during 1936 and 1937, as often as once a week?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I think that would not be an exaggeration. Let us say once a fortnight, to be on the conservative side.

Mr. NIXON. You are sure that it was once a fortnight?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. You will testify to that absolutely?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. Not to the best of your recollection, but absolutely?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Absolutely, with this one qualification, that once in awhile Mr. Hiss went on a vacation.

Mr. NIXON. Except for the periods when he was not there.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. You did see him there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I absolutely state that as a fact.

Mr. NIXON. Now, I have covered some of the questions that Mr. Hiss has asked that I ask you, and I am going to go into some of the rest of these questions.

I think that for the record you should state for the committee where your present residence is.

Mr. CHAMBERS. The committee understands the difficulty about that, I believe. I do not want to expose my family or myself to possible attempts on my life. I do not want to inject any sensationalism at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to make this statement.

As I understand it, your present address is known to our staff.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe it is.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; we have his present business address, as well as his home address, and have had it for some time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I would suggest then, Mr. Nixon, that that question not be pressed at this time, because the committee staff has the address.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let me ask this. Mr. Chambers, do you have any objection to telling Mr. Hiss your present address?

Mr. CHAMBERS. To me that seems tantamount to telling the Communist Party. However, I will tell my address and get rid of this question right away.

Mr. McDOWELL. Wait a minute. I am not sure that this is a wise thing to do.

Mr. MUNDT. I do not think so, Mr. Chairman. We know of previous attempts that Communists have made on the lives of people whom they detest, and I see no reason for subjecting him to increased hazards. We know what his address is. It is not a question of pertinency in here, and I see no reason to be exposing him to continuous attempts upon his life, which have been made in the past. It does not serve any purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman will rule that the question be not asked at this time, and the answer not be given.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, you have no objection to giving your business address?

Mr. CHAMBERS. None at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Give your business address.

Mr. CHAMBERS. My business address is Time Magazine, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. You can be reached there several days during the week, can you not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I could until recently, and shall in the future.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, the next question we have covered to an extent. Do you recall where you were living in 1930?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I was probably living on a farm in Hunterdon County, N. J.

Mr. NIXON. Yes; and about how long did you live there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think we were there almost a year, perhaps more than a year.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall where you moved from there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think I moved next to Staten Island.

Mr. NIXON. Staten Island?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall how long you lived there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Around a short time, I think, only a few months.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall your next residence, your next residence after that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Perhaps I was living at my mother's house in Long Island, I am not sure. I would have to make a careful list of those things in order to answer that question.

Mr. NIXON. But did you live at your mother's house for a considerable length of time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I think for a year at least.

Mr. NIXON. Then did you live in Washington? You have indicated that you lived at the apartment of Mr. Hiss.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you go from the apartment here?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I went back to Long Island, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you live in Hunterdon County?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would think in 1932. I was still living there.

The CHAIRMAN. What towns were you living near?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I live near a place called Glen Gardner.

Mr. NIXON. Where did you move from there? I do not mean from Hunterdon County, I mean your mother's home?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think we moved to Baltimore from there.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall how long you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I would think a couple of years.

Mr. NIXON. A couple of years. Then, from Baltimore, do you recall where you moved next?

Mr. CHAMBERS. From Baltimore, I fled from the Communist Party and went into hiding.

Mr. NIXON. You fled from the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. And I went into hiding.

Mr. NIXON. You went into hiding. In other words, you were living in Baltimore at the time you left the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. That is true. And then, what was your next residence after that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I decided that the Communist Party would expect me to try to get as far away as possible, so I moved a very short distance from Baltimore.

Mr. NIXON. You did. And that is in the vicinity of Baltimore?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; on Old Court Road.

Mr. NIXON. And you lived there for how many years?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Oh, I did not live there for years; it was a matter of months, I think, not more than 6 months.

Mr. NIXON. And then, from there where did you go?

Mr. CHAMBERS. From there I decided at that point that I must try to come up above ground and establish an identity, having been underground, and I was a faceless man, and I could always be—

Mr. NIXON. It was then that you moved there, when?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Then I bought a house on St. Paul Street.

Mr. NIXON. In Baltimore?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. From there where did you go?

MR. CHAMBERS. From there we went to my present address.

MR. NIXON. Now, we have already covered your employment record in the Communist Party. Since you left the Communist Party, what have you done?

MR. CHAMBERS. I have translated a book, and written for and edited Time Magazine.

MR. NIXON. Now, you translated the book at what time?

MR. CHAMBERS. At the time I was in hiding from the Communist Party.

MR. NIXON. Do you recall the type of translation or what sort of book it was that you translated?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; it was a novel on the Spanish Civil War.

MR. NIXON. It was what?

MR. CHAMBERS. It was a novel on the Spanish Civil War, published by Longmans Green.

MR. NIXON. Did you do any other translation than that one, do you recall?

MR. CHAMBERS. I do not recall.

MR. NIXON. And your next occupation was what?

MR. CHAMBERS. Writer for Time Magazine.

MR. NIXON. When did you go with Time Magazine?

MR. CHAMBERS. In 1939, the early part of the year.

MR. MUNDY. I take it that this translation and this employment with Time was all under your name, Whittaker Chambers; is that right?

MR. CHAMBERS. It was.

MR. NIXON. This is after you were above ground?

MR. CHAMBERS. The name is in the flyleaf of the book.

MR. NIXON. The next question is a bibliography of your writings. I will ask you to submit that for the committee. I am not going to ask you to submit it now, because of the time it would take to get it.

MR. CHAMBERS. I do not believe there is a bibliography of my writings. I have translated a number of books.

MR. NIXON. You have never written a book?

MR. CHAMBERS. I have never written a book.

MR. NIXON. You have just written for periodicals?

MR. CHAMBERS. I have written for Time Magazine.

MR. NIXON. You have written for Time Magazine and the Daily Worker?

MR. CHAMBERS. For Life.

MR. NIXON. And the New Masses. We have introduced in evidence several of the pieces which you have written.

MR. CHAMBERS. That is right.

MR. NIXON. Now, Mr. Chambers, you heard the charge made here that you had been treated for a mental illness. Do you have any comment on that?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; I have never been treated for a mental illness—period.

MR. NIXON. You have never been treated in a mental institution?

MR. CHAMBERS. Never.

MR. NIXON. Never. Have you been treated for a mental illness or been in an institution during the past 4 years, which was the charge made?

MR. CHAMBERS. Of course not; and anyone at Time Magazine can tell you that.



Mr. NIXON. In that connection, Mr. Chairman, I might say the committee took in executive testimony—in executive session—the testimony of Mr. Nelson Frank, who has known Mr. Chambers since he went with Time magazine and who knew him when Mr. Chambers was on the staff of the Daily Worker, and Mr. Frank testified categorically that he had known him during that time and that Mr. Chambers had never been in a mental institution, had never been treated for a mental illness during the time that he had known him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you identify Mr. Frank? Mr. Nixon, did you identify Mr. Frank?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Nelson Frank is with the New York World-Telegram at the present time.

Mr. Chambers, you are married?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am. This is my first and only wife.

Mr. NIXON. This is your first and only wife?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Have you any children?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have two, a boy and a girl.

Mr. NIXON. A boy and a girl. Would you give us their ages?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The boy has just turned 12, and the girl is—will be 15 in the fall.

Mr. NIXON. And your wife resides with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Of course.

Mr. MUNDT. I think, Mr. Nixon, you overlooked one question, and I would like to ask you about the question with regard to crime.

Have you ever been charged or convicted of a crime?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. MUNDT. There are no particulars which can be supplied then for a crime you did not commit.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am afraid not.

Mr. NIXON. Now, the next question is to describe the circumstances under which you came in contact with the committee and make public all written memorandum which you have handed to any representative of the committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. Mr. Chairman, I should like to state that Mr. Chambers never got in touch with the committee. The committee did, however, send two agents to New York to see him sometime ago. When we began this investigation, we sent two agents. He gave these two agents an interview. When this investigation of espionage in the Government began, a subpoena was issued and served upon Mr. Chambers, without any prior knowledge on his part.

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Chambers, you have testified that you know of your own knowledge that Mr. Hiss is a Communist and a member of the Communist Party. You have also testified that you base that statement on the fact that you were introduced to him as a Communist and that you, yourself, on at least three occasions have collected party dues from Mr. Hiss; is that correct?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. From Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. And Mr. Hiss fully understood I was a Communist. Our relationship was the party relationship.

Mr. NIXON. And you, I understand, categorically deny this business relationship which Mr. Hiss has testified to, concerning this apartment.

MR. CHAMBERS. There was never any business relationship of any kind between Mr. Hiss and me.

MR. NIXON. Now, will you describe for the committee, Mr. Chambers, the last time you saw Mr. Hiss?

MR. CHAMBERS. About 1938, toward the end of 1938, I tried to break away from the Communist Party a number of people. It seemed to me that the time was coming when I would have to do something about this problem. It also seemed to me proper that they should have an opportunity to break away themselves. I had once been a Communist, and I broke away, and the possibility was always there.

I went to Mr. Hiss. He was then living on Dent Place, and I had supper with him there, and with his wife, and in the course of that meeting I tried to raise my doubts, and detach him from the Communist Party. I failed.

MR. NIXON. Well, now, will you describe for the committee how you happened to go to his apartment? I mean, how you happened to go to his house. Did you go to the door, do you recall, or what was the occasion?

MR. CHAMBERS. I went to the door, I suppose, about 7 o'clock at night, perhaps. I was afraid of an ambush, but when I got there, only a maid was at home.

MR. NIXON. What is that?

MR. CHAMBERS. Only a maid was at home.

MR. NIXON. What did you do?

MR. CHAMBERS. I waited nearby, and very shortly Mrs. Hiss drove up, and we went into the house together, and—

MR. NIXON. Well, how did you get Mrs. Hiss? Do you remember that?

MR. CHAMBERS. Not particularly; I do not recall.

MR. NIXON. You met her at that time?

MR. CHAMBERS. What is that?

MR. NIXON. You say you met Mrs. Hiss as she drove up.

MR. CHAMBERS. She drove up, and stepped out of the car.

MR. NIXON. I see.

MR. CHAMBERS. And we went in together.

MR. NIXON. And you discussed breaking away from the party at that time with Mr. Hiss?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

MR. NIXON. And what was his reaction?

MR. CHAMBERS. As I testified before, when I left him, Mr. Hiss cried, but he would not break away from the Communist Party.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, you said that you felt that there was some risk in going to Mr. Hiss at that time.

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

MR. NIXON. Why did you go to him? Did you go to all the others that were in this group?

MR. CHAMBERS. No; I went to two or three others.

MR. NIXON. Why did you go to see Mr. Hiss?

MR. CHAMBERS. I was very fond of Mr. Hiss.

MR. NIXON. You were very fond of Mr. Hiss?

MR. CHAMBERS. Indeed I was; perhaps my closest friend.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Hiss was your closest friend?

MR. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss was certainly the closest friend I ever had in the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, can you search your memory now to see what motive you can have for accusing Mr. Hiss of being a Communist at the present time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. What motive I can have?

Mr. NIXON. Yes. I mean, Do you—is there any grudge that you have against Mr. Hiss over anything that he has done to you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The story has spread that in testifying against Mr. Hiss I am working out some old grudge, or motives of revenge or hatred. I do not hate Mr. Hiss. We were close friends, but we are caught in a tragedy of history. Mr. Hiss represents the concealed enemy against which we are all fighting, and I am fighting.

I have testified against him with remorse and pity, but in a moment of history in which this Nation now stands, so help me God, I could not do otherwise.

Mr. MUNDT. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chambers, I think the record should show at this point that you did not come to this committee voluntarily for the purpose of testifying against Mr. Hiss or anybody else, but you are subpoenaed without advance notice by the committee. Is that correct?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I had been to what I considered to be the proper governmental authorities at a much earlier date, and I had been in connection with them on more than one occasion and more than one agency. I could scarcely wish to jeopardize the position which I had gained among the good men by such an appearance as this.

Nevertheless, I had long supposed it would come, and I decided that when it came I would take the opportunity to act as I should.

Mr. MUNDT. In fact, I think that the present speaker was probably the first person to advise the committee about the existence of Whitaker Chambers, and I got that information from a source which, due to a very ridiculous and unsound Executive order, I cannot reveal, but I hesitated even to suggest that you be subpoenaed, but did so because I felt that the country and the committee was entitled to all the information available, and, as I said, when you testified—I know it is not an easy job for a man in your position to testify as you have, and I certainly hope that no ill comes to you for any true statements that you have made before this committee, and this committee is going to continue to press forward to find out whether you have made any false ones or whether Mr. Hiss is the gentleman who is falsifying.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, did you ever have a conference with Mr. Adolf Berle, who was the Under Secretary of State during this underground apparatus?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That was, I originally testified, 2 days after the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed. I now learn that it was 5 days afterward.

Mr. STRIPLING. Five days after the Stalin-Hitler pact. That was in 1939?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1939.

Mr. STRIPLING. And give the committee the circumstances of this meeting with Mr. Berle.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I had insisted that my testimony be made before President Roosevelt; I had insisted that my testimony be made to President Roosevelt. Mr. Isaac Don Levine, whom I had gone to see, went

to the President's secretary, Mr. Marvin McIntyre. Mr. McIntyre advised Mr. Levine that Mr. A. A. Berle, the Assistant Secretary of State, was the President's man in matters of intelligence. Therefore, Mr. Levine arranged a meeting between Mr. Berle and me, which took place at the home of the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall the section of town or the address of the home of the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I believe it was on Woodley Road.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I have nothing to add.

Mr. STRIPLING. You went there. Did you have dinner with Mr. Berle?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Oh, yes. You want me to tell you that?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I want you to give the committee the full details regarding your turning in this information to a responsible official of the Federal Government.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. and Mrs. Berle and Mr. Levine and I had dinner together, and I then laid before Mr. Berle in Mr. Levine's presence the information which I have given this committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you mention the name of Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I mentioned the name of Alger Hiss and Donald Hiss.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Nixon, did you take the testimony of Mr. Levine in New York City on August 17?

Mr. NIXON. I took the testimony of Mr. Levine in New York City on August 17, and I questioned him concerning this meeting about which Mr. Chambers has just testified with Mr. Berle, and Mr. Levine testified, in effect—the testimony will be made public and, of course, will speak for itself; but as I recall the testimony, Mr. Levine testified that he did accompany Mr. Chambers when they had the discussion with Mr. Berle; and when I asked him specifically as to the names that were mentioned, Mr. Levine said that there was no question whatever but what Mr. Chambers had mentioned the name of Mr. Alger Hiss and the name of Mr. Donald Hiss.

I might also say that Mr. Levine submitted for the record a memorandum which he had made immediately after that meeting on the stationery of the Hay-Adams House where he was staying, on which these names, among others, were jotted down.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of the meeting at the Hay-Adams House?

Mr. STRIPLING. It was not at the Hay-Adams House.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of the meeting with Berle?

Mr. STRIPLING. He testified that it was 5 days after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939.

What date was that, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. August 26.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was August 26, 1939, on which the pact was signed. August 26, 1939.

Mr. Chambers, going back for a moment to the occupancy by you and your wife and child of the apartment on Twenty-eighth Street, Mr. Hiss has testified that you spent several days in his home on P Street, awaiting the furniture which was to come down by a van.

At that time, did you and your wife have any furniture?

MR. CHAMBERS. We had so little furniture that it could scarcely be called furniture.

MR. STRIPLING. Had you previously lived at the home of your mother?

MR. CHAMBERS. That is right.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you have any furniture brought down by van or otherwise?

MR. CHAMBERS. We did not.

MR. MUNDT. Mr. Chambers, did you last see Mr.—was it J. V. Peters?

MR. CHAMBERS. J. V. Peters, I believe.

MR. MUNDT. What?

MR. CHAMBERS. J. Peters.

MR. MUNDT. When did you last see Mr. Peters?

MR. CHAMBERS. Shortly before I broke. It was in the early 1938 period.

MR. MUNDT. Do you think you would be able to recognize Mr. J. Peters?

MR. CHAMBERS. I would have no difficulty in recognizing Mr. J. Peters.

MR. MUNDT. I think you probably have been notified by the Commissioner of Immigration, Mr. Watson B. Miller—or will be—that you are going to be called for the deportation hearings on Mr. J. Peters for the purposes of identification.

MR. CHAMBERS. I expect I will.

MR. MUNDT. And you think you can identify him if he is there?

MR. CHAMBERS. I have no doubt about it.

MR. MUNDT. You have no doubt about it.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have here a picture which was taken off a passport of the person we think to be J. Peters, who traveled for the Soviet Union on and under the name of Isidore Boorstein.

I show you this picture, Mr. Chambers, and ask you if you can identify it as being J. Peters [showing photograph to Mr. Chambers].

MR. CHAMBERS. That is J. Peters.

MR. MUNDT. You say it is J. Peters?

MR. CHAMBERS. It is.

MR. MUNDT. You are sure of that?

MR. CHAMBERS. I am sure of it.

MR. MUNDT. You can recognize it from the photograph?

MR. CHAMBERS. No doubt about it.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, did Mr. Hiss know that your name was Whittaker Chambers during the period that you knew him?

MR. CHAMBERS. No; he did not.

MR. NIXON. By what name did he know you?

MR. CHAMBERS. By the name of Carl.

MR. NIXON. What did he call you?

MR. CHAMBERS. Carl.

MR. NIXON. Always?

MR. CHAMBERS. Always.

MR. NIXON. What name did Mrs. Hiss call you by?

MR. CHAMBERS. Carl.

MR. NIXON. She always called you Carl?

MR. CHAMBERS. Always.

Mr. NIXON. And you were not called by any other name while you were with them, other than the name of Carl?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was not.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know whether or not Mr. Hiss knew what your real name was before your acquaintance with him ended?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. or Mrs. Hiss, at that last meeting in 1938, told me Peters had told them or the party had told them who I was, so I assumed that they knew my name, my name Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. NIXON. But they did not tell you what the name was?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. I think, in looking over this list of questions, Mr. Chambers, that were proposed by Mr. Hiss or his counsel, that you have answered all of them of any pertinency except perhaps for one which was not asked, and that is the question No. 3, which reads:

What name were you given when you were born, and what names have you used at any time since your birth for any purpose?

I would like to ask you those questions at this time.

What name were you given when you were born?

Mr. CHAMBERS. When I was born I was given the name J. Vivian Chambers.

Mr. MUNDT. J. Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. J. Vivian Chambers.

Mr. MUNDT. I see. What names have you used at any time since your birth, for that purpose?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I came of age, I got rid of the "Vivian" as quickly as possible.

Mr. MUNDT. I don't blame you for that.

[Laughter.]

Mr. CHAMBERS. And I took my mother's family name of Whittaker. I was baptized under that name. Other names I have used?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; what other names have you used at any time since your birth for any purposes? You have testified that you went by the name of Carl for a time.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was for a while named Dwyer.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that one of your Communist underground names?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Dwyer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you remember what period you used that name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I used it while I was living at Staten Island.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were living on Staten Island.

Mr. MUNDT. Are there any other names?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I once used the name of Cantwell.

Mr. MUNDT. Was that used also as one of your Communist undercover names?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; these were names that I lived under.

Mr. MUNDT. At the time you were a Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right; while I was in the underground. They were not my undercover names within the organization. The name that I was known by to all the people in Washington, and the only name I was known by was Carl.

Mr. MUNDT. Carl. In other words, these other names were names you used to confuse people who were not Communists.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Quite so.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you ever use any pseudonyms or fictitious names for any other purpose than simply to disguise your identity as a Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do not think so. I do not know whether I quite understand the meaning of the question.

Mr. MUNDT. Well, I gather from Mr. Hiss that he was interested in whether you had written under any assumed names.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Now, wait. I do not believe I ever wrote under assumed names.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever write under the name of Crosley?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. MUNDT. May I put the question as to whether at any time in your life when you were not operating as a Communist did you use the name of—any other name than Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. When I was working for the street railway.

Mr. MUNDT. What name did you use?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have forgotten. I used that name, and I did not want—

Mr. MUNDT. That is when you were laying railroad in the street railway?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Of course, it was not the first street railroad in Washington. It was a matter of a repair job, one that took a good many years.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, you were instructed when you appeared before the committee on each occasion, as I recall, that the answers to material questions if given false would subject you to perjury charges.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I understood that.

Mr. NIXON. You understood that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you realize, in other words, that by reiterating the charges that you have made previously today that these statements also, if proved false, will subject you to perjury?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can do nothing about that. I have only to tell the truth.

Mr. NIXON. Do you wish—you do not wish to qualify the answers that you have given because of that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. None that I have given so far. I might want to make reservations in answering a question, but I have no qualifications.

Mr. NIXON. You want to stand by your testimony as you have given it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Of course.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, have you requested any copy of any testimony that you have given before the committee in executive session or otherwise?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I have not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did I communicate with you and ask you if you wanted your executive session testimony which you gave in New York?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am not sure whether you did or not. In any case, I did not want it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did not want it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did not need it.

Mr. MUNDT. Have you requested counsel to appear with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; of course not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any more questions, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I have a few questions about the apartment of Henry Collins. But Mr. Hébert wants to ask some questions.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chambers, let me make myself perfectly clear before I ask you any questions.

You look to me just like anybody else before this committee, and if I can impeach your testimony, I will do it, because I am only seeking the truth, and what I am trying to tell you is this, that as far as I am concerned, there is no such thing as a committee witness. By that, I mean there are no witnesses, so far as I am concerned, who are going to be put on this stand to prove what some members of the committee think or might think. I am only interested in finding out the facts and the truth in the case.

I told Mr. Hiss that also in executive session last Monday, and I will try just as hard to impeach you to find out whether you are lying or not, as I will Mr. Hiss or anybody else.

I want to make myself perfectly clear before I start asking you these questions.

Now, let us take it chronologically.

How old are you now?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am now 47.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where were you born?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was born in Philadelphia.

Mr. HÉBERT. What year?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1901.

Mr. HÉBERT. What were your parents' names?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My father's name was J. Chambers, and my mother's name was A. Chambers.

Mr. HÉBERT. What business was your father in?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My father was a commercial artist.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where did you go to school?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I went to school in Lynbrook, Long Island, and Rockville Centre, Long Island.

Mr. HÉBERT. When did you move to Long Island?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My family moved when I was perhaps 2 or 3 years old, and they still live in the same house.

Mr. HÉBERT. Your father and mother still live?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My mother. My father is dead. My mother still lives in the same house.

Mr. HÉBERT. Your mother still lives in the same house. What school did you go to?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I went to a school called South Side High School.

Mr. HÉBERT. Public school. Where did you go to high school?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Rockville Centre.

Mr. HÉBERT. What was the name of the school?

Mr. CHAMBERS. South Side High School.

Mr. HÉBERT. Where did you go to college?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I went for a short time to Columbia University.

Mr. HÉBERT. How long?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think for 2 years.

Mr. HÉBERT. What did you study?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Liberal arts.



Mr. HÉBERT. How did you become a writer?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Impulse, I guess.

Mr. HÉBERT. You never had any formal training as a journalist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, I did not.

Mr. HÉBERT. In so-called schools of journalism?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, I did not.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, you just wrote by impulse?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I wrote because I felt a need to write.

Mr. HÉBERT. Because you wanted to write?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you ever have any journalistic employment outside of Time magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Only on the Daily Worker, New Masses.

Mr. HÉBERT. The first time you wrote a public article was for the Daily Worker?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe so.

Mr. HÉBERT. You wrote it under the name of Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do not believe they were signed.

Mr. HÉBERT. They were not signed. But, of course, it is a common practice among journalists and reporters to use pseudonyms and nom de plumes, and other names.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I never did use those names.

Mr. HÉBERT. You never did use that, but that is a common practice.

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, from the Daily Worker you went to Time magazine. Now, you are not in the Communist Party then?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was in the Communist Party all that period.

Mr. HÉBERT. What were the circumstances surrounding your employment by Time magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do not quite understand the question.

Mr. HÉBERT. Did you just walk in there and tell the man, "Here I am for a job. I want to work for you"? How did you get the job on Time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I had a friend at Time.

Mr. HÉBERT. Who was the friend?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Robert Cantwell.

Mr. HÉBERT. And you went to him and told him you would like to work on Time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. What position did you start in on at Time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. As a writer.

Mr. HÉBERT. At what salary?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is very hard for me to remember.

Mr. HÉBERT. What year was that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1939.

Mr. HÉBERT. In 1939?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Robert Cantwell had you employed by Time just as a writer?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, he did not have me employed.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, you went to him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. And then you steadily rose to be a writer on Time, and to what is known now as the senior editor?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is the highest editorial position that you can rise to on Time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Next to the highest.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is the highest?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Managing editor.

Mr. HÉBERT. How many senior editors are there on Time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think six.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is your salary now?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My salary is about \$25,000 a year.

Mr. HÉBERT. And since 1939 to 1948 you rose from just the regular routine writer on Time—

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. To be a senior editor on Time at a salary of \$25,000 a year?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. HÉBERT. Can you search your mind at this time and tell this committee what possible motives you could have in jeopardizing your position on Time by making the statements that you are making? Of course, you realize that if they are false, you are finished.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I could not imagine such a motive. Besides, it is not just my position on Time.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is that, please?

Mr. CHAMBERS. What I am jeopardizing is not just my position on Time. It is my position in the community.

Mr. HÉBERT. Because you feel that you could get another position anyway?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I could very likely make a living.

Mr. HÉBERT. I think a man making \$25,000 a year writing pieces could make a living some place. Then, there is no motive that you can possibly suggest to this committee that you would have then to defame the character of an individual who is highly respected, such as Alger Hiss.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would have no such motive with respect to anyone.

Mr. HÉBERT. You said you were born J. Vivian Chambers.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. Then, I understood you to say that you were baptized Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. HÉBERT. What is the differentiation? You were born J. Vivian Chambers.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was given the name legally at birth, or shortly afterward. And I was later baptized.

Mr. HÉBERT. In which church?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In the Episcopalian Church, of which I was a member.

Mr. HÉBERT. Are you a member of any church?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am.

Mr. HÉBERT. What church?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am a Quaker.

Mr. HÉBERT. You are now a Quaker?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mrs. Hiss is a Quaker.

Mr. CHAMBERS. She is a birthright Quaker.

Mr. HÉBERT. You are what?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am a Quaker by conviction.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hébert, may I interpose there? Mr. Chambers means by "birthright Quaker" that is—his testimony is that Mrs. Hiss was born a Quaker, her parents were Quakers, whereas a Quaker by conviction means that he became one and his parents are not Quakers.

Mr. HÉBERT. In other words, we would say a Quaker who would be a convert to the Quaker faith.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the record should show that Mr. Nixon is a Quaker, so he speaks with authority.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, Mr. Chambers, you heard Mr. Hiss on the stand here today, all day long. What is your reaction to his denials?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Hiss is lying.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Hiss is lying? In other words, his story is a pure fabrication out of the whole cloth?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would say that it is 80 percent at least fabrication.

Mr. HÉBERT. He never knew you by any other name except Carl?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do not believe so.

Mr. HÉBERT. And you became attached to him in a personal way through your activities in the Communist Party with Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. HÉBERT. Now, referring back to these questions, in order that we may have the record right, perhaps it may be repetitious, Mr. Chairman, but let us get it straight, that Mr. Hiss is asking these to be asked, and I will ask them to be sure there has been no deviation from them.

No. 1. Where do you reside? That has already been explained and we will not press that.

No. 2. List the various places where you have lived since 1930, indicating the length of time you lived at each place, and the name you have used at that place. Mr. Nixon has questioned you in that connection with them and you endeavored to give that.

Would you search your memory and supply the committee with the answer to that question?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I will be happy to.

Mr. HÉBERT. What name were you given when you were born? What names have you used at any time since your birth for any purpose? You have answered that.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. No. 4. Give your complete employment record during your membership in the Communist Party, and since your resignation from the Communist Party, stating the name of your employer, your occupation, and your compensation. Also state the name by which you were employed in each instance. You have given that.

No. 5. Give a complete bibliography of your writings under any and every name you have used. You have given that.

No. 6. Have you ever been charged or convicted of a crime? Give full particulars as to where, when, and for what. I put particular emphasis on this because this indicates a record that can be checked. Mr. Hiss seems interested in records. Have you ever been charged or convicted of a crime?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. No. 7, I asked you in New York whether you were ever treated for a mental disease, and you told me "No" at that time, and repeated it today.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I urged the committee to check all possible records.

Mr. HÉBERT. Well, if you were, the committee could easily find it out.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Very easily.

Mr. HÉBERT. No. 8. When, where, and to whom were you married? You have given that.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I think I did.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is that.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think I did.

Mr. HÉBERT. Have you any children? Do you now reside with your wife? You have answered that.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HÉBERT. No. 9, Describe the circumstances under which you came in contact with the committee, and make public all written memoranda which you have handed to any representative of the committee. You have also answered that.

Now, there is one additional charge which Mr. Hiss makes in his written letter which he gave to the press last evening, and which appeared in the paper today, and which we again heard read before the committee, and that was the fact that you are a confessed liar, a confessed traitor, whose word cannot be taken. By "confessed liar" I presume he means your activity in the Communist Party. By "confessed traitor" I think he refers to the fact that as a member of the Communist Party you were a traitor to your country.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Perhaps he means that as a renegade from the Communist Party I was a traitor to the Communist Party.

Mr. HÉBERT. You are almost as quick on your feet as Mr. Hiss. Now, Mr. Chambers, with that background, and let us acknowledge, let us for the sake of the moment, say that Mr. Hiss is correct in that you have been a traitor to your country, and I think you admitted that in your opening hearing the first time we heard you, you admitted frankly that you knew what you were doing, and then had a change of mind, and decided to be loyal to your country, and do what you could to make amends, and your knowledge and your education of history and religion. Isn't it a fact that there are many saints in Heaven today who were not always saints?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe so.

Mr. HÉBERT. We would not take their sainthood away from them after they have become saints and repented, not saying, you understand, that you are a saint, now mind you.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am not a saint, indeed.

Mr. HÉBERT. But I want to draw the analogy and I want to draw the logical conclusion, and the inferences given. Do you know of any time that the committee or anybody else could learn of Communists through a Communist himself who was loyal to the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; it is impossible.

Mr. HÉBERT. Isn't the only method that we have of ferreting out these Communists is through people like yourself who repent and come to us and tell us their story?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think so, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. There is no other way. Do you know any police department in this country that is an efficient police department that does not operate without the assistance of informers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HÉBERT. If it is a good police department, they rely a good deal on informers, do they not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HÉBERT. So, therefore, Mr. Chairman, I make this observation, that let's admit the witness was what he admits frankly that he has been. But let us also recognize the fact that he has had the change of heart, and in himself has the courage to come before us to give us this information, and that, without prejudging whether you or Mr. Hiss are telling the truth at this time, because I would like to check more of what you said, too, to determine which one of you is telling the truth. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have a very general question. Mr. Chairman, this very difficult and very sinister matter before us appears to me as being built up on very small things, going all the way from the gift of Mr. Hiss of an old jalopy to Mr. Chambers, with a loan of Mr. Mr. Chambers testified to, and reaching all the way up to the man who wrote the Yalta agreement, which we feel here in America is now responsible for our difficulties in Europe.

Somewhere along the line of the testimony it was testified that Mr. Chambers was a bird lover and Mr. Hiss is identified—he has identified himself as an amateur ornithologist.

I might say, Mr. Chairman, that so is the chairman of the committee, a bird lover, at least. That in order to—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we have got a Quaker and a bird lover.

Mr. McDOWELL. In order to further the intimacy with which these men had with each other, I would like to refer to the testimony of both of them.

Mr. Chambers has testified in executive session that Mr. Hiss and Mrs. Hiss were bird lovers, as was he, and it was their custom in the few spare moments they got here in Washington, to observe the birds and to go bird watching.

I would like to point out, Mr. Chairman, that, as you well know, to discover a rare bird or an unusual bird or identify a bird that many other people have seen is a great discovery in the life of an amateur ornithologist. You can usually recall almost everything around it. It is like winning the ball game or the yacht regatta. You can recall the time of day, how high the sun was, and all the other things.

But it was testified to by both Mr. Chambers and Mr. Hiss that on one occasion, the three of them, walking together, saw a small bird called a prothonotary warbler.

Mr. STRIPLING. No; that is not the testimony, Mr. McDowell. If you like for me to look it up, I will be glad to do so.

Mr. McDOWELL. If I recall the testimony, it was testified to that she saw a prothonotary warbler on their walk.

Mr. STRIPLING. The testimony, Mr. McDowell—and I will be glad to refer to it—Mr. Chambers testified before the executive session in

New York that Mr. Hiss had told him that he and Mrs. Hiss had taken a walk on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal in Washington down the Potomac.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all right. Now, I would like Mr. Chambers to just briefly describe what he told the subcommittee that day. That will be the whole question.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think I told them that Mr. Hiss was fond of going bird walking out toward Glen Echo, out on the Potomac, across the canal. One morning, Mr. Hiss told me he saw a prothonotary warbler, which is a very beautiful bird, rather an unusual one. I do not recall that I told anything else about it.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. For the record, will the witness spell prothonotary?

Mr. CHAMBERS. P-r-o-t-h-o-n-o-t-a-r-y.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members can you estimate were in the Communist underground in Washington?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It would be difficult for me to say. I knew a relatively small handful. There were behind them others, and I do not know how many. There were also parallel apparatuses; that is, other apparatuses operating independently to the one that I knew. There were, perhaps, several of them. I do not know, but I have reason to think there were perhaps more than one.

The CHAIRMAN. And were those members in the Communist underground mostly in the Government service?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think that they were, most of them, in the Government service.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say they were in any special agency or were they in all the agencies?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think the preponderance were in the New Deal agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that would cover quite a few. I mean by that, were there in, we will say, the War Department or the Navy Department or—

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I cannot offhand tell you that. I do not know anyone who was in War and Navy.

The CHAIRMAN. What agencies would you include?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is a very tough one because I cannot remember the names of the New Deal agencies. There were some in the AAA at one time. Mr. Hiss was in the AAA at one time. Lee Pressman was in AAA. Donald Hiss was in the Labor Department, I believe, the Immigration Service. Nathan Witt was in the National Labor Relations Board. I forget where Kramer was. Collins was in the Department—

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think I made myself clear. What I wanted to find out was what agency of the Government or agencies of the Government had most of these members of the Communist underground? Were they mostly in any one agency or were they scattered over a number of agencies?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I think they were widely scattered.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the contact between the Communist underground and the Communist Party in the District of Columbia?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The groups that I knew had their contacts through me, through Peters, and that contact was kept as sketchy as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. And was the Communist Party under the discipline of the Communist underground here?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The Communist underground was under Communist discipline.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, who was on top, the Communist Party functionaries or the Communist underground?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, they operated side by side, without very great contact for obvious reasons. But, the head of the underground was J. Peters. Peters was, I believe, a member of the central committee of the Communist Party. I may be mistaken about that. Therefore, on that level he had contacts with the top of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And on the question of espionage, would J. Peters dictate to members of the Communist Party or members of the Communist underground just what material, what information was required?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, he did not, to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would do that in Washington?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, to get back to New Jersey, when you lived up in Glen Gardner, that was in what year, did you say?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1932. I think; probably, perhaps, 1931, too.

The CHAIRMAN. And I have forgotten what the record shows, but were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think it was that period of about a year or two when I was out of the Communist Party. I was in for—I went out in about 1929 and I came back in again.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you live outside of Glen Gardner?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I lived on a farm.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. CHAMBERS. About 6 miles from Glen Gardner.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you locate that farm?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, all I can locate—I do not know whether I can locate it exactly now. In fact, I have forgotten about it.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not remember what road it was on?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. What influenced you to join the Communist Party originally?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is a very difficult question. As a student, I went to Europe. It was then shortly after the First World War. I found Germany in chaos, and partly occupied; northern France, and parts of Belgium were smashed to pieces. It seemed to me that a crisis had been reached in western civilization which the society was not able to solve by the usual means.

I then began to look around for the unusual means.

I first studied for a considerable time British Fabian socialism, and rejected it as unworkable in practice.

I was then very much influenced by a book called *Reflections on Violence*, by George Sorrel, a syndicalist, and shortly thereafter I came out to the writings of Marx and Lenin. They seemed to me to explain the nature of the crisis, and what to do about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I can understand how a young man might join the Communist Party, but will you explain to us how a person

who has made a real living in this country, a person with a large income, some of the witnesses we have had before this committee, over a period of time, what, in your mind, would influence them to join the party here in this country?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The making of a good living does not necessarily bind a man to a critical period in which he is passing through. Such people, in fact, may feel a special insecurity and anxiety. They seek a moral solution in a world of moral confusion.

Marxism, Leninism offers an oversimplified explanation of the causes and a program for action. The very vigor of the project particularly appeals to the more or less sheltered middle-class intellectuals, who feel that there the whole context of their lives has kept them away from the world of reality.

I do not know whether I make this very clear, but I am trying to get at it. They feel a very natural concern, one might almost say a Christian concern, for underprivileged people. They feel a great intellectual concern, at least, for recurring economic crises, the problem of war, which in our lifetime has assumed an atrocious proportion, and which always weights on them. What shall I do? At that crossroads the evil thing, communism, lies in waiting for a simple answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you mentioned the strict discipline within the party itself. That discipline is probably even more strict in time of war than in time of peace, is it not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It might be; it is always strict.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and a Communist would have to blindly execute any order given to him.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; they would.

The CHAIRMAN. Then would you not say that every Communist in the United States—and this has been asked other witnesses from time to time—every Communist in the United States would be a probable spy or saboteur?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Every Communist in the United States is a potential spy or saboteur and a permanent enemy of this system of government.

The CHAIRMAN. Would a Communist—if a Communist remained, wanted to remain in good standing with the party, could a Communist disobey one of those orders to bring about some sabotage? Could a Communist do anything but do the thing that was for the good of Russia in time of war?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, the Communist Party makes human allowances also. It might not assassinate a man because he failed to carry out an order the first time. Nevertheless, the substance of what you are saying is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But you believe that if this country got into a war with Russia that every Communist would be an ardent member of the Russian fifth column.

Mr. CHAMBERS. In a war with Russia, I think a certain number of Communists would have a sudden revulsion, and perhaps break away, but the mass of the party would be a fifth column.

The CHAIRMAN. From your own experience and knowledge of the party, how well do you think the investigative of the Government, even including this committee, have got a line on the number and kind of Communists in this country?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, it is quite impossible for me to answer that. I really do not know.



The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you think we are keeping up with the business, or do you think communism is gaining in this country?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think undoubtedly in the last few years considerable strides have been made to control it, and what is perhaps quite as important a problem is understanding it. It seems to me that this committee is getting toward the heart of the matter at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Getting what?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Toward the heart of the matter at this point. That should not blind anyone to the knowledge that there are groups beyond groups, beyond groups, beyond groups. Nevertheless, progress is being made.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would you say is the leading Communist in the United States today?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I really do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I have.

Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. You testified that you visited Alger Hiss probably fortnightly over a period of 1 or 2 years in 1935 and 1936, I believe it was—maybe it was 1936 and 1937—and talking to him about his progress in this war group toward strategic spots, collecting Communist dues from him, and what not.

At that time when you were having these fortnightly conferences with Mr. Hiss, were you living then in Washington or New York, or where were you living?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was probably living at one time in New York, staying in Washington at the Hisses or in Baltimore.

Mr. MUNDT. When you lived in Baltimore or New York, did you live there known among your neighbors by the name of Carl?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. MUNDT. What is that? Under what name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. MUNDT. The only place where you used the name Carl then was in your Washington Communist contacts?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In those Washington groups.

Mr. MUNDT. From your knowledge of communism is it possible for a committee like this, or any other agency of Government, or a court of law, to prove conclusively whether a man is or is not a Communist, without access to the files of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is extremely difficult, I think.

Mr. MUNDT. And from your knowledge as a high functionary in the Communist Party, is it the general practice of that party to conceal from the non-Communist world the identity of its members, after, of course, they are members, so that when witnesses come before this committee, as they so frequently do, and deny under oath that they are Communists, they can do that without difficulty and with comparative impunity, even though they are, in fact, Communists? Is that right?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. MUNDT. From your knowledge of the Communist operations in Washington in Government where you were contact man for a period of years, would it be your belief that Communist cells are still functioning in Government now or that they have terminated them at the conclusion of the war?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is unquestionable that they are still functioning in Government, and will continue to function until they are rooted out. It may be during a period like this when a number of investigative agencies are looking into the matter, they are resting on their oars for a while, but they remain in being.

Mr. MUNDT. But it would be your firm conviction that they are here, and will stay here until they are ferreted out by hearings like this, or by the FBI, or by grand jury proceedings, or some other legal methods?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. I have nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more questions of Mr. Whittaker Chambers?

You are excused then, Mr. Chambers.

And you are excused, Mr. Hiss.

The committee stands adjourned, and the committee will meet in executive session at 10:30 tomorrow, and there will be no public hearing tomorrow.

(Whereupon, at 8 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

THURSDAY, AUGUST 26, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>41</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 4 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building. Hon. John McDowell presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John McDowell (presiding), Richard M. Nixon, and Richard B. Vail.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, investigator; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

Mr. McDOWELL. The committee will be in order.

The record will show that the subcommittee is sitting to take testimony, further testimony, on matters concerning espionage in the Government.

The record will show that those present are Mr. Nixon, Mr. Vail, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Stripling, Mr. Russell, and Mrs. Poore.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROSEN. I do.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. I live at 2020 Shepherd Street NE.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM ROSEN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, MAURICE BRAVERMAN

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your business address?

Mr. ROSEN. 2009 Bunker Hill Road NE.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. I was born in Austria, I think it is 1884.

Mr. RUSSELL. What day?

Mr. ROSEN. March, some day; I do not remember exactly. I have not got a record of that.

Mr. RUSSELL. March 30?

Mr. ROSEN. I think it is March 30; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say you were born in Austria?

<sup>41</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and made public with this printing.

Mr. ROSEN. Well, it is a province that belonged to Austria at that time. It is Galicia.

Mr. RUSSELL. Galicia.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before we proceed, I would like for counsel to identify himself.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. My name is Maurice Braverman.

Mr. McDOWELL. Your name is what?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Braverman, just as you hear it. I am an attorney, practicing before the bar of Maryland, before the Federal courts of Maryland, and have been admitted to the Fourth United States Circuit Court, that is at Richmond; and have been practicing law for a period of 7 years, actively engaged in the practice of law in Baltimore, Md.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your address?

Mr. McDOWELL. What is your address?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. 15 South Gay Street.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are you a member of a firm?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. No; I am practicing entirely for myself.

Mr. NIXON. Before the witness goes on, I think it would be well to instruct him, Mr. Chairman, as to the type of questions that we are going to put to him during this hearing.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. This is a hearing of the subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities. It involves matters in which the committee has been designated by the Congress to investigate. Every question that will be asked you during this hearing will be material to this inquiry, and a false answer to any question will subject you to the penalties of perjury.

Proceed.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. May I interrupt for just 1 second?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. The members of the committee present are Mr. Nixon; is that correct?

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon, Mr. Vail. My name is McDowell. This gentleman is Mr. Stripling.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I have seen his picture in the newspaper.

Mr. McDOWELL. He is the chief investigator, and this is Mr. Louis Russell.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I have it now.

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to advise counsel that he will confine himself to advising his client on constitutional matters, on his constitutional protection, and under no circumstances to advise him as to the kind of answers to make, or what answers to make.

All right, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you enter the United States?

Mr. ROSEN. December 1901.

Mr. RUSSELL. What port did you enter?

Mr. ROSEN. In New York.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where were you naturalized?

Mr. ROSEN. Norfolk, Va.

Mr. RUSSELL. What year?

Mr. ROSEN. 1910.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you married?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your wife's name?

Mr. ROSEN. Addie.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many children do you have?

Mr. ROSEN. I have four children, all in the last war.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you name them?

Mr. ROSEN. The first one is Lionel Milton Rosen; then, I have twins: One is Eugene Rosen and the other is Cyril Rosen. The youngest is William Herbert Rosen.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you first come to Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ROSEN. I am here since 1941.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you in Washington before that?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes; I was here a year a half in 1927 to 1928, beginning 1927, and 1928.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you live in 1927, 1928?

Mr. ROSEN. What is that?

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you live in 1927 and 1928?

Mr. ROSEN. Todd Place NE.

Mr. RUSSELL. No. 3222?

Mr. ROSEN. I do not remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you subscribe to the Daily Worker?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer that I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Does your family receive the Daily Worker under the name Rose Barone?

Mr. ROSEN. The statement stands for this answer, too.

Mr. STRIPLING. I did not understand you.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question.

Mr. McDOWELL. On what grounds?

Mr. ROSEN. On the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. The same thing goes for this question, too.

Mr. McDOWELL. State your reason for your refusal to answer.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer on the ground that any answer I might give to the question might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever buy a 1929 Ford automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the grounds that any answer I might give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. How?

Mr. STRIPLING. How would the purchase of a 1929 automobile incriminate you? The committee has no objection to a witness specifying protection against self-incrimination if it is plausible that it might incriminate him. The purchase of a motor vehicle has nothing to do with incrimination that I know of. Would you set forth your reasons?

Mr. ROSEN. I do not want to go into all the details, and the only reason I can say is that it might bring out something else and it may involve me into answers that might incriminate me after.

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Rosen and counsel, I want you to listen carefully. You may refuse to answer questions on the ground of self-incrimination. It is possible that the answer given might involve you in a crime, but this committee is unable to see how any answer concerning whether or not you purchased a 1929 automobile could involve you in a crime, particularly since any crime that could be

involved in the purchase of such a car would now be outlawed by the statute of limitations.

I will instruct you further that if you refuse to answer a question concerning a 1929 automobile on the grounds of self-incrimination and if the committee comes to the conclusion that no crime could be involved, that it will be the duty of this committee to cite you for contempt of Congress.

Now, I ask you again: Did you purchase a 1929 Ford automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. Will you permit me to consult with my attorney?

Mr. NIXON. You may consult with your counsel.

(Mr. Rosen and Mr. Braverman confer.)

Mr. ROSEN. I stand on my statement and refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Nixon, before you proceed any further with that, could Mr. Russell ask a few more questions for the record.

Mr. NIXON. Certainly.

Mr. RUSSELL. In 1940, Mr. Rosen, did you reside on Taylor Place NE.?

Mr. ROSEN. I came here in 1941—June 1, 1941.

Mr. RUSSELL. The question was: Did you reside during the year 1940 on Taylor Place NE.?

If you did not, say you did not.

Mr. ROSEN. I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever operated a ladies' dress shop in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ROSEN. Did I have a dress shop?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. ROSEN. In 1927.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the name of that dress shop?

Mr. ROSEN. La Rose.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you at one time operate a store which had the trade name Maison, M-a-i-s-o-n, Blanche, B-l-a-n-c-h-e?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes; in 1927.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you operate two stores in 1927?

Mr. ROSEN. No; I gave up the Maison store and a nephew of mine bought the store on Fourteenth Street, and I was manager of the store.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was your wife Addie connected with you in that business?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. During the year 1936, did you visit Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on account that the answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. McDOWELL. What was the question?

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he during the year 1936 visit Washington, D. C.?

Mr. NIXON. Where were you living in 1936, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer these questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. How in the world is that going to—

Mr. NIXON. Let him say on what grounds.

Mr. ROSEN. On the grounds that any answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. McDOWELL. How in the world is that going to incriminate you? You are a citizen of the United States. You surely couldn't have

spent a life in crime. If all the activities of your past life were to become known, most certainly they couldn't involve you in a crime.

We are beginning to get weary of Communists coming here and declining questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination. There hasn't been a citation for contempt here for some time, but I feel there are some coming.

Mr. NIXON. I will say that anything that occurred in 1936, except treason, would be outlawed by the statute of limitations, and that means that the defense of self-incrimination would not be a defense, and if this witness insists on not answering those questions I for one will insist on his being cited for contempt.

Where were you living in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. Can I consult with my counsel?

Mr. NIXON. You can consult with your counsel; yes.

(Mr. Rosen and Mr. Braverman confer.)

Mr. ROSEN. In 1936 I lived in New York, 638 West One Hundred and Sixtieth Street.

Mr. NIXON. Did you visit Washington in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Rosen, were you a Communist Party organizer in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Rosen, do you know Benjamin Bialek?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. He either knows him or doesn't know him.

Mr. NIXON. Now, the witness can tell this committee whether he knows Mr. Bialek or not. If the witness insists on refusing to answer pertinent questions which couldn't possibly incriminate him, we are going to have to cite you for contempt, and I want you to know that; and I suggest, counsel, you advise him on that.

You cannot come before this committee and use that simply as a dodge for the purpose of refusing to give this committee information to which it is entitled.

Now, do you know Benjamin Bialek?

You may consult with your counsel.

Mr. STRIPLING. Spell it for him.

Mr. NIXON. B-i-a-l-e-k.

(Mr. Rosen and Mr. Braverman confer.)

Mr. ROSEN. I still refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. I show you this picture. Look at it, please.

Have you ever seen that man before?

Mr. ROSEN. I will answer that I have never seen him.

Mr. NIXON. You have never seen him?

Mr. ROSEN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know J. Peters?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. May I ask who the picture is?

Mr. NIXON. I will ask him some questions.

Do you know J. Peters?

Mr. ROSEN. Never heard of him, never seen him, don't know him.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. ROSEN. I am sorry; I do not.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mr. ROSEN. I have never even seen him. I saw his picture in the papers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual named Bialek, B-i-a-l-e-k?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Rosen, will you please tell the committee what other names you have gone under than "Rosen" during your lifetime? Start chronologically and give us the names while you have been in the United States—I am only interested in that.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. May I consult with him?

Mr. NIXON. Certainly.

(Mr. Braverman and Mr. Rosen confer.)

Mr. NIXON. All right.

Mr. ROSEN. I never changed my name in all my life.

Mr. NIXON. You never used another name than Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. No. I was called Wilhelm, and I came here and called myself William. That is all.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever owned a 1929 Ford automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give to that question may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Joe Cherner?

Mr. ROSEN. On this question I will answer I have seen Cherner, the last time on the night of the Jewish appeal. We are active, both of us, in United Jewish Appeal. That is the only time I saw Cherner.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know any employee of Joe Cherner's?

Mr. ROSEN. I do not. I was never connected with any place of Joe Cherner's.

Mr. NIXON. Did you visit Joe Cherner's establishment in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Rosen, did you ever reside at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW., Washington.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VAIL. Were you ever at that address?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. I am going to tell the chairman of the subcommittee right now that I am going to move to cite this man for contempt.

Mr. McDOWELL. Wait a minute.

Did you ever buy a car from the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. McDOWELL. Was a car transferred to you from the Cherner Motor Co., Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever owned an automobile in your life?

(Mr. Rosen and Mr. Braverman confer.)

Mr. McDOWELL. What is the answer?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes; I owned a car.



Mr. McDOWELL. You have owned an automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did it come from the Cherner Motor Co., any of the cars you may have owned?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give you may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Rosen, I want to tell you why these questions are material and then give you another opportunity to answer these questions.

This committee in its investigation of certain testimony sworn to by one Whittaker Chambers concerning the transfer of an automobile from Mr. Alger Hiss to one William Rosen found an assignment of title at the Department of Motor Vehicles showing a transfer and which reads in substance as follows:

On the 23d of July 1936, Alger Hiss transferred to the Cherner Motor Co. at 1781 Florida Avenue NW., a 1929 Ford roadster. That same day Cherner Motor Co. transferred that car to one William Rosen, who gave as his address: 5405 Thirteenth Street NW. The application for certificate of title made that same day by William Rosen, the purchaser of the car from Cherner Motor Co., assigned by William Rosen, and he gives in his own handwriting his address as 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.

Now, whether or not this transfer occurred in this manner and whether or not this transfer was made to a William Rosen who was then a member of the Communist Party is material to inquiry which this committee is conducting into Communist activities in the Government during that period, and into espionage activities during that period.

Now, I again ask you: Did you purchase a 1929 Ford from the Cherner Motor Co. on July 23, 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. I now show you the application for title for this automobile, and I point out to you the name of the William Rosen who signed the application for title, and I ask you if that is your signature.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. How could the answer "no" incriminate you, Mr. Rosen? Is your answer no, that you did not sign your name to that application for title?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that on the ground that it may incriminate me in the future.

Mr. NIXON. How long have you been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. When did you first apply for membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever stayed at the home of Benjamin Bialek at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Investigator, I would like to get handwriting specimens from Mr. Rosen.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Nixon—

Mr. NIXON. We are entitled to that.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I believe you already have handwriting specimens, but if you want one you can have it.

Mr. NIXON. How many do we have?

Mr. ROSEN. I signed 10 times my name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I had to leave the room. Did the witness refuse to answer the questions after it was explained the pertinence and importance of it?

Mr. NIXON. I explained the pertinency and importance of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he asked whether or not he signed this document?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes; and he declined to answer on the ground that it might incriminate him.

Mr. ROSEN, do you have any objection yourself to aiding the Government in attempting to determine facts which are important to the Government?

(Mr. ROSEN and Mr. BRAVERMAN confer.)

Mr. ROSEN. I have no objection at all. In fact, I have sent my four sons to fight a war and my youngest son was 17 years old. I took him down to have enlisted to fight a war. I myself am willing to give my life for the country. That is how much this country means to me. If anything I can help the country, I would do it. If anything involves anything or incriminate myself, I will not say anything about.

Mr. STRIPLING. The committee is not asking you to incriminate yourself. As a matter of fact, your counsel will tell you you cannot be prosecuted for anything you say before this committee, but here is a Congress of the United States trying to determine whether or not a William Rosen purchased a Ford automobile in 1936. Now, if you didn't buy the car, why shouldn't you tell the Government you didn't buy the car?

(Mr. ROSEN and Mr. BRAVERMAN confer.)

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. ROSEN, don't you realize that by refusing to answer questions that you are in effect incriminating yourself in the eyes of this committee and you will incriminate yourself in the eyes of the people who believe it is essential to investigate the activities of those who are attempting to destroy this Government, and you told Mr. Stripling that you wanted to help do everything you could for this Government.

Now, that is just what we are trying to do through this investigation. Now, won't you help us by answering "Yes" or "No" to these questions which happened over 12 years ago?

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you going to answer the question?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. ROSEN, isn't it a fact—and you can answer this one—isn't it a fact that your refusing to answer these questions, among other reasons is because you have been told by the Communist Party not to do so?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason, that any answer may incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Have you consulted with the Communist Party representatives concerning this case?

Mr. STRIPLING. In the last 24 hours.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that anything I have to say may incriminate me in the future.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever lived in Baltimore?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; never lived in Baltimore.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why is it your attorney is from Baltimore?

Mr. ROSEN. I have a very good friend there. I called him up to get me an attorney.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did what?

Mr. ROSEN. I have a very good friend there. I called him up and he recommended this attorney.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have a good friend in Baltimore?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is that friend?

(Mr. Rosen and Mr. Braverman confer.)

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this kind of a question as to who my friends are.

Mr. STRIPLING. We are not asking you just who your friends are. I just asked you if the Communist Party didn't instruct you to answer these questions in this way.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give to that question may incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you here in response to a subpoena which was served upon you?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are fully aware of the penalties of perjury?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Your counsel has advised you of that?

Mr. ROSEN. Advised me what?

Mr. STRIPLING. The penalties of perjury.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. He has already been advised by Mr. Nixon.

Mr. STRIPLING. I understand, but have you advised him?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I am not on the stand.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are on the stand. In fact, I would suggest that the chairman swear counsel. I have a few questions I would like to ask counsel.

Mr. McDOWELL. Stand up and raise your right hand.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I will stand up, but I refuse to be sworn in as a witness in this case. I am counsel.

Mr. McDOWELL. Get a subpoena.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. McDowell, will you permit me to call counsel?

Mr. McDOWELL. Well, no; there has been no action taken yet. Wait a minute.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I would like to call counsel before I am subpoenaed.

Mr. McDOWELL. There has been no subpoena yet. Just wait a minute until you need counsel.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Rosen, I would like to have you enlighten me on this question. Do you believe that the Communists constitute a danger to the Government, the American Government, that you have indicated you wanted to defend?

Mr. ROSEN. I am not prepared to answer these questions, and I cannot answer them.

Mr. STRIPLING. You believe they do, then?

Mr. ROSEN. I say I am not prepared to answer this question, and I cannot answer you.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't want to answer "Yes" or "No"?

Mr. ROSEN. I can't answer "Yes" or "No," because I am not prepared. I don't understand the whole thing.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are not a Communist yourself?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in order to expedite the hearing, the counsel has indicated that he would not testify unless he called counsel; is that correct, Mr. Braverman?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I haven't indicated that at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. You asked to call counsel. Are you prepared to testify if we subpoena you?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I am not prepared.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are not prepared?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I would like to state my reason, too.

Mr. STRIPLING. I can see, Mr. Chairman, that the witness would not testify and I suggest that we withhold the subpoena.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I would like the opportunity of stating my reason, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. For refusing to take the oath?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes; when it was asked of me.

Mr. STRIPLING. I ask you now: Will you take the oath?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. No; I won't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. For the simple reason that I am here representing Mr. Rosen. I think any attempt to put me under oath is an attempt to intimidate my client and hurt my professional relations between attorney and client. I have a perfect right to appear as attorney for my client, and I think the committee has no right to ask questions regarding relations between me and my client.

Mr. STRIPLING. We are not asking you about the relations between your client and yourself.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I think any questions would be in that regard.

Mr. STRIPLING. We often swear counsel. In fact, we swore counsel yesterday in public hearing, and because you come here with a witness and seek to give him advice on how to answer questions doesn't give you any immunity.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I haven't claimed that immunity. I am merely stating my position.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have refused to take the oath.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is a certain immunity in refusing to be sworn.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you have anything further, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Vail?

Mr. VAIL. Not at this moment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosen, do you know Samuel Lichtenstein?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Robert Bialek?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Rosen, I am going to ask you: Did you ever sell a 1929 Ford car?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer that I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have a 1929 Ford in your possession at the present time?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever had a 1929 Ford in your possession?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Rosen, the records, I believe, show that you at the present time own a Chevrolet panel truck, 1941, for delivery purposes; is that correct?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. What did you trade in on that truck?

Mr. ROSEN. Nothing. When I bought the business I got the truck with the business.

Mr. NIXON. You got it with the business?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Did you have the Ford at that time?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer about any other car. I bought the Chevrolet; I bought it from a fellow by the name of Alf Fiore. I got the Chevy truck with the business. It was thrown in.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Rosen, in 1936, did you have a mailing address in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you live between 1928 and 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I lived in New York.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the address?

Mr. ROSEN. I lived in three places. One is 638 West One Hundred and Sixtieth Street. The second was Fort Washington Avenue, at the corner of One Hundred and Sixty-first Avenue. The third was Jessup Avenue. I don't know the address; I don't remember the address.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever in Pennsylvania Station in New York City?

Mr. ROSEN. Was I ever in Pennsylvania Station?

Mr. STRIPLING. In New York City.

Mr. ROSEN. Of course, I was there many times. When I am in New York I went to Pennsylvania Station.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever in Union Station in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ROSEN. When I go to New York I am in Union Station.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever in Pennsylvania Station in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever in Union Station, Washington, D. C., in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. You realize, don't you, Mr. Rosen, what you are doing? You sit there and answer one question about an automobile and then you refuse to answer the question about this automobile, which is the subject of a congressional investigation. You admit that you have been in Washington, you admit you have been in Pennsylvania Station and Union Station, but you won't admit you were there in 1936.

Now, if you are not deeply implicated in this matter, you would certainly answer those questions. There is nothing incriminating about being in Union Station in 1936.

Mr. ROSEN. If I answer yes, I may tell you a lie, because I don't remember. If I would say no, I may tell you a lie. Maybe I was there.

Mr. STRIPLING. If you say you don't remember——

Mr. ROSEN. This is the honest truth, I don't remember if I was in Union Station or Pennsylvania Station.

Mr. NIXON. Is it your testimony then, the same on this car, that you don't remember that you got a 1929 Ford?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir, I don't say anything about the car. I refuse to answer any questions.

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember about the car, then?

Mr. ROSEN. I didn't say "I remember anything." I say I refuse to answer any question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Any question about the car you refuse to answer on the ground that it might incriminate you, but you are willing to answer questions about Union Station?

Mr. ROSEN. I am not willing to answer. I say I couldn't answer on that question either.

Mr. NIXON. Why not?

Mr. ROSEN. Because how in the world can a man answer a question whether he was in Union Station in 1936, 12 years ago?

Mr. NIXON. Because you can't remember?

Mr. ROSEN. No.

Mr. NIXON. Are you also refusing to answer the question about the car because you can't remember?

Mr. ROSEN. No. I refuse to answer the question about the car on the ground that any answer I may give you, "yes," or "no," may incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. I think the record is absolutely clear now.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know William C. Taylor?

Mr. ROSEN. Who?

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know William C. Taylor?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give you may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever seen William C. Taylor?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who is William C. Taylor?

Mr. ROSEN. You tell me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Chairman of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia.

Mr. VAIL. You said you had four sons. Did they serve in this last war?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VAIL. You say they enlisted?

Mr. ROSEN. Two of them enlisted; two were drafted.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Addie Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. Who?

Mr. RUSSELL. Addie Rosen.

Mr. ROSEN. I hope to tell you I know her.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who is she?

Mr. ROSEN. She is my wife.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. You admit you know Addie Rosen and you won't answer whether or not she is a member of the Communist Party. Why do you refuse to answer whether or not you know William C. Taylor? Because he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer because any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me. That is all.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever file application for membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you file application for membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. I have a question.

What was your occupation in 1930? Were you in the dry-cleaning business then?

Mr. ROSEN. 1930?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. ROSEN. I was working for an installment house in New York.

Mr. NIXON. How long did you work there? Was it for several years?

Mr. ROSEN. I was for some years with that house, and then I was in business for myself there.

Mr. NIXON. Where were you working in 1935?

Mr. ROSEN. In 1935, I was in business for myself in New York.

Mr. NIXON. What kind of a business?

Mr. ROSEN. Installment business.

Mr. NIXON. Installment business; what house?

Mr. ROSEN. My own house.

Mr. NIXON. Independent contractor?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Where were you working in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. Same place.

Mr. NIXON. You had the same business?

Mr. ROSEN. Sure.

Mr. NIXON. That was the only business you had?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't work for anybody else?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't work for the Communist Party in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I was in business in 1936.

Mr. NIXON. Did you work for the Communist Party in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me. I am just telling you I was in business. That is all.

Mr. NIXON. You won't say what business?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes; installment business.

Mr. NIXON. Well, I mean, did you work for the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I was in my own business, I am telling you, and when it comes to Communist Party I refuse to answer any questions about the Communist Party on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that your brief case?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. That is my brief case.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't have any documents you would like to show the committee, do you?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; I have no documents at all.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't want to help the Government clear this matter up?

Mr. ROSEN. I don't see how in the world I can clear it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You can help us by answering three simple questions. Are you willing to answer those questions?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the questions on the grounds that it may incriminate me.

Mr. VAIL. Would you take your sons down to enlist again in the event we have trouble with Russia?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I didn't hear the question—down to where?

Mr. VAIL. To enlist in the event we have trouble with Russia. That is to say, enlist on the American side.

Mr. ROSEN. I don't believe you will ever have any trouble with Russia.

Mr. VAIL. That isn't answering the question, sir.

Mr. ROSEN. My sons are married, all of them are married, and I can't take them down. I took down two of them when they were single and were in my house. They are married; they can do as they please.

Mr. NIXON. Would you want them to go down and enlist? You would, wouldn't you, in the event of a war with the present Russian Government?

Would you want them to defend the country?

Mr. ROSEN. Is this question so important about the investigation that you are carrying out?

Mr. NIXON. Quite important.

Mr. ROSEN. Then, I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. NIXON. You can't refuse to answer that question on the ground of self incrimination.



Mr. ROSEN. If I answer you that I will see that my sons will go down there, maybe my sons would be against it, maybe they wouldn't go.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. RUSSELL. One further question.

Did your son William H. Rosen ever reside at 5405 Thirteenth Street N.W.?

Mr. ROSEN. When?

Mr. RUSSELL. In 1936.

Mr. ROSEN. He was 8 years old then.

Mr. RUSSELL. He would be older than that, wouldn't he?

Mr. ROSEN. He was 8 years old.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he reside there?

Mr. ROSEN. I am asking you. He was 8 years old. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me. There is no use of answering a question of whether he was living there. He was living with me.

Mr. RUSSELL. How old is William H. at the present time?

Mr. ROSEN. He was born at the end of 1926, and he is now, he will be 22 years old—will be 22.

Mr. RUSSELL. What day was he born?

Mr. ROSEN. I believe he was born in September 1926.

Mr. RUSSELL. It would make him 10 years old in 1936.

Mr. ROSEN. Ten years, something like that. He was living with me. That is all I can tell you.

Mr. NIXON. In New York?

Mr. ROSEN. Of course, in New York.

Mr. NIXON. You weren't in Washington in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I was in New York. I lived in New York up to 1940. I came here in 1941.

Mr. NIXON. Then, you are testifying you didn't come to Washington in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. No questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Vail?

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. No questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. I just want to say this last thing. You are an old man, 64 years old. You came here from Austria. It is obvious to all of us that you are a Communist, a member of the Communist Party. You make a poor mouth about taking your four sons down and having them join the United States Army. If you—and this will be good for you, too, counsel—if you and the rest of the Communists of the United States, regardless of the number of lawyers you have who have studied our Constitution, think that the Government of this country, the

strongest country on earth, is going to sit here day after day, after day, and hear men come up and refuse to answer questions that are proper, that are put in order to safeguard the people of this country, you are wrong, and you are going to find out how very, very wrong you are in this particular case.

You are dismissed.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I move the committee now resolve itself into executive session for the purpose of considering a contempt citation of this man.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is it seconded?

Mr. VAIL. Second.

Mr. McDOWELL. Very well.

That is all.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee retired into executive session for the purpose stated, and the reporter was excused.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>42</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John McDowell presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John McDowell, Richard B. Vail, and Richard M. Nixon.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, William A. Wheeler, and Donald T. Appell, investigators.

Mr. McDOWELL. The committee will be in order. The record will show that this is a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in session taking further testimony on espionage in the United States Government. Those present are Mr. Vail and Mr. McDowell, Mr. Russell, and Mr. Wheeler.

All right, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Leon Cherner.

Mr. McDOWELL. Will you stand up?

Will you solemnly swear that the information and testimony you will give the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHERNER. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF LEON CHERNER

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, will you state your full name?

Mr. CHERNER. Leon Cherner.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address?

Mr. CHERNER. Home address?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. 7935 Orchid Street.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CHERNER. I am vice president, Cherner Motor Co.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. CHERNER. I was born in January, January 15, 1904.

<sup>42</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and made public with this printing.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where?

Mr. CHERNER. Russia.

Mr. RUSSELL. What city or province?

Mr. CHERNER. Damned if I know—it is called Mulove Gubernya.

Mr. RUSSELL. How do you spell it?

Mr. CHERNER. I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you first come to the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. I was about 6 years old, about 1910.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the port of entry upon your arrival in the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. Baltimore, I believe.

Mr. RUSSELL. Baltimore.

Mr. CHERNER. The same boat my brother came on. You probably have his information here.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long have you been with the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. CHERNER. Since December of 1933.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, at this time I would like to take some handwriting specimens from Mr. Cherner.

Mr. McDOWELL. All right. Mr. Cherner, according to the provisions of the Federal law we can require you to give us specimens of your handwriting, and that will be required at this point.

Mr. CHERNER. That is all right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Write the name "William Rosen, 5405 Thirteenth Street NW."

(Mr. Cherner complies.)

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, do you know an individual by the name of William Rosen?

Mr. CHERNER. Do I know anybody—no, sir; I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever hear of anyone by that name?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, I show you a certificate of title of a motor vehicle issued by the District of Columbia.

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. And I also show you the name "William Rosen." Do you recall whether or not you ever wrote that name on this document?

Mr. CHERNER. I do not have anything to do with this end of it at all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Raise your voice. I cannot hear you.

Mr. RUSSELL. He said he does not have anything to do with that end of it.

But do you recall whether you ever wrote a signature—

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Such as this?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words you never saw that document before?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Or an original of that document?

Mr. CHERNER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Benjamin A. Bialek or Bealek (phonetic in last instance)?

Mr. CHERNER. Bialek?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. I know a Bialek that runs a drug store around the corner from where I used to live, Petworth Pharmacy.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is his first name?

Mr. CHERNER. I do not know his first name. All I know is that he is an owner of the store, and I went to store—I lived around the corner.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Cherner Motor Co. ever sell them any automobiles, the Bialeks?

Mr. CHERNER. Not to the Bialeks. We sold the pharmacy a coupé a couple of years ago. We sold them a '46 coupé. We sold the store. I do not know whether that is the same Bialek or not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Mrs. Bialek?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Robert Bialek?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

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

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever file an application to become a member?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever contribute any money to the Communist Party?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever contribute any money to the Biro-Bijdan Committee?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, I show you a picture of an individual who I will now not identify at this time and ask you whether or not you have ever seen that individual [showing photograph]?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never have seen anyone who resembles the man appearing in this photograph?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, those are all the questions I have of Mr. Cherner.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon, do you have any questions?

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Cherner, were you with the Cherner Motor Co. in 1936?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Was it the custom of the company at that time to make records of cars that were purchased, used cars that were purchased?

Mr. CHERNER. To be honest with you, at that particular time I was a salesman there. I did not have anything to do with the office end of it at all.

Mr. NIXON. Who ran the office?

Mr. CHERNER. Mr. Gertler, the notary who is on that title.

Mr. NIXON. Is he still with the company?

Mr. CHERNER. He has been here.

Mr. NIXON. He ran that office?

Mr. CHERNER. He ran it then and runs it now.

Mr. NIXON. Is he the man who probably handled this transaction, then?

Mr. CHERNER. He would be; yes.

Mr. NIXON. Why is it there is no record of the transaction in the Cherner Motor Co. and that all the other records are there?

Mr. CHERNER. I do not know anything about that. He could probably tell you about that.

Mr. NIXON. He couldn't remember about it, either.

Mr. CHERNER. He could not? I don't know. Was that in 1936? That is 12 years ago.

Mr. NIXON. That is right. We have found the other records, but we cannot find this record.

Mr. CHERNER. The only thing I can do is—maybe he will go through his records again. There is a possibility that he may find them.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Russell, you have searched the records thoroughly already, have you not?

Mr. CHERNER. Were you up there yourself, Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. We searched all the records that the Cherner Motor Co. could produce.

Mr. NIXON. And found no records of this transaction.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right; and it is impossible that a sales invoice could have been made out that day.

Mr. NIXON. On that particular transaction no sales invoice was made out for this automobile.

Mr. CHERNER. Well, the whole transaction would be the same as the title there. That is practically the transaction itself right there.

Mr. NIXON. That is true.

Mr. CHERNER. That is the record.

Mr. NIXON. I mean, for all the other transactions that were made by the company that day there were sales invoices made, and yet on this one there was no sales invoice. What kind of a business was that?

Mr. CHERNER. I do not have anything to do with that end of it. I don't even know.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHERNER. Who? No, sir; I do not.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know William Rosen?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You never heard of a man named William Rosen?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir; never have.

Mr. NIXON. You had nothing at all to do with this transaction?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir; not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are you through?

Mr. RUSSELL. I have one further question.

Mr. CHERNER. Sir?

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Edward S. Barton, B-a-r-t-o-n?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; he used to be also one of our used-car salesmen, I believe.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is he still employed by Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know where he is employed at the present time?

Mr. CHERNER. The last I heard of him he had a fruit store out southeast somewhere.

Mr. RUSSELL. Fruit store out southeast?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. The witness is dismissed.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you, Mr. Cherner.

Mr. CHERNER. Thank you.

Mr. McDOWELL. The next witness, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you Henry Cherner?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Will you stand, please, and raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHERNER. I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Sit down. All right, Mr. Russell.

### TESTIMONY OF HENRY CHERNER

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, you are appearing before this committee by virtue of a subpoena which was served upon you yesterday, are you not?

Mr. CHERNER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. CHERNER. Henry Cherner.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address?

Mr. CHERNER. 4409 Burlington Place.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, I am a used-car dealer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Under what name?

Mr. CHERNER. Cherner-Brewer Auto Sales.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you at one time associated with the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. The one operated by your brother Joe Cherner?

Mr. CHERNER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. When were you associated, or for what period were you associated with the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. CHERNER. I was there from May of 1935 to the end of 1946, 11 years, a little over 11 years.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, at this time I would like to take some handwriting specimens from Mr. Henry Cherner.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Cherner, according to the provisions of Federal law, this committee has the right to require you to give us specimens of handwriting. We shall require that.

Mr. CHERNER. You want me to write something?

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you write the name, "William Rosen, 5405 Thirteenth Street NW."

(Mr. Cherner complies.)

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, when you were associated with your brother Joseph, what position did you have with the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, salesman.

Mr. RUSSELL. Salesman?

Mr. CHERNER. That is right.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know an individual named William Rosen?

MR. CHERNER. That name sounds familiar to me—William Rosen? I may know him when I see him. You know, it is hard to tell by name.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know anyone by that name in the dry-cleaning business?

MR. CHERNER. Not knowingly, I do not.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether or not you ever sold an automobile to an individual named William Rosen?

MR. CHERNER. No; I do not.

MR. RUSSELL. How did the Cherner Motor Co. record sales of automobiles while you were there?

MR. CHERNER. Well, that was out of my line, you see. I mean, I did not have anything to do with that, but I mean they had a regular bookkeeping system, as far as I know.

MR. RUSSELL. As far as you know, did they record all sales?

MR. CHERNER. Always; I am almost sure of that.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know Benjamin Bialek (phonetically, Bi-al-ek) or Bialek (phonetically, Bi-a-lek)?

MR. CHERNER. Benjamin—what?

MR. RUSSELL. Bialek or Bealek (phonetical in last instance).

MR. CHERNER. Bialek; yes, I do know him.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know Benjamin? Do you know him by the name "Benjamin"?

MR. CHERNER. That is the one who had a grocery store or is the one that has a drug store?

MR. RUSSELL. Drug store.

MR. CHERNER. Drug store; yes, I know him.

MR. RUSSELL. But do you know him by the name "Benjamin" or just by the name of Bialek?

MR. CHERNER. I know it is Bialek. That is the way he pronounces it, Bialek. Wait a minute. I think it is Benjamin.

MR. RUSSELL. Do you know Robert Bialek?

MR. CHERNER. I know two of them. I do not know their first names.

MR. RUSSELL. Did you ever sell them an automobile?

MR. CHERNER. No; I never did.

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

MR. CHERNER. Have I been what?

MR. RUSSELL. A member of the Communist Party.

MR. CHERNER. No, sir.

MR. RUSSELL. Did you ever contribute any money to the Communist Party?

MR. CHERNER. No, sir.

MR. RUSSELL. Did you ever file an application for membership for the Communist Party?

MR. CHERNER. No, sir.

MR. RUSSELL. Did you ever contribute any money to Benjamin Bialek for any purpose whatsoever?

MR. CHERNER. No, sir.

MR. RUSSELL. Did you ever contribute any to Mrs. Bialek?

MR. CHERNER. No.

MR. RUSSELL. Did you ever contribute to the Biro-Bidjan Committee?

MR. CHERNER. No.



Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cherner, I show you a certificate of title for a motor vehicle issued by the District of Columbia, and I ask you if you ever wrote the name which appears on there, "William Rosen"?

Mr. CHERNER. Did I write it?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is not your handwriting?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir. It does not tell you here who sold the car, does it [indicating photostatic copy of certificate of title]?

Mr. RUSSELL. No.

Mr. CHERNER. Well, they should have the record of who sold the car. That name really does sound very familiar to me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever visited Benjamin Bialek at his home?

Mr. CHERNER. Not at his home; no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever visited him?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, not exactly him. I was in his store and talked to him. I did not just go especially to see him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever ask you to contribute any money to any organization?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. I show you a photograph of an individual who I will not identify and I will ask you if you have ever seen the person whose picture I have just handed you.

Mr. CHERNER. No; I do not think I have.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have never seen anyone who resembles the individual appearing in the photograph?

Mr. CHERNER. I cannot say that I have; no.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have no other questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. I have no questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Cherner. You are excused.

Mr. CHERNER. All right.

Mr. McDOWELL. The next witness, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you Mr. Floyd Brewer?

Mr. BREWER. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Will you raise your hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you shall give the committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BREWER. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF FLOYD RHODA BREWER

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Brewer, will you state your full name?

Mr. BREWER. Floyd Rhoda Brewer.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address?

Mr. BREWER. My home address or business address?

Mr. RUSSELL. Home address.

Mr. BREWER. 1308 Tuckerman Street NW.

Mr. McDOWELL. What was that street again?

Mr. RUSSELL. Farragut?

Mr. BREWER. Tuckerman.

Mr. RUSSELL. T-u-c-k-e-r-m-a-n?

Mr. BREWER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Brewer, you are appearing before the committee by virtue of a subpoena which was served upon you yesterday, are you not?

Mr. BREWER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Brewer, what is your present occupation?

Mr. BREWER. I am in the used-car business.

Mr. RUSSELL. Under what firm name?

Mr. BREWER. Cherner-Brewer Auto Sales.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you at one time associated with the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. BREWER. I was used-car manager there for 13 years.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the period of your managership?

Mr. BREWER. I took charge there—well, I went with Cherner March 15, 1933.

Mr. RUSSELL. You were manager of used-car sales in 1936?

Mr. BREWER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, at this time, I would like to take some handwriting specimens from Mr. Brewer.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Brewer, according to the provisions of the Federal law, this committee has the right to require you to give it specimens of your handwriting. We will exercise that right, now.

Mr. BREWER. All right, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you write the name "William Rosen, 5405 Thirteenth Street NW." and print "NW"?

(Mr. Brewer complies.)

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Brewer, will you write as I dictate

Mr. BREWER. Will I write as you dictate? I will try, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. First, do you know an individual named William Rosen?

Mr. BREWER. I do not remember him, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. All right. Write this: "I do not know William Rosen whose address was given as 5405 Thirteenth Street NW, as the buyer of an automobile during the year 1936."

Mr. BREWER. You know, we sold a lot of automobiles there at that time, gentlemen. I would like to help you any way I can.

Mr. RUSSELL. That was for the purpose of getting further handwriting specimens. It was not an exact statement. So the record will show that.

Mr. Brewer, do you know Benjamin Bialek or Bealek (phonetical in last instance)?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never heard of him?

Mr. BREWER. Not by that name; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever visisted any one at the address 5405 Thirteenth Street, as far as you can recall?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Brewer, I show you a certificate of title of a motor vehicle which was issued by the District of Columbia, and I ask you whether or not you ever wrote the name "William Rosen" which appears there.

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; I would not remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is that your handwriting?

Mr. BREWER. I do not think so. There is no reason why I should write "William Rosen" on it. I never did that in my life, and I have been in business 30 years.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all I want to know. In other words, you are positive that is not your handwriting, that you did not write that name.

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; I do not remember the transaction in any way and in no way.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall who possibly might have handled that transaction?

Mr. BREWER. Who might have? No, sir; I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many salesmen did the Cherner Motor Co. have at the time?

Mr. BREWER. In 1936 we had about nine.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you name them?

Mr. BREWER. I think I can name some of them. I do not know whether I can remember all of them.

Mr. RUSSELL. Name as many of them as you can.

Mr. BREWER. We had a man by the name of Bernie Adler; we had a fellow by the name of Monte Rosenheim.

Mr. RUSSELL. How do you spell the first name?

Mr. BREWER. M-o-n-t-e or M-o-n-t-y—I think M-o-n-t-y is the way he spelled it.

Mr. RUSSELL. R-o-s-e-n-h-e-i-m?

Mr. BREWER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who is the first one?

Mr. BREWER. Bernie, B-e-r-n-i-e; Adler, A-d-l-e-r is the way he spells his last name.

Then, there was Joe Wasserman; Irving Bland, and I had another fellow by the name of Joe, who was working for me, but he is dead; King Stone. I am just trying to remember whether I had anybody else with me at that time or not. You see, we had two used-car lots at that time.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. Where was the second one located?

Mr. BREWER. I believe it was on Fourteenth Street.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was Edward S. Barton employed?

Mr. BREWER. Eddie Barton?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BREWER. Yes, sir; he had charge of my service department.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know where he can be located at the present time?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; I do not. The last time I heard of him was that he was over in southeast working for his brother in a grocery store, Mr. Russell.

And I had another fellow working for me there, Leonard Springman.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you recall any others?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; not offhand, that I could who were working for me at that particular time. They used to come and go pretty fast, you know. You would have one for a month or two, and they would leave, and you would get another one or two.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Brewer, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BREWER. How is that?

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

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; definitely not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did any of the persons employed by you or by Cherrier Motor Co. ever indicate to you that they might be Communists?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, you would not suspect any of these individuals, whose names you have given, as being members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of Mr. Brewer.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are you a native of Washington?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir; Virginia. I was born in Warren County.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you very much.

Mr. BREWER. You are quite welcome. If there is anything further I can do for you gentlemen, I will be only too happy to do so.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you. You are excused.

The next witness, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Samuel Bialek.

Mr. McDOWELL. Will you raise your right hand, sir, and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BIALEK. I do, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Sit down there, and you can smoke if you care to.

Mr. BIALEK. Thank you.

### TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL BIALEK

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you Mr. Samuel Bialek or Bi-a-lek (phonetical in last instance)?

Mr. BIALEK. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. How do you pronounce the last name Bi-alek or Bi-a-lek?

Mr. BIALEK. Bi-alek.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. BIALEK. Samuel Maurice Bialek.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. BIALEK. Washington, D. C.

Mr. RUSSELL. What day and what year?

Mr. BIALEK. September 9, 1917.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address, your home address?

Mr. BIALEK. 3117 Queens Chapel Road, Mount Rainier, Md., apartment 102.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mount Rainier?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes, sir; Mount Rainier, Md.; yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. What year did you say you were born?

Mr. BIALEK. 1917.

Mr. RUSSELL. 1917.

Mr. BIALEK. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present occupation?

Mr. BIALEK. I am a pharmacist.

Mr. RUSSELL. Pharmacist?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where are you employed?

Mr. BIALEK. At the Petworth Pharmacy.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is your father, Benjamin Bialek, the owner of that establishment?

Mr. BIALEK. It is a corporation, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is he a partner of Dr. Rosenberg?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, it is a corporation; it could not be a partnership.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, there are numerous stockholders?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long have you lived in Washington? All of your life?

Mr. BIALEK. Except for the time I spent in the service.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you furnish the committee with a list of your addresses in Washington, D. C., that is, your past addresses or places of residence?

Mr. BIALEK. The only ones I remember accurately are Georgia Avenue and Upshur Street, 3721 Kansas Avenue, 5405 Thirteenth Street. That is all Northwest. 4007 Eighteenth Street. Do you want the stations I was at during my tour of duty in the service?

Mr. RUSSELL. No; we do not need those.

Mr. BIALEK. Then, 2702 Wisconsin Avenue, which is an apartment, and the present address.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many brothers do you have?

Mr. BIALEK. Two.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you name them, please?

Mr. BIALEK. Robert Bialek and Theodore Bialek?

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you have any other relatives, that is, close relatives?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes, sir; I have a sister.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you name them and give their addresses, please?

Mr. BIALEK. Lillian Block, 55 Manchester Road, Tuckahoe, N. Y.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you name the other brothers?

Mr. BIALEK. I did. There is only one sister and two brothers.

Mr. RUSSELL. I know, but you have not named the brothers nor given their address.

Mr. BIALEK. You did not ask for their addresses.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you give their addresses?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes. Robert Bialek is 829 Quincy Street NW., and Theodore is at 4007 Eighteenth Street NW. The former is an apartment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you the oldest?

Mr. BIALEK. I am the oldest son.

Mr. RUSSELL. Oldest son. Have you ever been acquainted with an individual named William Rosen?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not, nor have I ever known an individual or a person called William Rosen.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Addie Rosen?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know him. To the best of my knowledge, that does not ring a familiar bell at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know a Lionel Rosen?

Mr. BIALEK. I know a Lionel Rosen.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where does he live?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know; I have not seen him for quite a while.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw him?

Mr. BIALEK. I cannot be accurate in any answer to that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you give an approximate date?

Mr. BIALEK. It would be very difficult.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know him when you resided at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.?

Mr. BIALEK. I could not correlate the two; no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether or not he ever visited you at that address?

Mr. BIALEK. I was never close with him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know a Eugene Rosen?

Mr. BIALEK. I know a Eugene Rosen, who is a brother of the Lionel Rosen.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Eugene ever visit you at 5405 Thirteenth Street?

Mr. BIALEK. Never visited me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Cyril Rosen ever visit you at that address?

Mr. BIALEK. To the best of my knowledge, none of them did.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Cyril?

Mr. BIALEK. The same way I would know Lionel.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether or not these individuals might have visited your family at that address?

Mr. BIALEK. That would be difficult to answer, because it is so far in the past. I am under oath; is that right? And anything I say now either would have to be exact, or I do not know. Isn't that true?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes; that is true.

Mr. RUSSELL. You can qualify a statement by saying to the best of your recollection. The reason I ask you these questions is because at the time you were residing at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW, an individual purchased an automobile from the Cherner Motor Co. and gave the name of William Rosen and the address which was listed at the time of the purchase was 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.

Mr. BIALEK. I see.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall, or would you have any recollection of where a person using that name could have obtained knowledge regarding the address 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.?

Mr. BIALEK. That question has many answers. I imagine that you could get it most any place. We have always had a telephone that I can recall. We have been living in Washington all of my living life, anyhow, except for my tour of duty in the service, so the best of my recollection I could not give any possible explanation as to why anyone would use that address.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you—

Mr. BIALEK. If—let me add this—they ever did, to the best of my recollection it would be an unauthorized use.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you state whether or not that at that time any of the Rosens were known to you, that is, Lionel, Eugene, Cyril, William, or Addie?

Mr. BIALEK. At the time I was at 5405 Thirteenth Street, it would be very difficult to tie it in. To the best of my recollection, it was prior to that time. It was—the reason I say “to the best recollection, it was prior to that time,” is back in my memory, it comes to my mind that I knew them when I was at 3721 Kansas Avenue. The reason I can possibly put that into the picture that way is that I lived for 5 years at that Kansas Avenue address and for 5 years at the Thirteenth Street address, and prior to that it was the Georgia Avenue and Upshur Street address, and after the Thirteenth Street address it was the Eighteenth Street address.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you have any definite recollection or any recollection whatsoever that the Rosens were in Washington during the year 1936?

Mr. BIALEK. I could not answer that. I do not know.

Mr. McDOWELL. You could not answer because you do not know?

Mr. BIALEK. I added that, sir. You see, that would fall in line, I believe—you are Mr. McDowell?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. I believe that would fall in line with my trying to place them at the 3721 Kansas Avenue address. It is fairly difficult to go back 20 years at my age and be too accurate.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you leave or move from the Kansas Avenue address, can you recall that?

Mr. BIALEK. Let's see now. This is 1948—it makes it 11 years at the Eighteenth Street address, which would bring us back to 1937; 5 years prior to that would be 1932. I would assume from this calculation that we moved to the Kansas Avenue address in 1927, and if that were the correct date we lived there, renting the house, for 5 years.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did the Rosens live on Kansas Avenue at that time?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know their address.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall what type of business the Rosens were engaged in at that time? Or at the time you knew them?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether or not they were operating a tailor shop?

Mr. BIALEK. I cannot answer that accurately.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, by giving the past addresses, does that recall to memory the approximate date when you first met the Rosens, that is, the ones that you have stated that you know?

Mr. BIALEK. If I recall correctly, they are a few years older than I, that is, Cyril and Eugene; and Lionel, I believe, is the oldest son, or the oldest boy, so the only reason that I even recall them is when Mr. Wheeler came around and asked me if I knew any Rosens, and in retrospect those are the ones that came to mind. I was never very close to them, probably because of the age difference. I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know what school they might have attended?

Mr. BIALEK. I really do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether they attended school in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. BIALEK. I could not answer that, because I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you have any recollection as to how you met them?

Mr. BIALEK. That would be difficult to answer. It was—let me think—it is hard to go back that far and remember how you met a person, especially if they are not impressed deeply upon your mind.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you belong to any type of organization at that time?

Mr. BIALEK. To the best of my knowledge, the first organization I belonged to was when I went to college. I joined a fraternity, and I believe that year was 1935.

Mr. McDOWELL. What college?

Mr. BIALEK. George Washington University, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you associating with the Rosens at that time, in 1935?

Mr. BIALEK. Now, how do you mean, associated?

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, did you know them, did you ever see them during the years 1935 or 1936?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, if I saw them, I could not be accurate as to exactly when. The only time they ever fit into the picture is the Kansas Avenue address. That is as far as I can recollect.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have no idea as to where they lived during the period you knew them?

Mr. BIALEK. I could not answer that at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yesterday, did you loan your automobile to your brother, Robert?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes; I did.

Mr. RUSSELL. What sort of an automobile was that?

Mr. BIALEK. It was a 1948 Plymouth coupe, black.

Mr. RUSSELL. For what purpose did he use it?

Mr. BIALEK. I did not ask him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he tell you why he wanted it?

Mr. BIALEK. He just asked me if he could borrow it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Does he have an automobile of his own?

Mr. BIALEK. He has never had an automobile of his own.

Mr. RUSSELL. Whose car does he generally use?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know whose car he generally uses. All I know is when he asked me for mine, and it is available, he has always had access to it.

Mr. RUSSELL. In recent years has he ever driven a 1929 Ford roadster?

Mr. BIALEK. Let me say this: I cannot say what he has driven, and blanket the 24 hours a day for 365 days a year, but I can say this: As far as I know I have never seen him in a '29 Ford of any description.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yesterday when he borrowed your car he did not tell you why he wanted it, is that correct?

Mr. BIALEK. That is right, as far as I can recall. I mean, he has never said he wants to do this or that. He just says, "Is the car here?" Usually I do not have my car.

Mr. RUSSELL. For what period of time did he use your car yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. He brought it back, I would say, around 4. You were there at the time, were you not, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. I think he picked it up in the morning. When I went to work in the morning I left it over to be washed, and have gas put into it, and when it was ready, I don't know, I just told him he could have it when it was ready, and maybe he waited around or maybe he



did not. I do not know. The exact time would not be accurate because of that, but it seems to me it was in the morning.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Bialek, do you belong to any organizations at the present time?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes; I belong to the D. C. Pharmaceutical Association. I belong to the American Pharmaceutical Association. I am a member of the fraternity that I joined when I was at the university. That is all I can recall now.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been a member of the Biro-Bijdan Committee?

Mr. BIALEK. The what?

Mr. RUSSELL. The Biro-Bijdan Committee.

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether or not anyone in your family has ever been active in the affairs of the committee?

Mr. BIALEK. What is it?

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether or not any member—the Biro-Bijdan Committee is the one I am speaking of.

Mr. BIALEK. What is that committee? I do not know it.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is a committee that was set up for the benefit of the so-called province in Soviet Russia.

Mr. BIALEK. Oh, Biro-Bijdan.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. No; I have heard of that committee.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether or not any of the members of your family have ever been active in the committee?

Mr. BIALEK. To the best of my knowledge, no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether or not any of the members of your family have ever solicited funds on behalf of that committee?

Mr. BIALEK. I myself have not.

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

Mr. BIALEK. I never have been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever file application to become a member?

Mr. BIALEK. I have never filed application to become a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. RUSSELL. Has anyone ever attempted to solicit your membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. I have been solicited for a lot of things, I would not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. You would not know whether or not you were ever asked to become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yesterday when Mr. Wheeler talked to you, did you furnish him with specimens of your handwriting?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes; I did. I believe on two occasions.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Bialek, I show you a certificate of title of a motor vehicle (exhibiting photostatic copy to witness), on the reverse side of which there is written the name of William Rosen, with the address 5405 Thirteenth Street NW. I ask you whether or not the handwriting appearing thereon is similar to any person whom you may know.

Mr. BIALEK. May I study this?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. That is a hard question to answer. I have never seen anyone write the name "William Rosen." I have seen myself write this—well, I have seen myself do that.

Mr. RUSSELL. The address?

Mr. BIALEK. I am sorry, I have seen myself do that yesterday. I am not an expert on this, but—no, that does not do anything for me. I could not help you a thing with that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever purchased any automobiles from Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. BIALEK. I, personally?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. Never. I had a deposit there in 1945.

Mr. RUSSELL. In 1946, do you recall whether or not you had a Chevrolet sedan?

Mr. BIALEK. I had a '46, blue, that is, two-tone blue, Chevrolet sedan, which was the first car I had when I got out of the service.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the name of the company from whom you purchased?

Mr. BIALEK. Lustine-Nicholson.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall what disposition was made of that automobile?

Mr. BIALEK. I traded it in on the present car I own now.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you purchased the first automobile from Lustine-Nicholson, did you trade in another car?

Mr. BIALEK. It was a straight cash deal.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. The first car that I have ever owned in my life, incidentally, I am proud of it.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you traded the Chevrolet in on the Plymouth did you change license plates?

Mr. BIALEK. Gardner Motor Co. took care of all of that. I think it was either the last part of January or the early part of January, and I am sure they just changed title, changed the plates right then, and then I changed my Maryland plates when I moved out to Maryland, which I have on the car now.

Mr. RUSSELL. Prior to the Chevrolet did you ever own any other automobile?

Mr. BIALEK. Prior to 1946?

Mr. RUSSELL. 1946.

Mr. BIALEK. Yes, I owned a 1941 Chevrolet convertible.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall how you purchased that automobile?

Mr. BIALEK. From Lustine-Nicholson. I said that was a straight cash deal.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is a straight cash deal. That is a 1941—the Chevrolet?

Mr. BIALEK. 1941 and 1946. You see, my car was sold after I went into the service.

Mr. RUSSELL. Prior to 1941 did you own any other automobile?

Mr. BIALEK. I never did. I always drove my father's.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Appell has a few questions he would like to ask Mr. Bialek.

Mr. McDOWELL. All right.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know John Coddington?

Mr. BIALEK. No; to the best of my knowledge, no.

Mr. APPELL. Sol Rosenthal? He has a brother by the name of Allen.

Mr. BIALEK. To the best of my knowledge, no.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know the van Eckhardts that live at 1730 Q Street NW.?

Mr. BIALEK. To the best of my knowledge, no.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you lived on Thirteenth Street NW., did your family ever have any boarders there or visitors who stayed for an extended period of time?

Mr. BIALEK. We have never had a boarder living at our house until my brother and I went into the service, in the years that I would remember, which would go back prior to 1936.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you personally acquainted with Joseph Cherner?

Mr. BIALEK. I know the man when I see him. He is a fairly outstanding man in the community, in my opinion. As far as any acquaintances, I do not have any. I mean, you are bound to meet people time and again, and give a nodding hello. I do not even know whether he knows me. I would know him if I saw him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Bialek, you appear before the committee by virtue of a subpoena which was served upon you yesterday by Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Bialek, have you been in close touch with the activities, organizational activities, of your brother Robert in recent years?

Mr. BIALEK. Not close at all. You see, I was older than he, and still older, we still exist; 4½ years older than he is.

Mr. VAIL. Do you know whether or not Robert is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. I could not answer that question, the same as he could not answer it for me under oath.

Mr. RUSSELL. You mean you do not know whether he is or not?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know, you see. I mean, the same way that he would not know I am, yet I have made the statement here that I never have been.

Mr. VAIL. He has never discussed with you at any time his political trend of thought?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I know he is interested in the social sciences because he took the social sciences in school. Beyond that, when I came back from the service, I lived at the house for about 6 weeks, I think it was, and then I moved to my own apartment; and he came back about 7 months after, and he lived in another part of town. Like I say, he has never owned a car, to the best of my knowledge, and there being a difference of ages, and a difference in the people we go around with, we just do not meet, except when we have dinner over at the folks house, or things like that, at which time, I mean any family has discussions at one time or another. That is about all.

Mr. VAIL. Did he at any time during the course of the discussions indicate a radical tendency?

Mr. BIALEK. In what respect, sir?

Mr. VAIL. Did he indicate at all at any time that he thought favorably of the Communist movement?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I can say this: That I personally am not interested in the Communist movement and that, therefore, I would remember had something like that transpired, I assume. I mean the conversation just does not go along those lines. We are both of us persons who have served the country during the war, and we still feel that having been born here in this country that—pardon me for saying both, I, anyhow; under oath he has to answer for himself, of course.

Mr. VAIL. Do you belong to any of the veterans' organizations?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not at the present.

Mr. VAIL. Have you ever belonged?

Mr. BIALEK. I belonged to the American Veterans Committee when I first came out of the service.

Mr. VAIL. But you discontinued your membership?

Mr. BIALEK. I paid dues for 1 year. That is, I imagine the dues run for 1 year.

Mr. VAIL. Does Robert belong to that organization?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know. He did, I think. Now, I do not know for sure.

Mr. VAIL. I have no further questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are you through, Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. Thank you very much.

Mr. BIALEK. May I make one request? I believe you have a check that I gave Mr. Wheeler. Is it possible to get a transcript?

Mr. McDOWELL. This is an executive session, Mr. Bialek. The permission could only be given by the full committee.

Mr. BIALEK. I see.

Mr. McDOWELL. You might make that request to the chairman.

Mr. BIALEK. Well, how do I do that, in writing?

Mr. McDOWELL. Write Mr. Thomas.

Mr. BIALEK. Thank you.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

The next witness, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you Robert Bialek?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes. Do you mind if I chew gum?

Mr. McDOWELL. It is all right. Raise your hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you shall give the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BIALEK. I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Sit down. You may chew gum and smoke.

All right, Mr. Russell.

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT BIALEK

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. BIALEK. Robert Bialek.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address?

Mr. BIALEK. 829 Quincy Street NW.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. BIALEK. Colodny's Beverage Trade Service.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. BIALEK. C-o-l-o-d-n-y. I believe it is "n-y." I am not sure whether it is "n-y" or "n-e-y."

Mr. RUSSELL. Where are they located?

Mr. BIALEK. In the Cavalier Hotel Apartments.

Mr. RUSSELL. In Washington, D. C.?

Mr. BIALEK. Washington, D. C. I believe it is 3500 Fourteenth Street.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long have you have you been employed by that concern?

Mr. BIALEK. I really just started. Roughly 5 or 6 weeks.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you married or single?

Mr. BIALEK. Married.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your wife's name?

Mr. BIALEK. Dorothy Bialek.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was her maiden name?

Mr. BIALEK. Dorothy Bick.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where is she employed?

Mr. BIALEK. She is not employed.

Mr. RUSSELL. Does she work for the United Public Workers at times?

Mr. BIALEK. I should qualify that. I do not know whether it is formal employment now. She is filling in for a friend, where she did work for a time with the United Public Workers half days. I mean that is very temporary.

Mr. RUSSELL. Temporary.

Mr. Bialek, are you acquainted with anyone by the name of William Rosen?

Mr. BIALEK. I have been racking my brains; no, not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Lionel Rosen?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes; I mean, I remember a name Lionel Rosen.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say you remember the name? Can you recall where you lived at the time you knew him?

Mr. BIALEK. No; because I—I mean it was not very recent, is the point.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Cyril Rosen?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes; they were brothers.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you had any recent contact with either one of those two persons?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Eugene Rosen?

Mr. BIALEK. That was the third brother that I believe you mentioned; yes. I mean in the same category, just as names pretty much.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Addie Rosen, the mother of Cyril, Eugene, and Lionel?

Mr. BIALEK. The first name is new to me, but I do know their mother, and I have—

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall how you met them?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know where they lived when you met them? Do you know whether or not they ever visited you or your family at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.?

Mr. BIALEK. To the best of my knowledge—well, I would say no.

When I told you no—when I told you, I came down here at the time of this transaction I was 14, that was 1936—well, you will get to that yourself. I will let you get to that.

To the best of my knowledge, I would say no. I mean I never knew any Rosens really well, not as close friends of the family or anything like that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Bernie Adler, or anyone by that name?

Mr. BIALEK. What was that name again?

Mr. RUSSELL. Bernie Adler.

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Monte Rosenheim?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know anyone by the name of Joe Wasserman?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know anyone by the name of Irving Bland?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you borrow your brother's automobile yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Samuel's automobile?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you tell the committee where you went in that automobile?

Mr. BIALEK. I made my rounds, calling, carrying out my job.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you work yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you drive any other automobile yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Whose was it?

Mr. BIALEK. My boss's car.

Mr. RUSSELL. What sort of a car was it?

Mr. BIALEK. It is a Chevrolet, an old one, prewar. I do not know the model of it. I really just—

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your boss's name?

Mr. BIALEK. Samuel Colodny.

Mr. RUSSELL. How do you spell the last name?

Mr. BIALEK. The same, that is the trade service which is named after him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where is that car registered? What State is it registered or is it registered in the District?

Mr. BIALEK. It is registered in the District.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is a prewar Chevrolet?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes, certainly late '30s.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you take that car with you?

Mr. BIALEK. From my in-laws house to work, that is, to the office, and I left it there.

Mr. RUSSELL. Does Mr. Colodny reside with your in-laws?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. How was the car located at your in-laws' place?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I had used his car for the last 3 days, because he was in New York on a business trip.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did something happen to his car yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. Not that he told me about.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, what was the reason for borrowing your brother's car when you had this other car available?

Mr. BIALEK. You see, he was away; that is why I had it the 3 days. That is really the first time I used it. I do not ordinarily use the car on the job.

Mr. RUSSELL. He came back yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. He came back the night before, but late.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you tow an automobile yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. Tow one?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. And you had nothing to do with any other automobile yesterday? Did you sell an automobile yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ride in any other automobile yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Whose car was that?

Mr. BIALEK. My father-in-law's car, and I rode with a couple of other people.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who were they?

Mr. BIALEK. A Mr. Diamond; I do not know exactly how you spell his last name.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know his first name?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know—it is—I do not know it exactly, I do not know his first name formally—I do not know—I have never seen his draft papers or anything like that. I call him Ike.

Mr. RUSSELL. You call him what?

Mr. BIALEK. Ike.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could it be Isidore?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, it could be Isidore; it could be Isaac. It might be a nickname of some sort. I really do not know. I am inclined to think it is Isaac.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you go with him?

Mr. BIALEK. From the house of a friend to my in-laws.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who was the friend?

Mr. BIALEK. Mr. Gerstein.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know his first name?

Mr. BIALEK. Marvin. I used his car, too. We are close by, I mean I just sort of went back and forth.

Mr. RUSSELL. What sort of a car does Mr. Diamond have?

Mr. BIALEK. A Plymouth.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know the model?

Mr. BIALEK. I would say it would was a '39 or a '40, black coupe.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where was it registered, in the District of Columbia?

Mr. BIALEK. I should think so. It has got District tags. I am vague about some of these things, because I have never had transactions with cars.

Mr. RUSSELL. What sort of a car does Mr. Gerstein have?

Mr. BIALEK. A postwar Chevrolet.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where is it registered?

Mr. BIALEK. It has got District tags.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you give Mr. Gerstein's first name?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes; Marvin.

Mr. RUSSELL. Marvin. Where did you take Mr. Gerstein's car?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, we just went back and forth from his address to my in-laws.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you use any other automobiles yesterday?

Mr. BIALEK. No; I could have hardly had time, four in one day is pretty good, I think.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did any of those persons whose names you have mentioned dispose of an automobile in any way yesterday? Did they sell one, abandon one, or trade one?

Mr. BIALEK. I have no way of knowing that. Primarily, I drove one car, which was my brother's car. The others were for very short times.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know why you used those other cars in preference to your brother's?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, my brother was good enough to lend me the car. I do not customarily use it for my work, but it just so happened that I used it, and I happened—I was returning it when Mr. Wheeler was with my brother, and he had to get home to his family, so he used it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you use other cars on company business?

Mr. BIALEK. No; one more car there was I rode in.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. We drove my mother to see her mother, who is on the verge of death, and I went with my father's car. It is registered in his name. It is a very short trip again, and the car my father has he almost has not been able to drive since he bought it because of his illness, which you probably know about.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was your answer to the question?

Did you use the other cars, that is, those belonging to Mr. Gerstein and Diamond, on company business?

Mr. BIALEK. No; I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall for what purpose you used them?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes; I do.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the purpose?

Mr. BIALEK. To go back and forth between Mr. Gerstein's house and where the Diamonds were eating dinner and my in-laws who are very close by, so both cars happened to be available.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you a member of any organizations at the present time?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes; I am a member of some organizations.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you name them, please?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, that is pretty difficult. I mean I have been a member of quite a number of organizations or receive literature from lots of organizations on which you sign cards to receive literature. I have always been interested in social affairs.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you name them?

Mr. BIALEK. I really would not know what type of organizations you mean. Any organizations?

Mr. RUSSELL. Any organizations.

Mr. McDOWELL. All of them.

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I am a member of the Progressive Party. I really do not know of any others at this point that I am actually a member of for sure.

Mr. RUSSELL. From what organizations do you receive literature?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I have to refresh my memory on a lot of it, because this is the summertime, and I received a lot of it intermittently, and my dues have expired or my subscriptions have expired.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, did you subscribe to the Daily Worker?



Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never subscribed to it?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you subscribe to the New Masses?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never subscribed to the New Masses?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you subscribe to In Fact?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you subscribe to At Present? Are you a subscriber at the present time?

Mr. BIALEK. That is in a state of indecision. I do not know. I am still receiving it. May I ask here what the purpose of all these questions is? I thought I was coming down here to answer questions about Rosen.

Mr. RUSSELL. These questions are very pertinent to the inquiry which we are presently conducting regarding communistic activities in the United States, espionage in the United States, and we are particularly interested, insofar as you are concerned, in certain activities that you are known to have engaged in; and we are also interested due to the fact that the address which you once occupied was given as the address of a William Rosen.

Do you subscribe to Mainstream?

Mr. BIALEK. May I make a brief statement? I mean, I have nothing prepared. I came down on a very short notice.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, you know whether you subscribe to Mainstream or not. Just tell me "yes" or "no."

Mr. BIALEK. I will answer that question. But I mean it leads to a whole line of questions, and I would appreciate the courtesy of being allowed to make a statement. I am not trying to make—

Mr. RUSSELL. We would appreciate the courtesy of an answer. Then, if you have a statement to make, you can take it up with the chairman of the committee.

Mr. McDOWELL. Will you answer the question, Mr. Bialek?

Mr. BIALEK. Mr. Chairman, may I make a brief statement now? I have nothing prepared—

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes; go ahead and make your statement.

Mr. BIALEK. I came here on the supposition that I was testifying, not that I would have defied a subpoena or anything like that, but that I was going to testify regarding William Rosen, and so forth. Now, I find that I am going into all sorts of matters of conscience and things about which I am not certain, as a layman, of all my legal rights, and I just cannot see the bearing of this.

I am asked about—I am bringing friends' names in here, and, frankly, I have not been accustomed to getting fair treatment from this committee. My name has been dragged through the mud on a couple of times on the basis of secret testimony, and when people ask for the opportunity to testify or refuse that testimony they were never given that opportunity.

All of a sudden, 8 months later, I am brought in here and asked a whole line of questions again. I would like the opportunity to have a little time to consult with counsel or bring counsel.

Mr. McDOWELL. You have a right to have counsel, and we will grant you the right to have counsel.

Mr. BIALEK. I am sorry; go on.

Mr. McDOWELL. The pertinency of the inquiry and the questions propounded will ultimately be determined by the committee.

Mr. BIALEK. I understand that.

Mr. McDOWELL. Your inquiry about the questions here is of interest to you, not of us. It is of a pertinency to the committee to know whether you are a subscriber to New Masses.

Mr. RUSSELL. And Mainstream.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is the question propounded.

Mr. BIALEK. On that particular question; no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you subscribe to Political Affairs?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state the answer again?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever filed application to become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever attended any meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. I could not name any—not to the best of my knowledge. I mean, I have gone to lots of meetings, as I say, just as I receive publications from lots of organizations over a long period of time. I might have attended meetings of any sort. I drop in on street meetings or, you know, all sorts of public meetings. I have been around pretty generally.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been solicited to join the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many times?

Mr. BIALEK. How many times? I do not know. The Communist Party is always trying to recruit people from time to time. Various people have tried to recruit me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who requested you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not remember any names offhand, because I guess they gave up a long time ago. Again, sir, you might have ideas about Communists and I might have ideas about Communists. But this is certainly a matter of conscience, and although—I mean, I have told the truth, and everything, I certainly object to this line of questioning, having made my position clear, because I am not going to talk about—you get my point—I do not like to talk about people.

Mr. RUSSELL. We will outline the committee's position on communism. Communists are agents of a foreign power, Soviet Russia, they are enemies of this Government, they have carried on activities on behalf of the Russian Government throughout the United States, in labor unions, the Government, the movie industry, and in every other phase of American life.

Now, you explain your position on communism.

Mr. BIALEK. Now, you see what I am getting at, sir. Here he is asking me strictly a matter of conscience.

Mr. RUSSELL. You brought the subject up.

Mr. McDOWELL. You can skip that if you wish.

Mr. BIALEK. All right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall any other organizations that you have ever belonged to? Operation Subsistence, for instance?

Mr. BIALEK. I was active in Operation Subsistence, of course. That is a matter of public record.

Mr. McDOWELL. What is Operation Subsistence, Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Appell has more knowledge about Operation Subsistence than I have.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, Operation Subsistence was, I would say, a movement which was formed here in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of bringing veterans from all over the country throughout the United States to Washington to lobby for increased subsistence allowances. They lobbied for—I do not know whether they got exactly what they were seeking, this particular group or other veteran groups—an increase in subsistence here in the United States.

Mr. RUSSELL. Certain members, certain persons who were attached to Operation Subsistence testified before the committee, and Mr. Bialek's name was mentioned during the course of the testimony.

Mr. McDOWELL. I see.

Mr. RUSSELL. The reason I asked him awhile ago was that he made a statement that he had not received fair treatment from this committee, and I was giving him the opportunity to explain his position on communism.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is right. I think I understand the questions, and the suggestion of the investigator. I would like to make it clear here that it was not a demand, it was not a question. You brought up the matter yourself about your own thoughts. If you want to explain it, you can. If you do not want that, that is all right.

Mr. BIALEK. I would just as soon forget about it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, in what way has the committee given you unfair treatment?

I mean, you have a chance here to put it on the record.

Mr. BIALEK. I do not feel I have an adequate chance, and I do not feel that it is—as the chairman said, I do not have to answer it. I choose not to.

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

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Never have?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know John Coddington?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Lillian Tuma?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Who lives at 6224 Piney Branch Road NW.?

Mr. BIALEK. Marvin Gerstein.

Mr. McDOWELL. I did not get the answer.

Mr. BIALEK. Marvin Gerstein, the person whose car I used.

Mr. APPELL. He is the man who organized Operation Subsistence?

Mr. BIALEK. I thought we were not going into that now.

Mr. McDOWELL. Oh, yes. We will go into anything that the committee thinks pertinent. This is a pertinent question, so an answer is required, Mr. Bialek.

Mr. BIALEK. Well, would you repeat the question, then?

Mr. APPELL. Was Marvin Gerstein the founder of Operation Subsistence?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, there was no one founder of Operation Subsistence.

Mr. APPELL. Marvin Gerstein was the head of it, was he not?

Mr. BIALEK. He was the only one who held any sort of position, that is, it was very loosely organized.

Mr. APPELL. Who organized it?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know that that tribute can be laid to any one person. It was a very spontaneous movement on the part of veterans in the face of the high cost of living. Veterans' groups were coming from all over the country.

Mr. APPELL. How did these veteran groups come from all over the country?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I mean, you see, this is after 8 months, and I did not expect—I mean, I just do not have all the records, but very roughly I can give you the general picture on it.

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. I was active in AVC, American Veterans Committee, I am sorry, American Veterans Committee, and in a college chapter, George Washington University, some letters came there from other American Veterans Committee chapters, I mean. George Washington is the largest university in town, but I do not know all the reasons for it. I do not have all the records. I do not know where they are.

In other words, it was a very loose sort of—we were the hosts, in terms of helping them put people up, and making appointments here, simply because we were here. It was a very loosely constructed business.

Mr. APPELL. There were a group of veterans here from De Paul University in Illinois?

Mr. BIALEK. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. Did they write in, or wasn't it a fact that you people, through leaflets, invited them to come down?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I do not know which came first, the chicken or the egg there. I mean, you see, there are a lot of people who came that we never heard of, simply people who had read the newspaper stories, and I believe there was correspondence between the two groups.

To the best of my recollection they asked. I am really not sure of that.

Mr. APPELL. Where does Marvin Gerstein live now?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not mean to be hazy about that. I do not feel that there is anything wrong or anything like that. Certainly I, as a matter of fact, never got the increase in subsistence myself. I was forced to leave school because of illness and other financial reasons.

Mr. APPELL. Where does Marvin Gerstein live now?

Mr. BIALEK. He is at 6224 Piney Branch Road.

Mr. APPELL. Who made the arrangements of the various residences that these boys were to be put up in? Who handled that function?

Mr. BIALEK. I really do not know. I mean——

MR. APPELL. They were instructed to call on you.

MR. BIALEK. Yes; they were instructed to call me, but more than one person worked on it here.

MR. APPELL. I assume you were the chairman of the arrangements committee or the housing committee or whatever they called it?

MR. BIALEK. Yes; again this is 8 months ago, and I really do not remember everybody who worked on the thing now. Lots of things have happened in the last 8 months.

MR. APPELL. Who arranged the informal parties that you had here afterwards, the veterans who had arrived in town?

MR. BIALEK. No informal parties were arranged.

MR. APPELL. What did you say?

MR. BIALEK. No informal parties were arranged.

MR. APPELL. You did not have any parties?

MR. BIALEK. One party, one party was held where all the delegates were invited.

MR. APPELL. Where was that held?

MR. BIALEK. At the home of Mr. Lichtenstein.

MR. APPELL. Who put up the petitions for signing to abolish the Committee on Un-American Activities?

MR. BIALEK. I never saw such a petition.

MR. APPELL. You were there?

MR. BIALEK. Yes.

MR. APPELL. You never saw them?

MR. BIALEK. I did not see them.

MR. APPELL. You did not ask anyone to sign the petition?

MR. BIALEK. I was too busy that night to ask anybody to sign petitions.

MR. APPELL. Did you or did you not?

MR. BIALEK. No; I say—no.

MR. APPELL. Do you know a family by the name of Hyde?

MR. BIALEK. Of course, I know Mr. Mark Hyde.

MR. APPELL. Did you arrange to have some students put up at the residence of Mark Hyde?

MR. BIALEK. I do not remember specifically. I think I did, but I really did not meet him until after. I mean, in other words, he was just a name that was gathered, and I probably participated in the phone calls. The four boys from De Paul came in early.

MR. APPELL. Have you ever attended any meetings at the residence of Mark Hyde?

MR. BIALEK. No.

MR. APPELL. Social or otherwise? Have you ever attended any meetings at which Mark Hyde was present?

MR. BIALEK. I do not know. I have gone, as I say, I have gone to lots of meetings. I would guess that I have certainly been at somewhere he has been present. It is certainly possible.

MR. APPELL. How long have you known Mary Ann Lichtenstein? Is that the daughter's name?

MR. BIALEK. Yes.

MR. APPELL. How long have you known her?

MR. BIALEK. Ever since her mother was pregnant.

MR. APPELL. Then, you knew her literally all her life. Have you ever attended any meetings with Mary Ann Lichtenstein?

Mr. BIALEK. I am sure that I have been at some meetings with her.

Mr. APPELL. Do you remember what those meetings were?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, they would only be Wallace party meetings. She is a young girl.

Mr. APPELL. What meetings have you attended with Marvin Gerstein?

Mr. BIALEK. American Veterans Committee. Wallace party, of course, Operation Subsistence. I cannot recall any others offhand.

Mr. APPELL. Where is Gerstein employed now?

Mr. BIALEK. That I really do not know.

Mr. APPELL. You don't know?

Mr. BIALEK. No. By "really" I do not mean it in any sense other than the colloquial sense. I do not mean to say that that is any truer than anything else I have said.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Paul Hockman?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Dorothy Hockman?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Do the Hydys have a dog?

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you say "dog"?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. They are reported to have had two dogs.

Mr. APPELL. You have never seen it, though?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not recall seeing it.

Mr. APPELL. Have you ever been in the residence of Mrs. van Eckhardt, 1730 Q Street?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Allen Rosenthal?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Those are all the questions I have.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. McDowell, I have a couple of more questions. Did you ever own a 1929 Ford roadster?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever drive a 1929 Ford roadster?

Mr. BIALEK. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. McDowell, I do not believe that Robert Bialek signed this particular document in which we are interested. However, the handwriting examiners would be interested in determining whether or not there might be some family characteristics in his handwriting which might assist them in determining the name of the individual or the identity of the person who did write the name "William Rosen," and for that reason I would like to take some handwriting specimens from Mr. Bialek.

Mr. McDOWELL. All right. Mr. Bialek, the Federal law provides that this committee or a court may require you to submit specimens of your handwriting. We will therefore require you to do that now.

Mr. RUSSELL. Just write the name "William Rosen, 5405 Thirteenth Street NW."—print the "NW."

(Mr. Bialek complies.)

Mr. RUSSELL. That is enough, thank you.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you have some more questions, Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. You were in the service in the last war, were you not?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. VAIL. After getting out of the service, did you join any veterans' organizations?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. VAIL. What organizations?

Mr. BIALEK. The American Legion, American Veterans' Committee, Veterans Club of George Washington University.

Mr. VAIL. Are you still a member of the American Veterans Committee?

Mr. BIALEK. No; my dues expired recently.

Mr. VAIL. Are you still a member of the Legion?

Mr. BIALEK. Probably the same situation.

Mr. VAIL. You have two brothers, Mr. Bialek. Did they belong to servicemen's organizations?

Mr. BIALEK. My kid brother is not old enough. I do not know what organizations my older brother belongs to, except for the American Veterans Committee. I mean, he perhaps does not—I am sure he does not now. I mean, dues expire. I do not know what his situation is. He did.

Mr. VAIL. Do you now or have you belonged at anytime to any Communist front organizations that have been so described by this committee or by the Attorney General?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I have given the names of the organizations that I recollect.

Mr. VAIL. And they embrace the complete list of organizations?

Mr. BIALEK. Well, I gave an answer to that before, which was that I received mail or——

Mr. VAIL. Well, the question of whether or not you received mail has no bearing on whether or not you joined an organization.

Mr. BIALEK. I am sorry. In many cases it does, because there is a way of receiving their literature, their pamphlets, on social problems or their particular slant on current events, and so forth, and I guess technically you are a member, and I do not say I guess—I know technically you are considered a member of a lot of these organizations.

Mr. VAIL. You have indicated that you know a family by the name of Lichtenstein, the family of Sam Lichtenstein, very well.

Mr. BIALEK. Well, he is my uncle. I mean, there is a relationship there.

Mr. McDOWELL. He is your uncle, did you say?

Mr. BIALEK. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. Is it true that Mr. Lichtenstein is a member of certain Communist front organizations?

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know.

Mr. VAIL. How well do you know Mark Hyde?

Mr. BIALEK. Very, very casually, and very recently, mostly on the basis of some misinformation which was put out.

Mr. VAIL. Were you aware of the fact that he was a member of a certain Communist organization, a Communist-front organization?

Mr. BIALEK. I know him very casually. What his organizational connections are, I do not know.

Mr. VAIL. When these boys were quartered at the homes of Hyde and Lichtenstein, as I recall their testimony, it was to the effect that there was a pronounced sympathy indicated in both homes for the Communist movement. They contained Communist literature, and at

various meetings that were held of the Subsistence group, the discussion related less to Operation Subsistence than it did to discussions of communistic material, and the Progressive Party movement.

Did that Operation Subsistence movement have a twofold motive in bringing GIs to Washington? Was it for the purpose of propagandizing or was it specifically for the purpose, for which it was ostensibly set up, of lobbying for the Subsistence purpose?

Mr. BIALEK. I appreciate your belated curiosity. Congressman Vail. It was Operation Subsistence. We got an increase in subsistence, not adequate, but we got something. We could have used a helluva lot more, frankly, at that stage of the game. And, as a matter of fact, the group is not even functioning now. We are interested in subsistence. If it puzzled you then, you could have asked lots of people then. Where some of these people are now, I do not know. They asked to testify, people from the same area as the De Paul boys, and how true it is—I understand they asked to debate the DePaul boys in front of the DePaul student body, and they were even denied that privilege. If they want to snoop around people's houses and abuse their hospitality, that is up to them. We were concerned with subsistence. They were the only ones who were concerned with anything else.

Mr. McDONALD. Are you all through?

Mr. APPELL. Did Marvin Gerstein ever ask you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. What was that question?

Mr. APPELL. Did Marvin ever ask him to join the Communist Party?

Mr. BIALEK. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are you through?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions, but I think, Mr. Bialek, you and the committee understand each other perfectly. I do not see any point or any profit in going into any further questioning. It might be a good idea to take back the word to the comrades that the American Government, the American people, for the first time in history are going to face squarely the Communist Party, because we believe the Communist Party is designed by a foreign power to destroy our country.

There are 140,000,000 of us. We have been here for 165 years. This is a free country. The Congress and people, about 99.9 percent of the people, are going to see that we keep it this way.

You are dismissed.

Mr. BIALEK. May I ask one question, sir?

May I have a transcript of this?

Mr. McDOWELL. I will tell you the rules under which the House operates. This is an executive session. You are appearing before a subcommittee. We do not have the power to grant permission to have the transcript that you request. Your appeal should be made to the full committee, and I would suggest that if you want a transcript that you direct a letter to the full committee requesting it. It has to be given to you by a vote of the full committee. I do not see any reason why you should not get it.

Mr. BIALEK. I do not know how these things are handled in relation to the press, and so forth.



Mr. McDOWELL. Just write a letter to the committee.

Mr. BIALEK. And they will let me know the disposition of it.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes; I might tell you that I see no reason why you should not have it.

Mr. BIALEK. You see no reason why I should not have it?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. BIALEK. Except that I do not know the protocol on executive sessions, and stuff like that. But that is sufficient.

Mr. McDOWELL. Under ordinary circumstances you would be forbidden to say anything about it to any person. I see no reason why that should be stated to you. Whatever you want to do or say, go right ahead.

You are dismissed.

Mr. BIALEK. All right.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all for today.

(Whereupon, at 1:10 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>43</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 6:30 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Karl E. Mundt presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Karl E. Mundt and Richard M. Nixon.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell; and William A. Wheeler, investigators.

Mr. MUNDT. The committee will come to order.

Will you be sworn, Mr. Chambers, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Nixon, will you ask the witness the questions you have in mind?

Mr. NIXON. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chambers, you have been called to this executive session for the purpose of giving the committee any information you may have concerning your acquisition of a piece of property in Westminster, Md., which the records indicate was also at one time either acquired by Mr. Alger Hiss or was—

Mr. MUNDT. I think the records show that Mr. Alger Hiss forfeited on the purchase contract.

Mr. NIXON. That is correct.

Now, Mr. Chambers, did you ever acquire any property in Westminster, Md.?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know of your own knowledge whether Mr. Alger Hiss ever acquired or attempted to acquire some property in Westminster, Md.?

<sup>43</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and made public with this printing.

Mr. CHAMBERS. He attempted. To the best of my knowledge, he never acquired property in Westminster, Md.

Mr. NIXON. Was this property that he attempted to acquire the same property that you acquired?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. MUNDT. Was it a farmhouse?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was a small, rather ramshackle, unpainted Maryland, very small, Maryland farmhouse that had been built by a local carpenter for himself and his wife.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you tell the committee when you first discussed this house with Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Shall I just give it chronologically?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; tell the committee in your own words.

Mr. NIXON. Will you identify the house?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is the house.

Mr. NIXON. Let the record show the witness has been shown a copy of the Baltimore News-Post for August 27.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is the house as of today.

Mr. NIXON. But you recognize that as the house?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; that is the house.

Mr. MUNDT. Will you first describe the differences in the appearance of the house as of today and when you saw it.

Mr. CHAMBERS. In the first place, when we first got it this basement room had not been built. That was just a porch or part of the house jutting over the ground on stilts. We added this concrete basement, the window. Then, the electricity was put in by us. I think those are the chief differences.

Mr. MUNDT. I think I should tell the committee that this morning early when Mr. Ault, the reporter who wrote that story for the Baltimore News-Post, came down to see me, he described the house and I looked at it and said, "This doesn't seem to be such a dilapidated house as you described on the telephone." I talked with the former owner and Mr. Case, the real-estate man, and he said at the time it was purchased by Hiss, and at the time it was purchased by Chambers, it had a porch which was built on stilts, and completely corroborates the description you have just given.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. That porch was in very bad shape, and the roof was practically rotted away.

Mr. MUNDT. You may proceed in your own words and tell the committee everything you can recall about that series of events.

Mr. CHAMBERS. As well as I can remember, Mr. Hiss and I had talked about how much each of us would like to have a small place in the country somewhere, but particularly I would like to have a small place in the country.

Some time after such conversation, I think it was he who unearthed an advertisement of Mr. Case's. That is Edward Case in Westminster. The advertisement was for this property and at a very low price. I think it was \$500. There was also included a little, ramshackle barn. Mr. Hiss then got in touch with Mr. Case and made a down payment or deposit of some kind.

Mr. NIXON. How do you know that, Mr. Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He must have told me that.

Mr. NIXON. You are testifying then from your recollection?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am testifying from my recollection. I just brushed this story before I came here, didn't read it carefully at all.

He then at some time took Mrs. Hiss up there, and Mrs. Hiss did not like the place and did not like the countryside. I heard her say this.

Mr. NIXON. You heard Mrs. Hiss say she didn't like the place?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Some such expression like "a nasty, narrow valley."

Mr. NIXON. "Nasty, narrow valley"?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Which is natural for somebody brought up in the Pennsylvania valleys.

Then, Hiss called off his arrangement with the realtor. Then, some time later, according to my recollection almost a year, but I could be mistaken, I appeared on the scene; that is, I got in touch with Case—I left out an important thing—I made one trip up there with Alger Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. You did?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Only one, that you can recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Only one, I think. Mrs. Hiss may have been there, too, but I do not recall that.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall which car you took that trip in?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My recollection is it was the old one.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, he still had the old car at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think so. I am pretty sure it wasn't the Plymouth, because the roads at that time were frightful. They also have been improved since that date, but that house stood on something called Bixler's Church Road, and that is rough and with wet spots that were practically the year around, never got much better. I am afraid he couldn't have got the other car up there without being mired. I think it had to be the Ford.

I notice in this story it is stated that we stayed at the hotel. I gather the hotel in Westminster. I am sure that isn't true. I don't think it could possibly have been true.

So, I made one trip up there with him and saw this place. It was after that that he called off this arrangement and then still later—as nearly as I can recall, it was a good deal later—that I came into the picture.

I also left the deposit with the agent. Now there is a point that has to be clarified. Hiss did not know that I was in the picture then. I did not want him to know it, because I bought the house under my name, and didn't want him to know my real name. As far as I know he never knew I had that place, nor did I want him to. I had a great deal of trouble with the realtor over the business. I think this should be off the record.

Mr. MUNDT. Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

Mr. CHAMBERS. Case finally came through under pressure from the city treasurer of Westminster, a man named Eugene Walsh, who I think is also related to him in some way. Mr. Walsh fixed things up very nicely, and we got some kind of tax-deal title to the place, but that was way late in the game. That may have been in 1937 or 1938.

Mr. NIXON. Let's go back to the time when you first heard about this place from Mr. Hiss. Was it Mr. Hiss or Mrs. Hiss with whom you first discussed this particular piece of property?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think it was Alger Hiss.

Mr. NIXON. That came up, you testified, as a result of the two of you having talked about getting a place in the country?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; but I must take the greater part of the blame for that. My interest was in the country, rather than his. The impetus came from me.

Mr. NIXON. Then, Mr. Hiss, you say, though, found the original ad, as you recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am reasonably sure it was he who found the ad.

Mr. NIXON. Did you know that Mr. Hiss or Mrs. Hiss had contacted the real-estate agent or what did you know about the actual business end of the transaction?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Very little. I knew he had made a deposit at some time, but I don't recall now anything else and didn't realize there was this vast correspondence involved.

Mr. NIXON. You are speaking of the correspondence that now appears?

Mr. CHAMBERS. There are some letters in here.

Mr. NIXON. But you do know that the Hisses told you that they had made a deposit?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is certain.

Mr. MUNDT. It was mentioned in the article that Hiss left some tools in the place at the time he lost his deposit or that they raised the price on him and he decided to let the property go back. I think they said in the article, or the reporter told me, the tools were still there.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think this should be off the record.

Mr. MUNDT. Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

Mr. NIXON. Let's get back to what you and the Hisses knew about this house. You discussed the deposit. You also testified that Mrs. Hiss didn't like the place.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. You recall her mentioning the fact that she didn't like it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Definitely.

Mr. NIXON. Now you also recall that you and Mr. Hiss took a trip up there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And you are certain you took that trip?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Positive.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall whether you stayed overnight when you went on that trip?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I am sure we didn't.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know what day it was? Was it on a Sunday or a weekday?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't recall, but presumably it would have been on a week end rather than a weekday.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Hiss ask you to go up, do you recall, or do you recall how the trip was planned?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't, but he probably did ask me.

Mr. NIXON. Do you remember the road that you went to go up to Westminster? Did you go through Baltimore, or did you go through Gaithersburg?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think Gaithersburg. I think that was the first time I had been up that road, and the thing that I am impressed with was the sharp turn at a place called Damascus.

Mr. NIXON. Now, do you recall anything else about that trip?

Did you drive, or did Hiss drive?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I think he drove.

Mr. NIXON. Was it raining, do you recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think so. My recollection is it was warm weather, but I gather from this that it wasn't.

Mr. NIXON. You mean you are referring now to the period this occurred?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The story.

Mr. NIXON. You testify from your recollection you think it was warm weather?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think it was warm weather, but I don't think it was cold.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you eat any place along the way; did you take a picnic lunch or stop at a hamburger stand, eat in a restaurant or hotel or make the trip up and back between eating periods?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't recall. I don't think we ate in Westminster.

Mr. NIXON. Did you go see the real-estate man?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I think we went up directly to the place.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't see the real-estate man?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think so. I don't think we saw anybody. My recollection is we looked at the place and I liked it pretty well, and we came back.

Mr. NIXON. That was after the Hisses had already made a deposit?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can't be sure. I just don't know that.

Mr. NIXON. Are you sure the real-estate man didn't go up there with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think he did.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think so.

Mr. NIXON. You don't recall meeting Mr. Case at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I think I met Case—I don't think I knew Case until I went up there to negotiate, myself, about the house.

Mr. NIXON. That is the first time you recall meeting Case?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think so.

Mr. MUNDT. Was it as a result of your recollection of the place at the time you saw it with Alger Hiss that you first went to see Case to purchase it, or did you see it again in the meantime?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Between the time I saw it with Hiss and went myself?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think so.

Mr. MUNDT. The house made such a good impression when you went with Hiss that when you found he was going to let the deal go you went to Case and told him about the particular house; or did you just say, "Show me some houses?"

Mr. CHAMBERS. My recollection is I went to Case and asked him to show me what he had, and this was among the things he had.

Mr. NIXON. That was later?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Did you remember this was the house you had seen with Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. There is no doubt in your mind on that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not at all. It is different from any other house around there. It stands differently, stands on a hill.

Mr. NIXON. When you did go to Case, you don't recall asking for this specific house?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think I did. He showed me a number of houses that day and this was among the last.

Mr. NIXON. Did you buy it that day?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know whether I did or not. I think I left a deposit that day, but I am not sure. I think so.

Mr. MUNDT. When the deed was made out or some legal paper made out in this connection, I notice it was signed by Mr. Whittaker, not by Mr. Jay Whittaker.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Who is Jay?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My full name is Jay Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you sign legal papers that way?

Mr. CHAMBERS. At that time I signed erratically. Since then I have practically lopped off the Jay in my dealings. It was one name too much.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Hiss know that you had bought this place?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; he did not.

Mr. NIXON. You never told him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I never told him.

Mr. NIXON. Why didn't you tell him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Because I had it under my own name.

Mr. NIXON. Didn't you want him to know you had bought it under your own name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I did not want him to know that.

Mr. NIXON. But when you bought this place you were still seeing Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I certainly was.

Mr. NIXON. You are quite sure of that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Quite sure.

Mr. NIXON. And then you are sure that Mr. Hiss didn't know that you had bought this under your own name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't think he ever knew. I sometimes feared he might have found out, particularly after I broke with the Communist Party, but I have no reason to believe he ever did.

Mr. NIXON. Did you move into that place before you broke with the Communist Party or after?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I went there sometimes for a day before, but we didn't live there for any length of time until after I broke with the Communist Party.

Mr. MUNDT. Would you recall what year it was you went up with Hiss to look at the property at the time you went there together?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would think that it was 1936.

Mr. MUNDT. Could it have been 1937?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I suppose it could have been, but I don't think it was.



MR. MUNDT. At the time you went up there, were you living in this apartment down here, or had you been down to see Hiss on a visit, or where was your home at that time. Where was Mrs. Chambers?

MR. NIXON. In other words, how long had you known Hiss at that time?

MR. CHAMBERS. I would think I had known Hiss a year and a half, and I would think that we were probably living in New York, my family.

MR. MUNDT. I got to thinking last night back about the days when the Hisses had this Ford automobile it was quite common for people to give a nickname to a car, especially one where they had such an attachment such as they had for this Ford. Do you recall if they ever had a sort of nickname for the car, or did they refer to it as any particular thing, or did they say, "We will take our roadster," or "We will take our Ford"? Do you recall anything?

MR. CHAMBERS. If he did, I don't recall. It is possible he did.

MR. STRIPLING. While we are diverting from the main question here, Mr. Chambers, I would like to know this: Mr. Hiss is a so-called intellectual, and I presume that you are, too, and you both were in that category at that time. When you were in his home, at his apartment or his home, did you ever have discussions of theoretical aspects of communism?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; of course, we did.

MR. STRIPLING. I know that you had some, but did you ever have prolonged or intense discussions on this?

MR. CHAMBERS. I think if there had been more disagreement among us, we might have had longer discussions.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you discuss the theory of Marxism, et cetera, with him?

MR. CHAMBERS. Surely.

MR. STRIPLING. During the time you were staying with him, seeing him, et cetera?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. Did he have pronounced views on communism or interpretations of Marxism, et cetera?

MR. CHAMBERS. He had no unusual interpretations. His views—he understood Marxism very well, and had accepted it very completely. There wasn't very great ground for theoretical discussion. In other words, we talked more, I think, in the realm of current affairs, interpretations of current affairs, in the light of communism.

MR. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Hiss ever discuss with you his activities or his career at Harvard when he was an outstanding student?

MR. CHAMBERS. No; I don't think he did. He used to talk about the time when he was Justice Holmes' secretary.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you remember anything he ever told you or said to you about his relationship with Justice Holmes?

MR. CHAMBERS. No, I am sorry. He told me a number of pretty good stories, but I can't remember good stories. He had several about the Justice.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever bring Mr. Hiss any particular volume or Marxism or communism or any left-wing literature to read?

MR. CHAMBERS. No. Mr. Hiss was not supposed to have any such books in his house.

Mr. MUNDT. When you would make these periodical calls during the last year or two you knew him—I think you went to see him fortnightly—what would be the primary purpose that you had in mind as you would go to see him at these meetings?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The problem we had, the problem the Communist Party had with this group of intellectuals, which is exactly what they were, was keeping together and somehow keeping within the Communist atmosphere a group of people who by their whole past environmental influence were not Communists, they were middle-class people, and my problem there was to bring the face of the party, in Communist jargon, to them so they realized they were in touch with the Communist Party, that it was well aware of them, it was personified in one man and it was a moral problem as much as anything else.

Now, along with that there were discussions but they were, as I said, simply on things like the Spanish civil war, or what the Hitler policies would be and what the Russian policies would be vis-à-vis Hitler's policies, et cetera.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you ever discuss the Chinese policy with Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, I don't remember offhand, but very likely we did.

Mr. NIXON. You definitely remember discussing the Spanish civil war?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; which was very much in everybody's mind then.

Mr. NIXON. When was the Spanish civil war?

Mr. CHAMBERS. As nearly as I can remember, it went on through 1936, 1937, 1938.

Mr. MUNDT. Your assignment as a Communist functionary with Hiss was to sort of make sure that these Communist ties were sustained and that he was kept advised of the Communist program and the Communist plans and the operations of this particular Communist cell of which he was a member, more than to take him literature, and you didn't make that trip primarily just to collect his dues?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I did not. You see, these people were not only in a difficult position with respect to the Communist Party because of their past, but they were peculiarly isolated for organizational purpose.

Mr. MUNDT. Did you ever find out in your discussions with Hiss when and where he first joined up with the Communists?

Mr. CHAMBERS. If I did hear that, I have forgotten it. I recall, as I think I told Mr. Nixon, or thought I recalled, that he and his wife had met at Rand School in New York City. Rand School is a Socialist institution, and I think it would be very worth while checking into that. I doubt very much whether the Rand School has a good consecutive record or not, but people would be able to remember the teachers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they both go to the Rand School?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think so, and I think that is where they met, I think they told me that.

Mr. NIXON. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. NIXON. Then it isn't possible that after you took this place that Hiss could have come and visited you there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't think so. It is utterly impossible.

Mr. NIXON. That didn't happen?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; it didn't happen.

Mr. NIXON. Hiss never came to this farm after you got it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He never knew I had that place, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't let him know?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was very eager that he should not know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was in the name of Chambers.

Mr. STRIPLING. You and Mr. Hiss were good friends and you were both interested in the same piece of property and you got the property and you didn't want him to know you got it. Now, I realize the discipline there is in the Communist Party, but that just doesn't strike clear to me.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Really.

Mr. STRIPLING. Don't misunderstand me.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Let me try to explain something briefly. I think what disturbs and misleads most people about this whole case is the whole question of conspiracy and its methods. Americans are not conspiratorial by nature and tradition, and they cannot understand how conspirators work.

Now, this whole set-up here was conspiratorial and that, I think, is the answer to your question, Mr. Stripling. I had two compartments, Whittaker Chambers on one side, which is my more or less private compartment, and Carl in these groups here, and I did not want to make any bridge between them.

Mr. MUNDT. What was the reason for that? Why did they want that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Because I was here as an anonymous—not anonymous but pseudonymous party functionary. That was an underground movement. People were being kept as far apart as they could, anyway, and where it was possible to conceal identities, identities were concealed with a pseudonym. That is it.

Mr. NIXON. Now, getting back to this piece of property, you think the reason that the Hisses didn't take it was because Mrs. Hiss didn't like it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think that was a very strong reason.

Mr. NIXON. Now, I will say that the record which appears in this newspaper story, which you may or may not have read, indicates that the reason the Hisses didn't take it was that the owner died and the executor raised the price. Do you recall anything like that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know if that is true. It is true the owner died, Mrs. Shaw, but my recollection is she died after I paid my deposit.

Mr. NIXON. You think you paid your deposit?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think I paid my deposit just before she died, and it was her death which complicated my affairs with Mr. Case because the transfer then involved a half dozen heirs, some of whom were far away from the scene.

Mr. NIXON. Well, the letters which are published here from Mr. Hiss indicate that he was not taking the place because the price had been raised, but you don't recall any conversation of that sort?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't.

Mr. NIXON. You do recall for sure Mrs. Hiss didn't like the place?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That I am certain of.

Mr. NIXON. How long after you began to deal for the place did that come into the conversation, do you recall?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I can't remember exactly, but some time after she had made a visit there.

Mr. NIXON. But you never made a visit there with her?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think so. I don't recall.

Mr. NIXON. Now, on the matter of the tools, you think those were your tools?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

Mr. NIXON. When did you first take tools to the place?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I should think very shortly after I got it.

Mr. NIXON. You mean very shortly after you paid your deposit?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, there must have been some other tools there because this letter which was published here indicates—this letter dated May 26, 1936, before you got the place—indicates that there were some tools left on the place, but you don't recall any conversation about tools?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't. It seems unlikely that Alger Hiss ever took tools there.

Mr. NIXON. You never knew that he worked the place at all?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't think he did.

Mr. NIXON. But you do know he took some trips there?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. While you knew him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You know you went there once?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And his wife did not like the place?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. But you don't recall any conversation about the price going up with Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't. It is not beyond possibility, but I don't recall.

Mr. NIXON. Now, did you decide at the time you saw the place that you wanted it right then when you saw the place?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I thought it was a very nice place.

Mr. NIXON. Had you made up your mind then you were going to get the place?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; he was still in the deal at that time.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't figure then you were going to get it?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I thought he was going to get it.

Mr. NIXON. It was only later?

Mr. CHAMBERS. When he got out I decided to go in.

Mr. NIXON. But even then, as I understood your testimony, it wasn't that you decided to go in for this place, but that you saw the real-estate man, he showed you several places including this one.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And you decided to take this one.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I knew about this one, but I was also interested in seeing what else he might have.

Mr. MUNDT. At the time you and the real-estate man saw this place did you have any conversation with him at that time to the effect that, "Isn't this the place Mr. Hiss had?" You didn't let the real-estate man know you had been there before?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I am sure of that.

Mr. MUNDT. You knew by that time that Hiss was out of the deal?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I knew it.

Mr. MUNDT. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WHEELER. It is my understanding of the entire set-up of this Communist organization that it was to infiltrate into the Government to develop contacts within the Government; is that right?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, in your connections or associations with Mr. Hiss did you ever discuss likely prospects to bring within this cell?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; we did, and the one whom Mr. Hiss believed to be the most likely was a man named Noel Field. Mr. Field was in what was then the West European Division of the State Department. I don't know what his position was, but he may have been head of the Division. Hiss believed that Field was already very strongly pro-Communist.

Now, how he knew that I have forgotten, but I presume by conversation. He made a number of attempts to draw Field in and only to discover at the show-down that Field was connected with another apparatus.

Mr. NIXON. You mean Field was already a Communist?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Field was already a Communist working in another apparatus.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you recall any cases of that kind where he may have tried to draw them in and they wouldn't come in?

Mr. CHAMBERS. May I continue first with Field?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Field from Boston?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know. My recollection is that he came from a wealthy family, that he was the only son of a widow.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know if he is a Unitarian or not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't know. I think this should be off the record.

Mr. MUNDT. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CHAMBERS. Then shortly after that Noel Field had an offer from the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, and he took that and went to work in Geneva in the League of Nations.

The next thing I saw was an item in the newspapers somewhere that he was serving on the League of Nations committee to repatriate the soldiers from the republican side of the Spanish Civil War, and it seems in Gen. Walter Krivitsky's articles in the Saturday Evening Post, it seemed he said Noel Field was working for him.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. CHAMBERS. You asked me if he was a Unitarian. I think Ray Murphy told me he was head of the Unitarian Relief.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, back to my other question. If you can recall some instances of people that Hiss tried to bring into the cell, people who refused to join—do you know anybody like that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It didn't get that far, but he attempted—he had various people in for an evening or so whom he thought were likely prospects. Offhand I think of just one name, and I question whether or not you want to put that on the record.

Mr. MUNDT. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MUNDT. The committee will adjourn.

(Whereupon, at 7:30 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New York, N. Y.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 1:35 p. m. in room 108, Federal Courthouse, New York City, Hon. John McDowell presiding. Committee members present: Representatives John McDowell (presiding) and Richard M. Nixon.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Louis J. Russell, investigator.

Mr. McDOWELL. The committee will be in order.

The Chair will state for the record that this is a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities appointed August 26 by the chairman of the full committee, the Honorable J. Parnell Thomas, to further the investigation into espionage in the United States Government.

For the benefit of the witness and the counsel of the witness, the Chair will identify those here as being Investigator Louis Russell over here: Chief Investigator Robert Stripling; the gentleman from California, Congressman Nixon; and the Chairman, John McDowell.

Mr. STRIPLING.

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Stevens, Alexander Stevens.

Mr. STEVENS, will you stand and be sworn, please?

Mr. McDOWELL. You do solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STEVENS. I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Stripling.

## TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER STEVENS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CAROL KING

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please state your full name and your present address for the record.

Mr. STEVENS. Alexander Stevens, 8346 One Hundred and Eighteenth Street, Kew Gardens, Long Island.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born, Mr. Stevens?

Mr. STEVENS. Cop, formerly Hungary.

Mr. McDOWELL. I must insist again that you keep exact order here. This is an important matter and we are working against time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please spell the place that you were born?

Mr. STEVENS. C-o-p, spelled that way by the Czechs today.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that Austria? Is that in Austria today?

Mr. STEVENS. No. It was Czechoslovakia. It was Hungary originally and became Czech after the First World War.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first enter the United States?

Mr. STEVENS. 1924.

Mr. STRIPLING. At what port of entry?

Mr. STEVENS. New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. New York. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. STEVENS. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever applied for citizenship?

Mr. STEVENS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. When?

Mr. STEVENS. I don't remember the exact date. Five, six years or so after I arrived here.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the status of your papers at the present time?

Mr. STEVENS. I never get a satisfactory answer for my application. I think I applied once or twice after that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you here in response to the subpoena which was served upon you this date by Stephen W. Birmingham, calling for your appearance here in the Federal Building at 1 p. m.?

Mr. STEVENS. Correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here in response to that subpoena?

Mr. STEVENS. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Stevens, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendment to the Constitution on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever held any positions in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendment to the Constitution on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been known under the name of J. Peters?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the first amendment and fifth amendment of the Constitution on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever serve in the United States as the representative of the Communist International of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment and first amendment to the Constitution on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have here a photostatic copy of a document which reads as follows; dated March 17, 1932, headed "Andrew Smith":

DEAR COMRADE: This is to inform you that you have been granted a transfer by the central committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America to the CPSU—



## Communist Party of the Soviet Union—

your transfer has been referred to the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Fraternally,

J. PETERS,

*Acting Representative, Communist Party of the U. S. A., ECCI—Executive Committee of the Communist International.*

Now I show you this signature, Mr. Stevens, and ask you if you wrote "J. Peters" on this document.

MR. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment to the Constitution on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me or degrade me.

MR. STRIPLING. You refuse to answer whether or not you ever acted as a representative of the Communist International?

MR. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it will incriminate me under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

MR. STRIPLING. I have here another document, Mr. Chairman, a photostatic copy dated March 7, 1932, which reads as follows:

DEAR COMRADE: Comrade Andrew Smith has been a member of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. since 1922 and was transferred to the Soviet Union with a very high recommendation from the party. Comrade Smith, before receiving his transfer, gave all of his savings to the party. Comrade Smith is an expert machinist and we recommend that he should be given all possible assistance so that he could give all his abilities to socialistic construction.

Comradely yours,

J. PETERS,

*Acting Representative, the Communist Party of the U. S. A., Executive Committee of the Communist International.*

Is this your signature, the name of J. Peters, Mr. Stevens?

MR. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment of the Constitution on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me or degrade me.

MR. McDOWELL. Well, now, examine the signature. Look at it.

MR. STEVENS. I did look.

MR. STRIPLING. He has examined the signature.

Will you state that that is not your signature?

MR. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

MR. NIXON. What you mean by that answer, Mr. Stevens, is that if you answered "Yes" it would tend to incriminate you, isn't it?

Let the record show that the witness is consulting with counsel.

MR. STEVENS. I stand on the answer verbatim as I said before because it might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

MR. NIXON. In other words, the answer "Yes" might tend to incriminate you?

MR. STEVENS. Any answer would.

MR. NIXON. You mean if you answered "No" that you hadn't been the representative of the Comintern, that that could incriminate you too?

MR. STRIPLING. What is your answer, Mr. Peters?

MR. STEVENS. I will repeat the same answer; that I decline to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

MR. STRIPLING. Did you ever travel on a passport to the Soviet Union under the name of Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment of the Constitution. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been known by any other name other than Alexander Stevens?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment of the Constitution because it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Stevens, you mean by that, the answer to that question, by disclosing the other names you have gone under, that there might be a record under one of those other names, a criminal record?

Mr. STEVENS. I stand on my answer as I said before.

Mr. NIXON. I see no reason why by disclosing what other names you have gone under you could possibly incriminate yourself, unless that were the case. You see the implication which you are leaving in the record. Do you wish it to be there; in other words, that there might be a criminal record under one of your other names?

Mr. STEVENS. I stand on my answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, without burdening the record at this point, the committee has established through its own investigation that the person known as J. Peters is the witness who has identified himself as Alexander Stevens. We have a record over a long period of time showing him to be a Communist Party organizer, contributed to various Communist publications over a long period of time.

Unless the Chair desires, we will not continue to identify him with the Communist Party. A complete memorandum of his connections, known connections with the Communist Party, can be placed in the record at this point, if that is agreeable.

Mr. McDOWELL. It is so ordered.

(The documents referred to appear on pp. 620-622.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Stevens, the charge has been made before the committee by Whittaker Chambers that you directed an underground apparatus which operated in the Federal Government beginning in 1934. Did you ever participate or direct the operation of any apparatus which was under the control of the Communist Party for the purpose of infiltrating the Federal Government?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment of the Constitution on the ground that my answer might degrade and incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you stand up, please?

Mr. Stevens, this individual is Whittaker Chambers. Have you ever seen this individual before in your life?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him under the name of Whittaker Chambers in 1934?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question on the ground that it would incriminate me under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him in 1935?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment of the Constitution as it may incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him under any other name?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question on the ground of the fifth amendment of the Constitution. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him under the name of Carl?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer the question on the fifth amendment of the Constitution. My answer might tend to incriminate or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see this person in the presence of Alger Hiss in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment of the Constitution because it might tend to incriminate me or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet this individual in the apartment of Henry Collins at St. Matthews Court in Washington, D. C., at any time during the period 1934 to 1938?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment of the Constitution on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me or degrade me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I ask that Mr. Chambers be sworn. Continue to stand, please.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you shall give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

Mr. McDOWELL. I am going to insist on order or we are going to have to stop all the picture making. We must get on with this hearing. The committee must hear the responses of both of these witnesses. I insist that you cooperate.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, the witness occupying the witness stand has identified himself as Alexander Stevens. Have you ever seen this individual before?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first see him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. About 1928.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you see him in 1928?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In the Daily Worker office building in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. In New York City. Is he the individual who went under the name of J. Peters and with whom you worked in the Communist apparatus in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He is.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is that person. There is no question in your mind?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not the least.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have a seat, Mr. Chambers. Sit down, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER STEVENS—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Stevens, do you know an individual by the name of Alger Hiss?

Mr. STEVENS. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment to the Constitution on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in order to expedite the hearing, if it is agreeable with counsel, I am going to ask this witness if he knows of 20 or 30 individuals, and if the same answer is agreeable with counsel, will it be agreeable with the committee, to avoid the repetition?

Mr. McDOWELL. That we assume that his refusal to answer is on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate him?

Mr. STRIPLING. Under the fifth amendment. Is that correct?

Mr. McDOWELL. Is that agreeable to counsel?

Miss KING. It is agreeable.

Mr. STRIPLING. If special reasons arise, you may add them, but if not, you are claiming only this particular ground and so state.

Mr. McDOWELL. Proceed. I want you to pay particular attention to the names he mentions to be sure you know what your answer is going to be. Proceed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Donald Hiss.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Henry Collins.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. John Abt.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Lee Pressman.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Victor Perlo.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Abraham George Silverman.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Alger Hiss.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever know an individual by the name of Harold Ware?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask Mr. Russell to read the list.

Mr. RUSSELL. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Solomon Adler.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Norman Bursler.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Frank Coe.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Lauchlin Currie.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Bela Gold.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Sonia Gold.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. William Gold.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Abraham George Silverman.

- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. William Taylor.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. William Ludwig Ullmann.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Victor Perlo.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Edward J. Fitzgerald.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Harold Glasser.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Charles Kramer.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Charles Krevitsky.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Solomon Lischinsky.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Harry Magdoff.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Allan Rosenberg.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Donald Niven Wheeler.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Michael Greenberg.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Joseph Gregg.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Maurice Halperin.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. J. Julius Joseph.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Duncan Chaplin Lee.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Robert T. Miller.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Willard or William Z. Park.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Bernard Redmont.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Helen Tenney.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. RUSSELL. William Walter Remington.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Nathan Witt.
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know a man by the name of Joe Cherner?
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Earl Browder?
- Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.
- Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, the witness can claim the ground of self-incrimination where that ground is plead in good faith, but I suggest that the witness be again asked whether or not he knows Earl Browder.
- Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Stevens, do you know Earl Browder?
- Mr. STEVENS. I know him.

Mr. McDOWELL. You know him?

Mr. STRIPLING. You do know Earl Browder?

Mr. McDOWELL. He said so. Do you know George Wuchinich?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. McDOWELL. I will spell it for you. W-u-c-h-i-n-i-c-h.

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Alexander Koral?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Stevens, have you ever been to Washington, D. C.?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. McDOWELL. You refuse to answer whether you have been to Washington, D. C., because it may tend to incriminate you—the Capital of the United States?

Counsel has had much experience in congressional hearings. I must warn counsel that her advice to him must be on constitutional grounds.

Miss KING. I understand that, and I do not purport to answer for my client.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever been to Washington, D. C.?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I have a suggestion for procedure now. I think that the photographers have been here for some time. They have been able to get their shots and now it is disturbing the hearing. I think we should clear the room and proceed with the hearing.

Mr. McDOWELL. You will have five more minutes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the witness this:

Have you ever been in the Pennsylvania Railroad station in New York?

Mr. STEVENS. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have been in the Pennsylvania Railroad station in New York?

Mr. STEVENS. Sure.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been in Union Station in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer—not as before.

Mr. STRIPLING. You decline to answer whether you have been in—

Mr. STEVENS. That's right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been at the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Washington, D. C., at 3015 Fifteenth Street?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Jacob N. Golos?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I see no reason why this witness could not be more responsive to questions of which he has knowledge and for which he cannot be prosecuted, no matter if he did implicate himself before this committee. He cannot be prosecuted for testifying before a committee of Congress. I have evidence, Mr. Stevens, that you know these people, certain of these people; that you have been in their homes, and you are declining to answer on the ground that you might incriminate yourself. Your counsel, I am sure, can advise you that you cannot be prosecuted for what you say before a committee of

Congress. I therefore insist, Mr. Chairman, that he be more responsive to the questions.

MR. McDOWELL. Mr. Stevens, when did you say you came to the United States?

MR. STEVENS. 1924.

MR. McDOWELL. 1924. For 24 years you have been the guest of the people of the United States.

MR. STRIPLING. Not all the time, Mr. McDowell.

MR. McDOWELL. The evidence that he is discussing there now indicates that there were times when you left the United States for another country. You are now facing the Congress of the United States. In our hands lies the safety and the security of this Nation and its people and its Constitution. In your hands and in your head lies the decision of whether you are going to cooperate with the Congress of the United States.

Now, the Chair is going to ask you to be more cooperative.

The photographers have one more minute in which to operate.

MR. STRIPLING. Have you completed your statement, Mr. Chairman?

MR. McDOWELL. I have completed it, and before we go any further I ask now that the photographers retire. We are in a hurry here. We must get through.

The committee will be in order now. There will be no conversation and no noise. The Chair insists that you be in order.

Mr. Stripling, proceed.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Chairman.

MR. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, as the Chair has indicated, this committee has been sitting for some time now investigating espionage activities in the United States, and every time we have had a member of the Communist Party before this committee we have received absolutely no cooperation whatever, and it seems to me quite interesting that when those people have appeared before the committee they have used the Constitution of the United States, generally the fifth amendment, the ground of self-incrimination, as a shield for their failure to give the Congress the information to which the Congress is entitled.

We are not asking for this information because we are interested in it for our own purposes, but we are asking for this information because it is our duty to investigate these alleged espionage activities which took place during the war, and which are going on at the present time in this Government.

Now, the committee has been very patient with the witnesses in these hearings, as the Chair has often remarked. We have been patient with members of the Communist Party when they have come before the committee and have insolently refused to answer questions on the ground of self-incrimination, refused to indicate what people they know, refused to answer questions concerning matters which could not possibly incriminate them because they would be outlawed by the statute of limitations years and years ago.

Now this man here, who is the witness today, is one of the key witnesses in this entire situation. If this man were to give the information to the committee which he could, we would be able to answer some of the questions which we have before us.

Now, the ground of self-incrimination has been plead by this man. He is a guest of the country. He isn't even a citizen of this country.

For the past 24 years he has been in this country, and from the answers he has given it is quite apparent that he has been working to overthrow the very Government that has been working to protect him, and, as far as I am concerned, I am indicating to the Chair now that that I will move, when this witness leaves the stand, that we recommend to the full committee that he be cited for contempt for refusing to answer these questions on the ground of self-incrimination.

Mr. McDOWELL. The gentleman from California's point is very well taken. Much time and much money, much effort, has been expended on these matters, and will be expended on these matters in the future. I would like to say to the Communists of America, those present and those not present, that for the first time in the history of the Government of the United States that Government is going to fairly and squarely face the Communist Party in the United States, as we don't believe it is a political party at all. We believe it is an international political conspiracy, and Mr. Stevens, you might take that word back to the Communists that from now on the people of the United States are going to protect their own.

Mr. Stripling, have you anything further?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I have several more questions.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Stevens, I would like to ask you this question: Although you are not a citizen of the United States, you certainly are interested in doing everything you can to protect the security of the country, are you not?

Mr. STEVENS. Sure.

Mr. NIXON. You are. You, for example, do not believe that it is in the interests of the country that confidential information from Government files be furnished to representatives of other governments in an unauthorized way, do you? I am asking you the question.

Mr. STEVENS. I am not interested.

Mr. NIXON. You are not interested.

Mr. McDOWELL. I didn't hear you.

Mr. STEVENS. I am not interested to get those materials in a way you describe.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, then I think we are getting some place. I will ask you the question now: Have you ever furnished any confidential Government information to representatives of the Communist Party in the United States or representatives of the Russian Government?

Mr. McDOWELL. Before the witness answers, may I refresh what I think he probably already knows—that the crime of perjury in the United States is a very serious crime. Perjury means telling a lie under oath.

Will you respond to the question now?

Mr. STEVENS. I have to repeat the same answer—that I decline to answer the question on the ground that it will incriminate me—the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Stevens, do you know an individual by the name of William Rosen in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I see no purpose being served by continuing to question this witness, but I do ask that he be instructed that he is to remain under the authority of the subpoena, and we will



call him very soon to confront certain evidence which the committee has.

I have one more question. Did you ever confer with Whittaker Chambers or Alger Hiss regarding the transfer or sale of a 1929 Ford roadster in the year 1936?

Mr. STEVENS. The same answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. That's all.

Mr. McDOWELL. The same answer applies to both Mr. Chambers or Carl or Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. STEVENS. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. And to the car. Have you ever assisted in the sale of a 1929 Ford car, Mr. Stevens?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. NIXON. Do you own an automobile now?

Mr. STEVENS. I do.

Mr. NIXON. What kind of a car do you have?

Mr. STEVENS. A Chrysler.

Mr. NIXON. You don't mind telling us about that. That wouldn't incriminate you.

Mr. STEVENS. I already told you.

Mr. NIXON. Why won't you tell us about that car? How could the Chrysler incriminate you less than the Ford? It is a more expensive car. Now I ask you again, will you tell the committee about that transaction on this 1929 Ford? Have you ever assisted in the sale of a 1929 Ford, a transfer of a 1929 Ford to one William Rosen?

Mr. STEVENS. Same answer.

Mr. NIXON. That's all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STRIPLING. That's all, Mr. Chairman. Instruct him to remain under the subpoena and to keep us advised through counsel where he can be reached. We have been trying for a year to reach Mr. Stevens.

Miss KING. If the committee had inquired of me, I should have been glad to tell the committee where he could be reached.

Mr. STRIPLING. We didn't know you were his counsel, Miss King.

Miss KING. It has been a matter of public record for the whole year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you produce him when we ask for him?

Miss KING. Within reasonable notice.

Mr. STRIPLING. What do you consider reasonable notice?

Miss KING. I would say within a few days.

Mr. McDOWELL. We will be very sure to do that, but now I want to instruct the witness and his counsel that the subpoena issued on him, for him and to him this morning, is extended until further notice and that when we require his presence either in Washington or elsewhere, we will get in touch with counsel as she suggests. The witness is excused.

Mr. Stripling, call the next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Stripling, the witness has already been sworn.

Mr. STRIPLING. I suggest you swear him again, Mr. Chairman.

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

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF WHITTAKER CHAMBERS—Resumed

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, you have appeared before the committee previously; have you not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. He has been sufficiently identified in the record, Mr. Chairman. I think we should proceed with the questioning.

Mr. Chambers has been under subpoena of the committee for some several weeks now. I don't recall the exact date of the original subpoena. There are certain matters regarding Mr. Peters which the committee would like to clear up, and Mr. Nixon will conduct the questioning on those particular matters.

Mr. McDOWELL. The gentleman from California.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, do you know the man Alexander Stevens who was just on the witness stand?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I do.

Mr. NIXON. When did you first meet him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe during the year 1928; possibly a little before that.

Mr. NIXON. What was your occupation at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was at that time working on the Daily Worker, New York City.

Mr. NIXON. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was.

Mr. NIXON. What was Mr. Peters' occupation at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Peters was connected with a Hungarian Communist newspaper, the Uj Elore.

Mr. NIXON. To your knowledge was Mr. Peters a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was.

Mr. NIXON. Did you know it from any other fact than that he worked on this newspaper?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was commonly understood that he was.

Mr. NIXON. He was accepted in Communist Party ranks as a member of the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. NIXON. Now you knew him how long during that period—from 1928 to what date?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Until 1929; sometime in 1929.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Now when did you again meet Mr. Peters, and in what connection?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I met him either at the end of 1932 or during the year 1933 in the underground of the American Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Now will you describe to the committee when you first went into the underground and how you happened to meet Mr. Peters after you had gone in.

Mr. CHAMBERS. While I was editing New Masses, I received a telephone call from Mr. Max Bedacht, who was at that time I believe a member of the central committee of the Communist Party. Mr. Bedacht was also head of the IWO, the International Workers Order.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Bedacht, will you spell that name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. B-e-d-a-c-h-t.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you speak a little louder, Mr. Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I will try.

Mr. NIXON. Now, Mr. Bedacht was your immediate superior then?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. I don't believe I had ever seen Mr. Bedacht before, but I was aware of him by representation.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Then you later met Mr. Peters or Alexander Stevens?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. In what connection did you meet him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Bedacht went away on a vacation or a trip or used this as a pretext to turn me over to Mr. Peters and my superior in the underground.

Mr. NIXON. Where did this meeting with Mr. Peters take place?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe it took place in an automat. Where, I am not quite sure.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't meet him in Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I did not.

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever meet Peters in Communist Party headquarters while he was in the underground?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I never did at no time.

Mr. NIXON. What was the reason for that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The reason is that Mr. Peters was supposed to avoid the open Communist Party and so was I.

Mr. NIXON. You both were to avoid it. Now, when you met Mr. Peters, what capacity would you say he occupied in the underground?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was my understanding that Mr. Peters was the head of the whole underground of the American Communist Party whose activities included the entire country.

Mr. NIXON. And you know of your own knowledge at least that he was your immediate superior?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know of your own knowledge whether he had other people at the same level that you were in the underground?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is my belief that he had many such people. I could name one, in fact, Harold Ware.

Mr. NIXON. Harold Ware?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. In the same capacity that you were?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In the same general capacity.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Did you ever have any dealings with Mr. Peters in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

Mr. NIXON. Will you describe to the committee chronologically, as well as you can recollect, what those dealings were?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Sometime in 1934, I believe, Mr. Peters introduced me to Mr. Harold Ware. Do you want me to identify Ware again?

Mr. NIXON. If you will, please.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Harold Ware was one of the sons of Ella Reeve Bloor, who is a member of the Communist Party and still active, I believe, and his interest was primarily in the field of agriculture. He had gone to Washington, I believe, for the purpose of seeing what kind of Communist penetration he could carry on in the agricultural field.

When he got there he discovered that the possibilities for organizing the Communist underground transcended the agricultural field, and

either he or he and Peters then organized an apparatus, at least one apparatus of which I have knowledge, possibly others, which I can describe more in detail, if you wish.

Mr. NIXON. Well, now, you have already described that for the record, but will you tell the committee whether Mr. Peters actively worked with you, with the Washington representatives of this underground movement? I mean, was he ever in Washington at the same time that you were?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; Mr. Peters was in Washington when I was, on many occasions.

Mr. NIXON. Did Mr. Peters introduce you to any of the members of this underground?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Peters eventually, I think, introduced me to all the members of the committee, either individually or as a group.

Mr. NIXON. Individually and as a group both. Is that your testimony? Do you know whether or not Mr. Peters knew Mr. Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Peters not only knew Mr. Alger Hiss but to the best of—I hate to use this phrase, to the best of my recollection he introduced me himself to Mr. Hiss, I think in the presence of Harold Ware.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever seen Mr. Peters in the presence of Mr. Hiss? Can you say that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; definitely.

Mr. NIXON. You can say that without qualifying to the best of your recollection?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Without any qualification.

Mr. NIXON. Now by what name was Peters known in Washington to this group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Peter.

Mr. NIXON. The name "Peter"?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I suppose it's sometimes Peters.

Mr. NIXON. And did I understand you to say in previous testimony that it was Peters who arranged the transfer of a 1929 Ford automobile which Mr. Hiss owned?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.

Mr. NIXON. You know that by reason of what fact?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I know that from Peters.

Mr. NIXON. From Peters and from who else?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Perhaps Mr. Hiss. I am reasonably sure that Mr. Hiss told me. I don't want to say absolutely, but I am reasonably sure.

Mr. NIXON. Now, how long did you know Mr. Peters during this period?

Mr. CHAMBERS. From about 1932 or '33 until 1938.

Mr. NIXON. Did you travel to and from New York and Washington with him on any occasion?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did. Both by train and by car.

Mr. NIXON. With Mr. Peters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, sir. The car might make an interesting aside.

Mr. NIXON. The what?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The car might make an interesting aside.

Mr. NIXON. Yes!

Mr. CHAMBERS. There was at that time working in the Bureau of Indian Affairs a Hungarian girl Communist who was living either as the wife or otherwise of Roy Hudson, a member of the Politburo, I

believe, a maritime organizer of some kind, and it was in her car that we traveled down there together. What year that would be I am not quite certain, but I should think it might be 1936 or something like that.

Mr. NIXON. Was it just you and Mr. Peters alone in the car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. The girl was driving. I don't remember her name.

Mr. NIXON. She drove the car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe she was assistant to Mr. Collier.

Mr. McDOWELL. May I suggest something here? Mr. Hudson, Roy Hudson, was at one time, I believe, the labor chief of the Communist Party, or a title that would correspond to that. He was a Communist expert on labor affairs.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is possible. I don't know.

Mr. McDOWELL. And up until the last 2 or 3 weeks I believe he was in charge of Communist affairs in eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and northern and western Virginia. I know that.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I haven't followed his career.

Mr. McDOWELL. He was very recently moved; I believe brought back here to New York.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, you have testified that Mr. Peters was your immediate superior in the underground and to the best of your knowledge was the head of the entire underground movement in the United States. Can you tell the committee whether or not Mr. Peters was, during the time that you knew him, in contact with any agents of the Russian Government or the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It is my impression that he was in a number of cases in which I do not know the details, and I can specify certain others.

Mr. NIXON. This impression was gathered from what Peters told you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In part, and in part from introductions which he made.

Mr. NIXON. In part from introductions?

Mr. CHAMBERS. In other words, he introduced me to some of these people whom I will now describe, if you wish.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Well, now, can you tell the committee any specific example of Mr. Peters' contact with agents of the Russian Government or the Russian Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. Mr. Peters around 1937, I believe, introduced me to a man under the name of Ewald, which I presume is E-v-o-r or E-w-a-l-d. It is a fairly common European name. Mister, or just Ewald, seemed to be a Russian, but I understood from Peters that he was a Lat, from Latvia. This Ewald later became internationally famous as the result of his disappearance.

Shall I go into this whole story to the best of my knowledge?

Mr. NIXON. Yes; if you will, at this time. Let me say for the record that we wish to establish—since we have no documentary evidence—by your own testimony how well you knew Peters and how much you knew about his activities.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Well, we have two lines of testimony here, haven't we?

Mr. NIXON. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Which shall I proceed along first?

Mr. NIXON. Well, the line that you were proceeding on.

Mr. CHAMBERS. All right. About 1937, I believe, two Americans traveling to Europe under the name of Robinson dropped out of sight in Italy. They were then, I believe, traced on their way to Russia traveling under another set of passports in the name of Rubins.

Some time later a very distracted woman appeared in the American Embassy in Moscow and said, I believe, that she was the woman of this Robinson-Rubins passport, and that her husband had been seized by the Russian secret police and she could find no trace of him and she was in fear of her life. She was living at a hotel somewhere near the Embassy, I believe, and she went back to her hotel.

The Embassy people got worried about her and very shortly thereafter went to look her up. I don't know whether I put in there that she was an American, an American citizen. When they got to the hotel the manager denied that there was such a person there, denied that he knew such a person. Our Embassy people, however, had her room number and insisted on going up.

As they went up they found men moving furniture from that room, moving out the furniture from that room. The woman was gone. Later she turned up in a Soviet prison and our people had an interview with her in the presence of a secret-police man.

Mrs. Rubins said that she was happy in prison and did not wish to return to the United States, did not wish to have any help from Americans. Mr. Robinson-Rubins was Ewald.

Mr. NIXON. He was Ewald. Now, do you know from any of your conversations with Peters whether he had any connection with this Robinson-Rubins-Ewald case that you have spoken about?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I understood not only that he had connection with that case but I gather that prior to that Peters and this man Ewald had been working together securing false passports for birth certificates or naturalization papers on which American passports could be secured.

Mr. NIXON. How were the passports on the Robinson-Rubins case obtained?

Mr. CHAMBERS. They were obtained in a rather unusual way. Instead of going through the usual channels, the Robinson-Rubins or their representatives went to one of the New York councilmen and the passports were issued through his office. Later I believe it was established that clerks in his office were Communists or suspected Communists, and I understood from Mr. Peters that he had arranged the passport deal from Ewald Robinson and Rubins.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Peters arranged the passport deal. That is what he told you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Now during the time that Peters was head of the underground, would you say that during that time he was working in the interests of the Government of the Soviet Union rather than in the interests of the United States?

Mr. CHAMBERS. He was certainly not working in the interests of the United States. He was working against the interests of the United States. How directly he was working for the Government of the Soviet Union I don't think I can say absolutely, but it is implied that every Communist, by the fact of being a Communist, is working for the Government of the Soviet Union.

MR. NIXON. Did Mr. Peters ever tell you of any of his experiences—I am attempting to establish by this question—

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; occasionally he reminisced and I remember he told me of his experiences in the First World War when he was probably a noncommissioned officer first on the Serbian front and later on the Russian front and then on the Italian front.

I remember one incident especially of the Italian campaign. At zero hour they were supposed to advance against very strong Italian lines in the mountains, and the lines were considered so strong that it was feared that the soldiers, the Austrian soldiers, wouldn't advance.

However, they did, and as they came into the Italian line they found line after line of men dead, the reason being that the Germans who had come up in support of the Austrians had shelled the Italians from beyond the hills, and due to some structure of the terrain the Austrians had not heard the barrage.

He also told me that he was believed by the soldiers to bear a charmed life, so that during a heavy fire they would cluster around him, endangering themselves and him.

I remember him telling me that toward the end of the war, when the Austrian armies were crumbling, the first soldiers of the Soviets were appearing, he was called up for some kind of insubordination, I believe, and took his medals and either handed them or tossed them at his superior officer.

MR. NIXON. I have no further questions on the Peters phase at this time.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, when you were operating in Washington this underground apparatus, Mr. Peters was your superior?

MR. CHAMBERS. He was.

MR. STRIPLING. Did he from time to time direct you to arrange certain meetings?

MR. CHAMBERS. He did.

MR. STRIPLING. Between individuals who were employed in the Federal Government?

MR. CHAMBERS. That is right.

MR. STRIPLING. What was the purpose of those meetings?

MR. CHAMBERS. What Mr. Peters had to say to most of those people I don't know because I wasn't present.

MR. STRIPLING. You were not present at the meetings?

MR. CHAMBERS. That is right.

MR. STRIPLING. Was it the policy to keep you as much underground as possible?

MR. CHAMBERS. Completely underground.

MR. STRIPLING. Completely underground?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. Even though certain people were members of the Communist Party, all of those people did not know that you were a member of the underground; is that correct?

MR. CHAMBERS. You mean people in the open party?

MR. STRIPLING. That is right.

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. Did anyone in the open party know that you were in the underground that you know of?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe Max Bedacht knew I was in the underground.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any of this group in Washington? For example, did William Rosen—did you know William Rosen?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you see Peters at various times in New York City?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you joined the underground?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where would you meet him in New York?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Usually in Automats, Childs restaurants, in some of these cafeterias.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet him at the Communist Party headquarters after you were involved in the underground?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I never did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Back when you were the editor of New Masses, on the staff of New Masses, did you see Peters at various times at Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't believe I saw Peters during that period. I have no recollection of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you given to understand that Peters was a high functionary or an important person in the Communist apparatus in this country?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is no doubt in your mind about that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not the slightest.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, I believe when you testified in Washington on August 3 you stated that the people who comprised this Witt-Abt-Ware group were Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Mrs. Alger Hiss, Lee Pressman, John Abt, Nathan Witt, Charles Kramer, Victor Perlo.

Mr. CHAMBERS. You will have to subtract Mrs. Alger Hiss.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; I understand. I believe your testimony was that she was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; that is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, on July 31 the committee took the testimony of Elizabeth T. Bentley in open session in Washington, D. C., at which time she named the composition of two alleged espionage groups. She referred to one as the Perlo group and the other as the Silvermaster group. The committee has been endeavoring to determine whether or not there was any connection between this original underground apparatus as initiated in 1934 and these groups which engaged in espionage activities during the war.

Now we know that Mr. Perlo, Victor Perlo, who was a member of the Ware-Witt-Abt group, later headed the Perlo group which Miss Bentley referred to. We also know that Charles Kramer was active in the operations of both groups.

Now, the committee has recently obtained evidence that would indicate that George Silvermaster was also known to certain members of the original Witt-Abt group. Did you ever know an individual by the name of Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did.

Mr. NIXON. You did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he employed in the Government?



MR. CHAMBERS. He was then in the Railroad Retirement Board. I am not quite sure what his position was, but I understand it was a high one.

MR. STRIPLING. Was he a Communist?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; he was.

MR. STRIPLING. How do you know he was a Communist?

MR. CHAMBERS. I am sure. We had discussions on it. Not only am I sure we had discussions on the subject, but he was introduced to me by Peter with the implicit understanding that he was a Communist and under Communist discipline.

MR. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, Abraham George Silverman was director of the Bureau of Research and Information Services. He was also with the United States Railroad Retirement Board, later an economic adviser to the Chief of Analysis and Plans, as Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Material and Services for the Air Forces. He appeared before the committee about 10 days ago and declined to answer questions whether or not he was involved in these espionage activities on the grounds that he might incriminate himself.

In line with your activities as a Communist, did you ever communicate or contact Abraham George Silverman?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes.

MR. NIXON. Well, now, will you indicate to the committee the major instances that you recall in which you have talked to George Silverman, and what about?

MR. CHAMBERS. Shall I describe my original meetings, and so forth?

MR. NIXON. Yes.

MR. CHAMBERS. Peter at one point told me that he had a troublesome comrade there, a man named George Silverman, who was the only member of the groups who found the dues excessive, and he asked me if I would take on Silverman and straighten him out on the question of the necessity of dues paying, and in general keep up his morale, which was very low.

MR. NIXON. Then, that occurred approximately in what year?

MR. CHAMBERS. I would think it could have been at the end of 1936.

MR. NIXON. Well, then, did you know Silverman over a period of time?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; I knew him at least a year, perhaps longer.

MR. NIXON. Did you contact Silverman on any other matter that you can recall?

MR. CHAMBERS. Yes; do you want me to describe it?

MR. NIXON. Describe the circumstances that you can recall.

MR. CHAMBERS. In 1937, when I had definitely decided to break with the Communist Party, I thought that if I left the party, left Washington, without leaving any trace of myself at all—first, I could be assassinated without any possibility of a motive being established, and furthermore, there would be no record of anything I might have to say about it later. Therefore, I went to Peter—I don't know whether I went to Peter first or Silverman first, but the succession doesn't matter very much—and said that I could not continue to flutter around Washington here year after year without some kind of an occupation or name, and I asked George Silverman to get me a job in the Government. Mr. Peter agreed to this separately.

Mr. Silverman referred me to one Irving Kaplan who was, I believe, at that time cohead of something called the Federal Research Project or the National Research Project. I have forgotten which. Mr. Kaplan was then living in Philadelphia. I went to Philadelphia and spent an evening with him and discussed the problem. Now, I had known Mr. Kaplan before. He knew my real name.

Mr. NIXON. Did Silverman know your real name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; he did not. He knew me as Carl.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Now, you saw Mr. Kaplan, and then what happened?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I saw Mr. Kaplan, and he told me that he would try to arrange matters, and he tried to arrange matters so expeditiously that within, certainly within a matter of days, probably within 24 hours or so, I had a job with the Federal Government.

Mr. NIXON. You were on the pay roll?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was on the pay roll.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Kaplan arranged that job?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I understand that he and Silverman together arranged it. I don't know exactly what part was assigned to each.

Mr. NIXON. Now, under what name did you take that job?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I took that job under my name J. V. Chambers, if I remember correctly. Certainly J and probably V.

Mr. NIXON. That is V for Vivian?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I could be mistaken about that. The records will show.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall where you worked?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. I worked for the so-called National Research or Federal Research project. I was sworn in on the job in some office building downtown, I should think near Seventh Street or Eleventh Street.

Mr. NIXON. But you were still a paid functionary of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Certainly, certainly.

Mr. NIXON. Well, did your duties here take so much of your time that they interfered with your work for the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; they did not. Besides, my work for the Communist Party was sloping off at that time.

Mr. NIXON. Well, what type of work did you do?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was put to marking an index for some railroad-labor study, I believe, and I was told not to hurry with the job because that would bring it to an end prematurely, so it was purely a boondoggling operation.

Mr. NIXON. A boondoggling operation?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Surely. Perhaps I should say where I worked physically.

Mr. NIXON. Yes. Where else did you work?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I worked only a short time in that downtown office, and I was then moved up to an office, I would think about Fifteenth and C, which I believe to have been another office of the Railroad Retirement Board. Their main office was uptown, and I stayed there a short time. Then I was moved over to the auditorium, which was a vast circus over on Constitution and Nineteenth, somewhere in that area.

Mr. NIXON. Go ahead.

Mr. CHAMBERS. And after staying there long enough to establish the fact I was to establish it was ended, terminated.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you say that you took the job because you wanted to establish an identity?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. You didn't tell Peters that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; certainly not.

Mr. NIXON. The reason that you gave to Peters and to Silverman and to Kaplan, that is, that you had—

Mr. CHAMBERS. Was the need for a cover.

Mr. NIXON. That you had to have a cover?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Now, did you get paid while you were on this job?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I did.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall where your checks were sent?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; they were delivered to my home at Mount Royal Terrace in Baltimore.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall what your salary was?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't.

Mr. NIXON. Could you recall within certain limits as to what your salary was?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think it was more than six thousand, but I have forgotten exactly what it was.

Mr. NIXON. You think it was more than—

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think it was more than six thousand.

Mr. NIXON. Than six thousand a year?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And you got that job, you say, within roughly 24 hours after the wheels started to turn?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would say that this is a spectacular instance of the ease with which a Communist could at all times slide other Communists into practically any Government agency in which they had a foothold.

Mr. NIXON. And at the time that Silverman sent you to Kaplan, Silverman didn't even know that Chambers was your real name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; he did not know that that was my real name. He assumed that that was for the purpose of holding that job.

Mr. NIXON. When these people employed you and recommended you, they knew you were a representative of the Communist underground in Washington?

Mr. CHAMBERS. They gave me that assistance on that understanding.

Mr. NIXON. And this was a cover job for those activities?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. How long did you hold the job, Mr. Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I don't think more than 2 months; perhaps 3.

Mr. NIXON. After you left the job, what happened then?

Did you leave the party immediately?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think there may have been 2 or 3 weeks in between. I have no longer a recollection, but I left very shortly thereafter.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you severed your relationship with the party completely a few weeks afterward?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I disappeared.

Mr. NIXON. Completely disappeared?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, could I clear up one point?

Did you say Irving Kaplan was in Philadelphia?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was this Federal research project in Philadelphia?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That I am not sure of. It may have had headquarters or a branch there. I was never entirely clear as to what the whole project was.

Mr. NIXON. But you got checks?

Mr. CHAMBERS. There is no question about it.

Mr. STRIPLING. How much work did you perform?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Practically none.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just made an appearance?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I sat in the offices and made up some kind of an index.

Mr. NIXON. Didn't your immediate superior make you work?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My immediate superior was a Communist, Dr. somebody or other, whose name I cannot recall, but that will also come from the record.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Chairman, we are checking. We will check the records in Washington and get that. I believe that we get it—

Mr. NIXON. We will introduce no new names in the hearing here that have not previously been mentioned until we have had an opportunity to check the records. I might say also that it is quite difficult to check these records, because this apparently was one of those agencies that came and went in Washington during that period.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, on this Irving Kaplan, Miss Bentley testified on July 31 that Irving Kaplan was an employee of the War Production Board during the time that she was operating in Washington and he was associated with both the Silvermaster and the Perlo group. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not that is the same Irving Kaplan?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I don't, but I would assume that it might very well be.

Mr. NIXON. You had known Irving Kaplan before, though, under your real name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. He had gone to Columbia University where I believe he studied philosophy.

Mr. NIXON. When you did?

Mr. CHAMBERS. When I was there.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Now, did Mr. Alger Hiss know of this Federal job that you had?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I told him—I didn't tell him the purpose for which I wanted it, but I told him that I had got a cover job in the Government and his remark was, at least in paraphrase, "Well, I expect you will turn up in the State Department one of these days," the place where he was working.

Mr. NIXON. But he didn't know you were taking this job under the name "Chambers"?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. NIXON. He never at any time knew that that was your name, to your knowledge?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. This was what year, Mr. Chambers?

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1937 or the beginning of 1938.

Mr. STRIPLING. You think it might have extended into 1938?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes: I think probably the first 2 or 3 months of 1938?

Mr. NIXON. Before we let this witness go, to establish again by what may appear to be probative questions that we are talking about the same man:

Can you recall any other conversation of a personal matter with Mr. Silverman that we can check objectively; that is, as to his habits, or hobbies, or anything he discussed with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. He used to discuss symphonic music and his dislike for Koussevitzky as a conductor and his preference for Toscanini, I remember very clearly.

Mr. NIXON. Did he ever discuss this matter of dues in the Communist Party with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; he discussed that at some length.

Mr. NIXON. That's all the questions I have.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Strippling?

I don't think I have any questions, because Mr. Nixon and Mr. Strippling have done a very good job here. I think the committee ought to know, however, that this is a curious tale as it unfolds.

As I recall the days of 1937, the country was in rather desperate straits. Millions were out of work. Hundreds of thousands of some of the finest people of the country were raking leaves for \$50, \$59.50, and so forth, and a Communist could slide in the Government on the feeblest, phoniest excuse for work at \$6,000. It is a curious thing.

Also, Mr. Strippling, another curious angle of this whole thing, there was a witness ahead of Mr. Chambers who has been in this country for 24 years. I haven't heard anybody testify what was his legitimate occupation, if any. Now, here is a man who maintains an apartment up the street, just got back from a transcontinental tour, who obviously had some place in Washington, has an automobile, and for 24 years apparently this has been going on. Can you tell me if he had any sort of cover job or any income aside from being a functionary of the Communist Party?

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Chairman, the committee intends to divulge, in open session in Washington in September, the details of Mr. Peters' operations: but since he has declined to answer questions, I don't see any good reason to make it public at this time.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you any further questions of Mr. Chambers?

Mr. STRIPLING. No. I would like to say this: That the committee

is prepared even at this moment to put on a witness to place Mr. Peters in various responsible positions in the Communist Party as well as in underground operations, but there again, since the witness has declined to testify on these matters, I feel we should withhold these witnesses until the Washington session.

Mr. McDOWELL. All right.

Mr. Chambers, again may the Chair state that your Government is profoundly grateful for your cooperation. Thank you, sir. You will remain under subpoena until further notice. Thank you, sir.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Thank you.

Mr. McDOWELL. The Chair will announce that the committee is about to go into executive session.

(Whereupon, at 3 p. m., the subcommittee retired into executive session.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New York, N. Y.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>44</sup>

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 1:20 p. m., in room 108, Federal Courthouse, New York City, Hon. John McDowell presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John McDowell (presiding) and Richard M. Nixon.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; and Louis J. Russell, investigator.

Mr. McDOWELL. The committee will be in order.

The chairman will state for the record that this is a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities appointed by Chairman Thomas on August 26 to take testimony for the further investigation into espionage in the United States Government.

Those present on the subcommittee are Mr. Nixon and Mr. McDowell, sitting in the Federal Courthouse, city of New York.

(Pursuant to the adjournment in the open hearing, the subcommittee reconvened in executive session at 3:05 p. m.)

Mr. McDOWELL. The committee will be in order.

The Chair will state for the record that this is a subcommittee appointed August 26 by the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, J. Parnell Thomas, of New Jersey, to take further testimony in the matter of espionage in the United States.

Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

Mr. McDOWELL. On the record.

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BERLE. I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Be seated, sir. You may smoke if you care.

Mr. Stripling.

## TESTIMONY OF ADOLF A. BERLE, JR.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Berle, will you give your name?

Mr. BERLE. Adolf Augustus Berle, Jr.

<sup>44</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and released with this printing.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your occupation?

Mr. BERLE. A lawyer and professor of law, Columbia University Law School.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed in the Federal Government?

Mr. BERLE. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed in the Department of State.

Mr. BERLE. I was. I was Assistant Secretary of State from the latter part of February 1938 to the end of 1944 when I became Ambassador to Brazil.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Berle, on August the third, an individual by the name of Whittaker Chambers, who is now one of the senior editors of Time magazine, appeared before the committee in open session in Washington and testified regarding an alleged underground apparatus which he testified operated from 1934 to 1937. He gave the committee in some detail his participation in that apparatus. He also told the committee that in 1938 he left the Communist Party and went into hiding, as he referred to it.

He gave us the names of the following people who comprised this select group in 1934, 1935, and 1936. They were John Abt, Nathan Witt, Lee Pressman, Charles Kramer, Victor Perlo, Henry Collins, Alger Hiss, and Donald Hiss. Mr. Chambers also told the committee that he came to see you on August 23, 1939, and he saw you at your home on Woodley Road. I believe he recalled it as the home of Henry Stimson. I believe he testified that he was accompanied by Isaac Don Levine, and at that meeting he alleges that he told you of this group.

Now, the committee is investigating the many phases of his testimony, as you are fully aware and have read notices of in the press. I ask you now: Do you recall ever having met an individual known as Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. BERLE. Yes; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you tell the committee the circumstances, in your own way?

Mr. BERLE. I would like to say that I am testifying from recollection about something that happened 9 years ago. If there are discrepancies in detail, please lay it to faulty memory and not lack of desire to tell the story. My recollection differs in some slight detail from the statement which you have made.

In the latter part of August 1939, Mr. Isaac Don Levine telephoned and asked whether I would receive Whittaker K. Chambers who was then on the staff of Time magazine. I believe he was not then a senior editor but was working in the book review section, or something of that kind. He stated that he had had a suggestion from Mr. Marvin McIntyre, the secretary of the President, that it might be useful to talk to me.

He further stated, Mr. Levine, that is, that Mr. Chambers did not wish to come to the office but wished to see me at some convenient place outside. I suggested that Mr. Levine might call on me at the house we were then occupying in Woodley Road which we had rented from Mr. Henry L. Stimson. This is before Mr. Stimson was Secretary of War.

I do not recall that Mr. Levine accompanied Mr. Chambers, but that may be an absence of memory. Mr. Chambers came to see me at my house after dinner. This was the latter part of August 1939. My



recollection is it was a little later than August 23, but I wouldn't be certain. The reason for believing it was later is that the Hitler-Stalin pact had been announced, I think, on the 26th of August, and I, or we, felt that war would probably ensue rapidly after that, and my distinct recollection is that it was between the time that pact was announced and the day the Germans invaded Poland, so I should fix the date between August 26 and September 1. If this does not accord with the record, as I say—

Mr. STRIPLING. The date is not particularly important. I think we will agree it was in 1939. That is sufficient.

Mr. BERLE. It was in August of 1939. Mr. Chambers stated that he wanted to disclose certain information about Communist activities in Washington. He related a story to me that he had been a member of the undercover Communist group from 1934 to end of 1937, as nearly as I can recall; that at that time, and apparently as a result of the purge activities which had been going on, he had decided to cut clear of the whole thing. He stated that he had then lived in hiding for a year or more under various names. He appeared to be even then in fear of some sort of reprisal and was obviously under some emotional strain.

He said that in addition to the New York core, the party policy, the Communist Party policy, had been to try to develop a group of sympathizers who might be of use to them later in the United States Government.

This was not, as he put it, any question of espionage. There was no espionage involved in it. He stated that their hope merely was to get some people who would be sympathetic to their point of view. With that in mind apparently a study group of some sort had been formed of men who were interested in knowing something about Russia and Russian policy and the general Communist theory of life, and so on. He said that in that group there had been various people at one time or another but that it had finally come down to four men who had been named at that time as being in or about the Government service, and he mentioned Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Nathan Witt, and Pressman, who had previously been in the Department of Agriculture and at that time had got out and was counsel to the CIO. I don't recall the names of these other men. They were not in the Government service, in any event.

He said that these men, it was hoped, would go, as they called it, "underground"; that is to say, that they would not appear as part of the well-known or open Communist group, but that they would simply be there and be sympathetic.

In one respect, what he told me omitted something that he has told you: He did not make the direct statement that any of these men were members of the Communist Party. They were apparently, from what I then gathered, men who were sympathetic to their general point of view and to whom they might have access and perhaps a sympathetic approach in case anybody brought a request there.

I asked whether he had given this information to the FBI, whether they already had that information either from him or secondarily through some other source by which it had been transmitted, and I asked whether he would come forward and state that or whether this was merely an oral communication. He said that he did not want to appear in the transaction at that time; that he tried to cut all his connections. He didn't want to spend the rest of his life with this

hanging around his neck; that he wanted to tell the story, and then he wanted to disappear from the proceedings and not do anything further about it.

I said that this was a pretty grave matter, if true, but that we needed something more than a mere *ex parte* statement without somebody who was prepared to do something or at least bear witness; that it was difficult to bring charges or otherwise tackle the question unless somebody at least were prepared to stand to the facts stated. He said, yes, that was true, and all he could do was to give the warning, and there followed then a rather elaborate explanation of the Communist Party of the underground, which was not unfamiliar to many of us who lived here in New York and actually struggled with it. I think the entire conversation may have lasted an hour and a half or something of that kind. I think that answers your question.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. Now, may I ask this: Did you subsequently do anything officially or unofficially about this information?

Mr. BERLE. Yes; I did a great deal. I was disturbed a good deal, but not so much at the three or four men named. Mr. Pressman was out of the Government. To be blunt about it, Mr. Witt's statements and sympathies were so well known that what Mr. Chambers had said added nothing to anything that wasn't public knowledge at the time.

I looked into the then position of the two Hiss boys, first.

According to my recollection, neither of them had any position that amounted to very much in the State Department. My recollection is that at that time Alger Hiss was doing some relatively unimportant work in, I think, the legal department, and I have forgotten what Donald Hiss was doing, but neither was in any position where he either had access to confidential information or where he had much to do with policy, so for the moment there was no immediate danger.

Further, the idea that the two Hiss boys and Nat Witt were going to take over the United States Government didn't strike me as any immediate danger. What was interesting was that the Communist Party was really trying an undercover lobbying operation, which it really amounted to, plus the attempt apparently to reach various people who might be useful to them later, and that worried me and two or three people I talked to.

I checked on the two Hiss boys. Specifically, I checked with Dean Acheson, and later I checked when Acheson became the Assistant Secretary of State and Alger Hiss became his executive assistant. That, to the best of my knowledge, was the first time when Hiss would have been in a position to do anything effectively.

Acheson said that he had known the family and these two boys from childhood and he could vouch for them absolutely. I further checked and found that Mr. Justice Frankfurter would give them an exactly similar endorsement. You had, therefore, a chain of endorsements by the men for whom they worked, but reputable men, whether you agree with their point of view or not, and this seemed to negative any immediate danger.

Schematically, however, I believed that Chambers was telling the truth as he saw it, so I caused the Department to establish very close relations with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

A little later, a section in the State Department was organized which was then known as the Foreign Activities Correlation Division.

The name is meaningless, and designedly so. Its business was to follow all of these various activities, as they appeared in Washington, and in respect of any group that might appear to be sympathetic either with the Communists or with the Nazi-Fascist point of view. That section has been in existence until very recently; I think a couple of weeks ago it was merged with the Security Division or some similar section in the State Department.

We likewise established a weekly liaison meeting with the FBI at which we exchanged information. We tried to trace out the groups which endeavored to have representation through any individuals in Washington, and we endeavored to reach back to see whether the Communist apparatus was beginning to try to activate the foreign language groups in the United States. This brought it, of course, squarely within the jurisdiction of the State Department.

This still was pretty inadequate, as it seems to us, because it related only to the State Department. The Department of Justice meanwhile, knowing the espionage problem, began to get active, and we worked with them on some legislation. After all, there was no law involved in a man's being even a member of the Communist Party at that time. There was no evidence that anybody had been.

We accordingly caused to be written the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and that act in due time was passed by the Congress—as no doubt Mr. McDowell will recall. The administration was placed in the State Department. I actually administered it as deputy for Judge Moore who was then counselor of the State Department until such time as we could get it back to the Department of Justice where it now is, and where, of course, it belongs.

In addition to that, we had in one section of the European Division a little group formed to study the foreign intelligence in the hope of endeavoring to establish any link between the Communist group here and the Russian Government. It was our theory—and it is still my theory—that however well concealed, the Communist Party is not interested in communism primarily but is primarily interested in forwarding the Russian interests here. Later on, they may have some idea of world revolution.

The records of those sections are in existence and they are extensive. The work of the division remained good. It showed up later in the State Department, particularly when the State Department took over some of the rather loosely organized agencies. It took over later the Board of Economic Warfare, and still later the OSS. In both cases, there were people who had been rather hastily recruited and of whose records we were not so sure.

I think that the protection which those sections eventually gave, plus the added investigation we were able to make through the State Department securities' service and the FBI record in considerable measure kept things pretty clear. The State Department, as a department when I was there, was clear of it there with the exception of this—

Mr. STRUPLING. Mr. Berle, let me be more specific on one particular phase of this investigation which we have been looking into, namely, the case of Alger Hiss, because Alger Hiss came in 2 days after Chambers testified and categorically denied all of Chambers' testimony and certainly gave the committee to believe that he had never seen Whitaker Chambers.

In a subsequent investigation on our part, part of which was the taking of testimony in executive session of Mr. Chambers and Mr. Hiss, Mr. Hiss did testify that he knew Whittaker Chambers as a person by the name of George Crosley. Last Wednesday, we had a public hearing at which time Mr. Hiss was on the stand for about 6 hours. Now, the testimony as given last Wednesday, and the evidence which was introduced, certainly showed a very close relationship between Mr. Chambers and Mr. Hiss over a period of several years, and there are strong contradictions in certain testimony which Mr. Hiss gave.

As I believe was stated by Mr. Nixon, the reason for going into all these details was to determine the credibility of the witnesses. Now, this is an executive session. I am going to ask you if at any time when you were in the State Department, did Mr. Hiss ever do anything, whether it was on a policy level or on a minor level—did he ever do anything that would arouse any suspicion on your part as one of the two top administrators and officials of the Department of State which would lead you to believe that he might be either sympathetic to the Communist Party or that he might be, shall we say, serving the interest of the Soviet Union or the Communist Party?

I know that is a long statement, a long question, but what I would like to know is: Were you ever at any time suspicious of Mr. Hiss?

Mr. BERLE. A better way of saying it is: I was worried. I ought to say, begin by confessing a prejudice here so that you can discount whatever I say here.

As I think many people know, in the fall of 1944 there was a difference of opinion in the State Department. I felt that the Russians were not going to be sympathetic and cooperative. Victory was then assured, though not complete, and the intelligence reports which were in my charge, among other things, indicated a very aggressive policy not at all in line with the kind of cooperation everyone was hoping for, and I was pressing for a pretty clean-cut show-down then when our position was strongest.

The opposite group in the State Department was largely the men—Mr. Acheson's group, of course, with Mr. Hiss as his principal assistant in the matter. Whether that was a difference on foreign policy—and the question could be argued both ways; it wasn't clean-cut—was a problem, but at that time Mr. Hiss did take what we would call today the pro-Russian point of view.

Now, that was reason for worry. It is not necessarily a reason to draw the conclusion that he was a disloyal man because many people were quite loyal, including a good many of the Army officers who felt the Russian Army would be important in case of an invasion of Japan and that by consequence it was desirable not to raise any issues until later.

I say that in Mr. Hiss' defense, although I got trimmed in that fight, and, as a result, went to Brazil, and that ended my diplomatic career. I mention that, because I did have a biased view.

Now, there was one other thing that worried me, too. At that time we were all trying not to tell anything that ought not be told, and there were pretty consistent leaks whenever anything went through that office. Usually, we would know about them because they would come out in Mr. Drew Pearson's column, and one of the leg men was pretty intimate in that office. Well, this was reason for caution. It wasn't reason necessarily for indicting the man. I ought to state that

for whatever it is worth. What we actually did do, partly as the result of that but it must be added also for general security reasons, was to see that the ultrasecret intelligence, what was called the magic in the hearing, the intercepted foreign codes, never went outside of my own safe. I took them personally to the Under Secretary, to the Secretary of State. We didn't let them run around.

This was not any fixed suspicion, but just: "If there is any chance, let's not take any"; and other people besides Mr. Hiss or anyone else could give leaks to Washington columnists, so I don't know as you could allege that as fatal crime, but it just meant you are a little cautious.

Yet, in general it was true during that period Mr. Hiss was all for cooperation with Russia. This was also the policy during the war, and at the time when the question was raised as to whether we ought not to begin tightening up. He may have been right objectively. I don't know. I disagreed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Berle, when was the Yalta agreement?

Mr. BERLE. The Yalta agreement?

Mr. STRIPLING. The conference.

Mr. BERLE. As I recall, it was February 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you in the State Department?

Mr. BERLE. I was in Brazil at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with the persons who attended the conference, and so on?

Mr. BERLE. Well, I am familiar with some of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean Mr. Hiss was——

Mr. BERLE. Mr. Hiss was there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Quite active; wasn't he?

Mr. BERLE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Byrnes was Secretary of State?

Mr. BERLE. No; Mr. Stettinius was Secretary of State at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever serve under Mr. Byrnes?

Mr. BERLE. Yes; Mr. Stettinius got out, I think, in May or June of 1945 when Mr. Byrnes took over at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever discuss Alger Hiss with Mr. Byrnes, from the standpoint of——

Mr. BERLE. No; Mr. Byrnes was almost continually in Europe the whole time, and I was in Brazil. Actually I only saw Mr. Byrnes once or twice during my embassy activities and there is nothing unnatural about that because he was engaged in continuous European conferences, and by that time it was a department job, and I was far away.

No, the men that I talked to were his immediate superiors. The first we checked, of course, and when Mr. Hiss began to move up in the hierarchy with Mr. Acheson, I checked with Mr. Acheson.

Frankly, I still don't know whether this is the boy that got in deep and then pulled clear, or what goes on here.

You have in mind that when Mr. Chambers talked to me in 1939 he was talking about something that was then 2 years old at the time when there was no strain on relations. A man might be very much interested in Russia, and most people in the State Department were. I was myself, so far as that is concerned, so that about all you had to go on was that—and I must add that Chambers did not state to me

that he was a member of the Communist Party; merely that this was a group that was hoping to be sympathetic, so that was all you had to go on. You don't like to file charges against a man unless you are prepared to back them up.

As a result of this, what we got was the organization of a couple of sections in the State Department to watch, tightening up of the FBI's machinery, eventually the Foreign Registration Act, and eventually a rake-over.

Mr. Browder was indicted for a false passport violation. Frankly, the dangerous element here was not in a couple of minor officials in the Government so much as it was in the strength of the apparatus in New York and abroad. Not that you would displace one official and try to replace him, but the many, many hundreds of thousands in Government; that was the thing that gave cause for concern.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no further questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. I think Mr. Berle has covered the matter very well. I don't think I have any questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Berle, I think you have, too. We are supposed to be experts in the matter of subversive affairs, or at least we have available on our staff experts. You were a diplomat. You had many things to do and we are apt to wonder about certain things. I think that the apparatus that you described or referred to was much deeper than you knew and most certainly much deeper than we knew. We are just beginning to appreciate how deep and how widespread it was.

It was testified here before you came in by Mr. Chambers—as I told you in our conversation—that out of a mere whim to identify himself under the name of Chambers he was able within 24 hours to get a job, a \$6,000 job, and his boss, if I recall his testimony, was a Communist, too. Well, that testimony or similar testimony has run all through this, so it is our job now to find out how deep it went, and see if these men were acting—as the charge has been—as actual spies and couriers for the Soviet Government.

If you gentlemen have nothing more, I will thank Mr. Berle for coming down here. You have been very cooperative and very fine, and I would like to tell the members of the committee and the members of the staff that I qualified Mr. Berle's coming here today with the members of the press that under no circumstances was he to be involved in any sense in regard to status or character.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to say this, Mr. Chairman: That after the fifty-odd witnesses we have heard in the last 3 weeks, it is very refreshing to have a witness come in with the forthrightness of Mr. Berle.

Mr. BERLE. I would like to say that during these years which you are examining, as well as subsequently and now, I was a continuous target of the Communist press. In 1939 and after, I think I was public enemy No. 1 so far as the Daily Worker was concerned. It was hardly an issue, so that I am not seriously worried about being qualified as a Communist sympathizer.

I would like to say this: Like you, I have a considerable amount of respect, or lack of it, as you choose, for the Communist apparatus. I have had some experience with the men who have been in it and then got out of it. They sometimes tend to exaggerate a little the

depths of the experience they have had. They have obviously been through a violent emotional experience, and I gather that part of the Communist apparatus is designed to impress the people in it with the all-powerful quality of it, probably exaggerating their own importance.

It is a most infernal damned nuisance, and in time of war could be dangerous. I should question whether their actual importance at any time, except in a few limited areas in Washington, was as grave as they would like to make out. There was, however, a good deal around here, notably in certain unions and in certain elements of New York State and City services where, under the civil-service arrangements, members of particular unions like the UOPWA either came into public jobs or the employees were later organized into such unions. That became quite considerable.

We have the problem in the State of New York as well as in the Federal Government.

MR. McDOWELL. Well, I have had a similar thought. However, when I think back over the years and think of the description of this business, it began many years ago and the men who were in it for an ideal and discovered that it wasn't that, it was something else, men like Max Eastman, Ben Mandel here, Ben Gitlow, all the way down, a constant parade of smart minds, honest minds, if you peer at the things they have described and said, the pattern seems to be always about the same, so I am beginning to wonder if even we have taken it in as serious a fashion as we should.

MR. BERLE. Well, I agree with that. There is a great deal to be said for it. Very few men of active mind in some stage of the game haven't been interested. There are two obvious types, the men who get going all the way to the point they can either be held in by blackmail or are almost hypnotized by it.

The trouble, it seems to me, is that this is almost psychology as much as it is detective work, Mr. McDowell. Why certain men are fascinated by it is a problem. The number of such men is relatively small. I think more men break clear, and a great many of these people who are intellectually interested, I gather, are of very little use to the Communist Party. They are too romantic. They do break clear after a while, and they are just taken for the ride, so to speak.

MR. McDOWELL. Well, this Mr. Hiss has a very similar background to my own. His father apparently was not a rich man, but had sufficient funds to see that he went to a nice boarding school. He was a brilliant young man. His home life was, I judge, very similar to my own; about the same sort of people. He is romantic. There is no question about that. He is temperamental, he is emotional, and if this story be true, if we can finally prove this, it is a dreadful thing that a fine young man, or a pair of fine young men such as they appear to be—

MR. BERLE. Well, I am not counsel for Mr. Hiss. Nevertheless, my observations of New York Communists—and I saw a lot—were that they didn't throw around party cards very easily. I am by no means clear that Hiss would have been taken into the Communist Party unless things had gone along further than they apparently did. Sympathizer, possibly, but to be taken into the fold, it is a pretty exclusive and secret organization, that Communist Party, and I recall

that Chambers did not make any direct statement to me then. I am not sure whether he did to the committee.

People made contributions without being members of the Communist Party. We all of us know boys that have chipped in on this, that, and other campaigns, or made donations or what not at one time or another without ever being allowed inside the fold.

Mr. McDOWELL. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Berle.  
(Whereupon, at 3:45 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

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# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>45</sup>

The special subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives J. Parnell Thomas, John McDowell, and Richard B. Vail.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, Donald T. Appell, and William A. Wheeler, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor, for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show that a subcommittee is sitting consisting of Mr. McDowell, Mr. Vail, and Mr. Thomas. A quorum is present.

The first witness will be Mrs. Rosen.

Mrs. Rosen, will you stand, please, and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. ROSEN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, please.

Mr. Stripling, your witness.

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. ADDIE ROSEN (ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL MAURICE BRAVERMAN)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Rosen, are you accompanied by counsel?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Counsel, will you identify yourself?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. My name is Maurice Braverman, member of the bar of Maryland in Baltimore. My address is 15 South Gay Street, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe you appeared with Mr. Rosen when he appeared.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you please state your full name, Mrs. Rosen?

Mrs. ROSEN. Addie Rosen. Mrs. Addie Rosen.

<sup>45</sup> Testimony taken in executive session and made public with this printing.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell that?

Mrs. ROSEN. A-d-d-i-e R-o-s-e-n.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born?

Mrs. ROSEN. In Poland.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year?

Mrs. ROSEN. 1888. I have no record of the exact date.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first arrive in the United States?

Mrs. ROSEN. I came to this country on February 14, 1902.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you enter?

Mrs. ROSEN. New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your maiden name?

Mrs. ROSEN. My maiden name was Baron.

Mr. STRIPLING. When were you naturalized?

Mrs. ROSEN. I think it was in Norfolk, Va. I don't remember the exact date. It was a long time ago.

Mr. STRIPLING. About when was it?

Mrs. ROSEN. I think our oldest son was 4 months old and he is going to be 37, I believe.

Mr. STRIPLING. Approximately 36 years ago?

Mrs. ROSEN. Something like that. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. STRIPLING. When were you married?

Mrs. ROSEN. In 1910 on December 25.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first come to Washington, D. C.?

Mrs. ROSEN. We came here in the first week of June 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. June 1941?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that the first time you had ever been in Washington?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes; we have been in Washington—we came to Washington in 1927 and we left here in 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you in Washington during the year 1936?

Mrs. ROSEN. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many children do you have?

Mrs. ROSEN. Four sons.

Mr. STRIPLING. Four sons?

Mrs. ROSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And the oldest is 37?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes; that is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. The youngest is how old?

Mrs. ROSEN. The youngest was this past month 22 years old.

Mr. STRIPLING. Twenty-two?

Mrs. ROSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you name the sons beginning with the oldest.

Mrs. ROSEN. The oldest son's name is Lionel Milton Rosen. The second one is Eugene Victor Rosen.

Mr. STRIPLING. How old is Eugene?

Mrs. ROSEN. I have another one, Cyril Rosen. They are twins, Cyril and Eugene.

Mr. STRIPLING. How old are they?

Mrs. ROSEN. This past August 19 they were 35, I think I am correct on that.

Mr. STRIPLING. And then your youngest son?

Mrs. ROSEN. Was just 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his name?

Mrs. ROSEN. His name is William Herbert Rosen.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were any of your sons in Washington, D. C., in 1936?

Mrs. ROSEN. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. They were not?

Mrs. ROSEN. Not that I know of.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not your husband, William Rosen, was in Washington, D. C., in 1936?

Mrs. ROSEN. Not to my knowledge. In fact, he wasn't.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was not?

Mrs. ROSEN. He is my husband, so I——

Mr. STRIPLING. Did your husband ever own a 1929 Ford roadster?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he ever bought a car from the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. He did not?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you related in any way to Joe Cherner, Henry Cherner, or Leon Cherner?

Mrs. ROSEN. I don't even know who they are.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is your husband related in any way?

Mrs. ROSEN. Not that I know of.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with Mr. Benjamin Bialek?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes; I do know them. I know them, I know the name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know them?

Mrs. ROSEN. I am telling you I know the name. You mentioned Bialek. I know the name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet them?

Mrs. ROSEN. I have seen them. They used to come down to a drug store next to our business. I didn't meet them. I know who they are. I don't know them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Rosen, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been very free in answering the other questions. Why is it now you decline to answer this question?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Just how would it incriminate you? I can't understand that. I have heard that answer time after time, but I can't get it through my head just how it would incriminate you, for instance.

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question——

The CHAIRMAN. How would it incriminate you?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you refuse. But what I would like to know is just how would it incriminate you? Why would it incriminate you?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you have been instructed to say that.

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's get around to the Bialeks. That won't incriminate you. You said you knew them?

Mrs. ROSEN. I know the name, don't know them close at all, just the name.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen them?

Mrs. ROSEN. I have seen them yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have met them?

Mrs. ROSEN. Not in any close way.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have met them, though?

Mrs. ROSEN. I have seen them.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have met them too, haven't you?

Mrs. ROSEN. Well, if I have seen them, I have met them.

The CHAIRMAN. You have met them, haven't you, Mrs. Rosen?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes; I have met them; I have seen them.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me where you met them.

Mrs. ROSEN. I said before there is a drug store next door to our place of business and they come in there to buy and that is where I met them.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know the name was Bialek?

Mrs. ROSEN. Living so close by and going there, a place of business, being friendly with them, being friendly with them you think you are going to get their business.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the drug store you had?

Mrs. ROSEN. We didn't have no drug store. We had a cleaning establishment and we tried to be friendly with people to get work.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever call at the Bialek's home?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever call at your home?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How many times do you think you talked to them?

Mrs. ROSEN. Really, I don't remember. It wasn't that important. I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Why are you so certain that your husband was not in Washington in 1936?

Mrs. ROSEN. Well, he was my husband and we lived together, so I should know.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are positive he wasn't in Washington in 1936?

Mrs. ROSEN. Absolutely positive, absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Twelve years ago and you are very positive today that he wasn't in Washington in 1936?

Mrs. ROSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you say if we could bring out testimony to the effect that he was in Washington in 1936?

Mrs. ROSEN. Then I just didn't know it.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't know it?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what year was this that you knew the Bialeks?

Mrs. ROSEN. I can't answer that either. We are in a place of business. I work in the shop and I really can't say whether it was yesterday or the day before.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year was it you had the shop next to the drug store?

Mrs. ROSEN. We have the shop still there now. We bought the shop June 1941 and we are still there.

Mr. STRIPLING. What drug store was that you referred to?

Mrs. ROSEN. There is a drug store, the Bunker Hill Pharmacy.

Mr. STRIPLING. Bunker Hill Pharmacy?

Mrs. ROSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who owns the Bunker Hill Pharmacy?

Mrs. ROSEN. I believe Balltin.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who owned it before Mr. Balltin?

Mrs. ROSEN. I will tell you, the place has changed hands a number of times. I don't remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Colodny ever own it?

Mrs. ROSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Mr. Colodny?

Mrs. ROSEN. Mr. Colodny is dead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes; I knew him. He was right next door to us.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know him very well?

Mrs. ROSEN. Not too well. Also as a neighbor in the drug store.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did any of your sons ever work for the Petworth Pharmacy?

Mrs. ROSEN. Not that I can remember. I don't remember. They were school children when they lived here. They weren't working. They went to school, junior high school.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did they go to junior high school?

Mrs. ROSEN. I think it was Powell Junior High School.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Robert Bialek?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Sam Bialek?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you and your husband, William Rosen, take a trip to Norfolk, Va., in 1936?

Mrs. ROSEN. We took a trip to Norfolk. I don't remember whether it was in 1936, but we didn't stop in Washington. We went right through.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you did go to Norfolk?

Mrs. ROSEN. I don't remember whether that was in 1936, but we did take a trip to Norfolk.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with your husband's handwriting?

Mrs. ROSEN. To an extent, surely.

Mr. STRIPLING. I have here a photographic copy of the certificate of title for title No. 245647, District of Columbia, a Ford automobile, 1929 roadster, engine No. 2188811, registered in the name of Alger Hiss.

On the reverse side of this document, assignment of title, signature of the assignee is William Rosen.

Now I ask you to examine this signature, Mrs. Rosen, and tell me whether or not—

Mrs. ROSEN. That signature is not his.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is not his signature?

Mrs. ROSEN. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. The address for the William Rosen is given as 5405 Thirteenth Street, NW. Have you or your husband ever resided at that address?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know anyone who resided at that address?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any idea why your husband refused to testify under oath as to whether or not he had owned this particular automobile?

Mrs. ROSEN. I would like to consult with my counsel.

Mr. STRIPLING. Certainly.

(Consultation between Mrs. Rosen and Mr. Braverman.)

Mrs. ROSEN. I don't know why.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever the financial secretary and press director of the Northeast Branch of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. As a matter of fact, you were nominated for that position but were defeated; is that correct?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. McDOWELL. Might I inquire what the original question was?

Mr. STRIPLING. I asked the witness if she were ever the financial secretary and press director of the Northeast Branch of the Communist Party for the District of Columbia.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you elected as director of the sustaining fund of the Communist Party, the Northeast Branch, in February 1944?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was your 1944 registration book in the Communist Party number 55831?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever mentioned for the honor roll for recruiting new members to the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is your husband a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Alger Hiss?

Mrs. ROSEN. I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mrs. ROSEN. I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of J. Peters?

Mrs. ROSEN. I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet an individual by the name of J. Peters or Alexander Stevens?

Mrs. ROSEN. I never did in my life.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you seen his picture in the newspapers recently?

Mrs. ROSEN. I have seen all the pictures.

Mr. STRIPLING. And never met those individuals?

Mrs. ROSEN. Never met them, don't know anything about them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Never met a Communist?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is there any law that you are aware of which makes membership in the Communist Party illegal?

Mrs. ROSEN. I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why do you give the answer that you refuse to answer on the ground that you might incriminate yourself when asked are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Your counsel is certainly familiar with title 28 of the United States Code, which says that no person can refuse to answer the question before a committee of Congress on the ground that he might incriminate himself.

Now membership in the Communist Party is not incriminating. Can you give the committee any reason why you are refusing to answer these questions?

Your husband was here. He refused to answer these questions, but he also refused to answer questions about this automobile.

(There was a short pause.)

The CHAIRMAN. A question has been asked of you.

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Then you categorically state that your husband never had in his possession a 1929 Ford roadster?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. You will state he did not?

Mrs. ROSEN. No; that is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you categorically state that your four sons never had in their possession a 1929 Ford roadster, described—

Mrs. ROSEN. I can say the same thing for them; they never did.

Mr. STRIPLING. They never did?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. You will state absolutely that you do not know any of the Cherner brothers?

Mrs. ROSEN. I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Joe, Leon, or Henry?

Mrs. ROSEN. I do not know any of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether your husband knows them?

Mrs. ROSEN. I do not know.

Mr. STRIPLING. You do not know?

Mrs. ROSEN. I do not know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, do you have anything?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; thank you.

Did you ever use the name Rose, R-o-s-e? Have you ever used that name?

Mrs. ROSEN. My name is Addie.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever used the name Rose? Were you born under the name Addie?

Mrs. ROSEN. My name was Udel in Jewish and we made it Addie.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you receive the Daily Worker under the name Rose Baron?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. She failed to answer the other question as to whether or not she ever used the name Rose.

Mrs. ROSEN. I never used the name Rose.

The CHAIRMAN. You never used the name Rose?

Mrs. ROSEN. I never used the name Rose.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is there anyone named Rose Baron who resides with you?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. But you have never used the name Rose?

Mrs. ROSEN. I never have.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you receive publications under that name?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. I am getting pretty sick of this refusing to answer questions on the ground that it might incriminate you, when some of the questions haven't got anything to do with whether or not this person is a member of the Communist Party. You will have to be more responsive.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, perhaps counsel can explain to the committee why the witness is answering in this manner.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Are you asking me?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I merely advised my client as to what I think are her constitutional rights.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you tell the committee why answering whether or not she is a member of the Communist Party will incriminate her?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I feel I have a right to advise my client to the best of my ability, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is very true, but the committee has a right to elicit from witnesses information it seeks. The law gives it that right. Now we ask you upon what grounds do you advise the witness that she will incriminate herself? The committee is not going to permit Communists to continue to come before it and simply say they refuse to answer on the ground that they might incriminate themselves when there is no basis for it. The witness has testified that she has no knowledge of this 1929 automobile, this transaction. She has refused to answer whether or not she is a member of the Communist Party. Upon what ground would she incriminate herself?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Stripling, I can only repeat I have a right to advise my client to the very best of my ability.

Mr. STRIPLING. And that is your answer?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. That is my answer.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you intend to appear here with further witnesses?



MR. BRAVERMAN. As long as I have the right to practice law and unless I am barred by this committee. I don't know on what grounds that could be.

MR. STRIPLING. I think counsel coming before this committee should come here in good faith, and I think the committee should now consider whether you are here in good faith.

MR. BRAVERMAN. I believe I am here in good faith.

MR. STRIPLING. I ask you to advise the committee why, upon what basis you have instructed your client to refuse to answer these questions on the ground that she might incriminate herself.

MR. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Stripling, my relationship with my client is a privileged relationship. I have a right to give advice to my client, no matter who my client is, to the best of my ability.

The best of my ability may not agree with what other people think is correct law or bad law. I have won cases and lost cases, so evidently sometimes the best of my ability has not been right. Sometimes I have been right. What I have advised my client I believe is privileged, and I have a right to advise my client as to what her constitutional rights are.

MR. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with the statute which I referred to?

MR. BRAVERMAN. In a very vague and general way.

MR. STRIPLING. Then the law is vague to you?

MR. BRAVERMAN. The law is not vague to me.

MR. STRIPLING. You said in a very vague and general way. Are you familiar with the statute?

MR. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Stripling, I can only state again that I have advised my client to the very best of my ability. I do not think it is proper to go into the question of whether or not I have given my client correct advice.

MR. STRIPLING. I think it is very proper.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, will you stand and be sworn? Please stand and be sworn, because we want to ask some questions about this matter and it is very important and we want sworn testimony.

MR. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Thomas, I will state as I stated before, that I am not here as a witness. I am here as counsel.

THE CHAIRMAN. From now on you are here as a witness.

MR. BRAVERMAN. Before I appear as a witness I would like the privilege of consulting counsel and being represented by counsel before this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is your counsel present now?

MR. BRAVERMAN. No.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse to be sworn?

MR. BRAVERMAN. I refuse to be sworn and appear as a witness until I have the right of counsel. I want counsel present to advise me.

THE CHAIRMAN. I will have to insist that you be sworn now. Raise your right hand or I will hold you in contempt.

MR. BRAVERMAN. I am sorry, I do not want to be in contempt of this committee, but if I am sworn as a witness I want the right to consult counsel.

THE CHAIRMAN. We want to ask you two or three simple little questions and we think the testimony should be sworn testimony, so if you will just please oblige the committee by raising your right hand—

Mr. BRAVERMAN. If this committee will allow me the right to have counsel present when I am here as a witness, I will be happy to be sworn as a witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. The witness has just given the committee a dissertation of his familiarity with the rights and privileges of witnesses. I don't think he needs counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have questions you want to ask him?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it should be sworn testimony.

Mr. STRIPLING. I do, too.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Thomas, I can repeat I have a right to be represented by counsel, if I appear here as a witness. I have not been subpoenaed. I appear here as counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. The rights you have are the rights given you by this committee. We will determine what rights you have and what rights you have not got before the committee. I insist you be sworn at the present time. So please raise your right hand.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Thomas, I state again that I have not been summoned before this committee. I am appearing here as counsel for Mrs. Rosen. I want the opportunity to consult counsel, to have counsel present with me, before I appear as a witness.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I will instruct the chief investigator to serve a summons on this man and have him back here just as quickly as you possibly can and we will swear him in at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Today or tomorrow?

The CHAIRMAN. Just as quickly as possible. I am sick and tired of having witnesses and counsel come in here and use these excuses.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you going to appear with Mr. Rosen tomorrow?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I understood he was going to appear today.

Mr. STRIPLING. It will be tomorrow.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I have been retained by Mr. Rosen.

Mr. STRIPLING. We will serve a subpoena on you at the direction of the chairman to appear tomorrow. So bring counsel with you also.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. What time tomorrow?

Mr. STRIPLING. The subpoena will be made out for 10 o'clock.

Mrs. ROSEN. Are any of your four sons to your knowledge members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were they ever at any time members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever at any time a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Don't you realize, Mrs. Rosen, it is a rather ridiculous position to take to testify that your sons are not Communists—you don't claim self-incrimination on your sons—but in your case you do?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't deny that you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions, but I suggest to counsel before he appears tomorrow that he look up the oath that is required of members of the bar in the District of Columbia.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. To what organizations do you belong, Mrs. Rosen, other than the Communist Party? To what organizations do you belong other than the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VAIL. Let me put it this way: To what organizations will you admit you belong?

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VAIL. Do you receive compensation of any kind from any organization with which you are connected?

Mrs. ROSEN. I receive no compensation.

Mr. VAIL. How long have you been in the cleaning and dyeing business?

Mrs. ROSEN. Since 1941.

Mr. VAIL. Are you still in it?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. Operating it successfully?

Mrs. ROSEN. Well, I don't know by what you measure success.

Mr. VAIL. I mean you are making a comfortable living out of the business.

Mrs. ROSEN. We are making a living, of course.

Mr. VAIL. All your sons have been through high school?

Mrs. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. College?

Mrs. ROSEN. No.

Mr. VAIL. Did any of them go to college?

Mrs. ROSEN. No. The youngest one went to college at George Washington. He graduated from Tech High School and went to George Washington when he was 17, but he didn't stay long enough. He enlisted, with our sanction, in the Army.

Mr. VAIL. He is still in the Army?

Mrs. ROSEN. No; he went into the Army at the age of 17. We had to go and sign up for him. He wanted to go into the Army before he finished high school, and all my four sons were in the service and three of them were overseas and they did their bit for their country and did it by enlisting. We were the first ones. My oldest son right after Pearl Harbor immediately enlisted, was in 4 years, over 4 years, and the other boys the same. One of them got sick after basic training, was 4 months in the hospital, and they sure did their bit and we did also our bit and the smear was given to us by irresponsible newspapers. People like my husband and myself are not youngsters, and I have no words to say the thing that it does to you.

Mr. VAIL. Apparently they are satisfied with this form of government if they are so willing to defend it.

Mrs. ROSEN. I can't say how satisfied. I mean how good.

Mr. VAIL. I see. Are you, too, dissatisfied with this form of government?

Mrs. ROSEN. What did you say?

Mr. VAIL. Are you, too, dissatisfied with this form of government? Are you dissatisfied with this form of government?

Mrs. ROSEN. I certainly am not.

Mr. VAIL. You approve of this form of government?

Mrs. ROSEN. Why, of course.

Mr. VAIL. In the event of hostilities between this Government and the Soviet Government, on which side—

Mrs. ROSEN. I will defend my country. Of course, I wouldn't go to war to fight; I wouldn't carry no gun.

Mr. VAIL. Your country. This country?

Mrs. ROSEN. Of course, my country, America, right here. I know no other country. I was 12 or 13 when I got here. I doubt if I was 13. I know no other place.

Mr. VAIL. Well, your affection for your country would seem to me to make it obligatory upon you to answer the questions that are put to you by the representatives of your country, and we sit here today as the representatives of your country asking you questions which you refuse to answer on the ground that it would tend to incriminate you.

Mrs. ROSEN. I answer all the questions to the best of my ability.

Mr. VAIL. No, I don't think you have, Mrs. Rosen. That is very obvious because you certainly know whether you are a member of the Communist Party or whether you are not, and you refuse to answer that question.

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. VAIL. You are fully aware of the fact that the Communist Party is an agent of Soviet Russia and its intent is to destroy this form of government?

Mrs. ROSEN. I don't know that.

Mr. VAIL. I don't get your reason. You say at one time you are patriotic and that you have given your sons to your country and that you favor this form of government and yet the simple question that will certainly not incriminate you as to whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party you refuse to answer. It is inconsistent.

You see, naturally, we can only assume from such an answer, it is the routine answer that is given by members of the Communist Party, and we can only assume that you are a member of that party.

Mrs. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VAIL. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused, Mrs. Rosen. Thank you very much.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a point here. The witness just testified that neither she nor her husband ever owned a 1929 Ford automobile. Her husband declined to testify on that matter on the ground that it may tend to incriminate him. If it be true that the Rosens never owned a 1929 automobile, under no stretch

of the imagination or law or technicality or anything else could it be self-incriminating to say "I did not own a Ford automobile."

Now I make the point that this witness declined to answer, refused to answer, and it is a clear and obvious case of contempt of Congress. This man couldn't possibly have been incriminated by saying "I did not own a Ford automobile of the vintage of 1929."

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. McDowell, here is what I think is the situation: We know that the Communist Party got in touch with Rosen before he appeared before this committee, and we know that the Communist Party sent this lawyer Braverman to accompany her. We also know that that signature which appears on this assignment of title is not that of William Rosen.

We do know that William Rosen and his wife, Mrs. Rosen, are and have been members of the Communist Party.

I am of the opinion that the Communist Party instructed Rosen to answer as he did in order to divert the committee from the trail of actually finding out what happened to this car. It was a diversionary maneuver on the part of the Communist Party.

Now we have Mrs. Rosen down here telling another story. We are very hopeful of breaking this particular angle.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McDOWELL. I am not urging a citation here, but I want to make it clear that this man is clearly in contempt.

Mr. STRIPLING. No question about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. The next witness is Mr. Rosenberg.

Mr. ROSENBERG. Will you stand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

### TESTIMONY OF LOUIS ROSENBERG

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosenberg, will you please state your full name.

Mr. ROSENBERG. Louis Rosenberg.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. ROSENBERG. England.

Mr. STRIPLING. When?

Mr. ROSENBERG. March 18, 1902.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. ROSENBERG. 4505 Argyle Terrace, NW.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your occupation?

Mr. ROSENBERG. Druggist.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been engaged in the drug business?

Mr. ROSENBERG. For the past 21 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you own a drug store at the present time?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the name of it?

- Mr. ROSENBERG. Petworth Pharmacy.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Are you part owner?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. Part owner.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Who are your partners?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. Benjamin Bialek.
- Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been partners?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. A little over 21 years.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Twenty-one years?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. Yes.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Mr. Benjamin Bialek is a member of the Communist Party?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. I would say "No."
- Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with Mr. Bialek's sons?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. I am.
- Mr. STRIPLING. How many sons does he have?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. Three.
- Mr. STRIPLING. What are their names?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. Samuel, Robert, and Teddy.
- Mr. STRIPLING. How old is Robert?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. That I don't know.
- Mr. STRIPLING. About how old?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. He is up in the twenties, I imagine.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have some questions, Mr. Russell?
- Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever employ one of the Rosen boys?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. Yes.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Could you identify which one it was?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. It was either Eugene or Lionel, but I don't know. It has been so long.
- Mr. RUSSELL. What year was this?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. It would have to be prior to September 1930.
- Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall to the best of your recollection who recommended that you hire one of the Rosen boys?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. That I couldn't say.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Did you say 1930?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. 1930.
- Mr. RUSSELL. I asked you to bring any records and documents you had relative to his employment. Do you have any?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. I looked but I couldn't find them.
- Mr. STRIPLING. About how old was this boy?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. He was a youngster because we used him on the bicycle delivery, so I wouldn't know exactly how old he was.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see him in Washington after 1930?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. I haven't seen him since he left.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know William Rosen, the father?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. No, sir; I don't.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mrs. Rosen?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. I do not.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know any of the four boys other than the one who worked for you?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. I remember the two, Lionel and Eugene.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Are they twins?
- Mr. ROSENBERG. That I don't know.
- Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Robert Bialek very well?

Mr. ROSENBERG. Naturally, being my partner's son, I know him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Robert is a Communist?

Mr. ROSENBERG. That I couldn't say.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any reason to suspect that he might be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSENBERG. No, I haven't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they live at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW?

Mr. ROSENBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were they living there in 1936?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I don't know the exact year they were living there. I know they were living there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you talked with Mr. Bialek in the last month?

Mr. ROSENBERG. Have I talked with him?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. ROSENBERG. Oh, yes, I have spoken to him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you discussed with him what has been in the newspapers regarding the sale of this 1929 Ford automobile?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I can truthfully say he doesn't know what is going on right at the present time about this thing because he is not a well man.

Mr. STRIPLING. How old is he?

Mr. ROSENBERG. He is 59.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you discussed it with Robert Bialek?

Mr. ROSENBERG. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you discussed it with any of the Bialek boys?

Mr. ROSENBERG. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you seen pictures in the paper of Alger Hiss?

Mr. ROSENBERG. Yes; I have seen him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen Alger Hiss?

Mr. ROSENBERG. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever seen Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ROSENBERG. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you see a picture of J. Peters in the newspapers?

Mr. ROSENBERG. That was taken in New York last week—I believe I saw that, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see that individual?

Mr. ROSENBERG. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSENBERG. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know any of the Chermers, Joe, Leon, or Henry?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I know Joe and Leon.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know them in 1936?

Mr. ROSENBERG. Oh, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were they acquainted with Mr. Bialek?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I know they are acquainted with him; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. They knew him in 1936?

Mr. ROSENBERG. I should say yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further questions, you are excused. Thank you very much.

The next witness, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Farrell.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Farrell, raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FARRELL. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

### TESTIMONY OF IRVIN AUGUSTUS FARRELL

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Farrell, please state your full name.

Mr. FARRELL. Irvin Augustus Farrell.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. FARRELL. 4008 Twentieth Street NE.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born?

Mr. FARRELL. Annapolis, April 4, 1901.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your occupation?

Mr. FARRELL. Pharmacist.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been a pharmacist?

Mr. FARRELL. Registered in 1920.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. FARRELL. A drug store, do I have to say the name? I would rather keep the name of the drug store out.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is the Petworth Pharmacy?

Mr. FARRELL. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who owns the Petworth Pharmacy?

Mr. FARRELL. Mr. Rosenberg and Mr. Bialek.

Mr. RUSSELL. Louis R. Rosenberg?

Mr. FARRELL. Yes; and Benjamin Bialek.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. FARRELL. Same address, 4008 Twentieth Street NE.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with William Rosen?

Mr. FARRELL. I have been there quite often, I guess, since 1935 or 1936.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Addie Rosen?

Mr. FARRELL. If that is his wife's first name; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you say you dealt with them in 1935?

Mr. FARRELL. Yes; I think it was 1935 and 1936.

Mr. RUSSELL. 1935 and 1936?

Mr. STRIPLING. Not 1945 or 1946?

Mr. FARRELL. Long before that. I think it was 1935. I can find out because I had a coat altered there when I left Peoples Drug Store and I can remember when I left. I think it was 1935.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where was their cleaning shop located?

Mr. FARRELL. 2012 or 2020 Bunker Hill Road, right off Twentieth and Bunker Hill. Maybe it was 2100. I lived about a block and a half from there.



Mr. RUSSELL. Were you employed at the Petworth Pharmacy when one of the Rosen boys was employed there?

Mr. FARRELL. No; that was before my time.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever had any conversations with the Rosens regarding the Bialeks?

Mr. FARRELL. Quite frequently, yes; a dozen times at least over a period of years.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you tell the committee the nature of those conversations?

Mr. FARRELL. Well, I don't know how the conversations come out about me working at Petworth, but I got out of the service in 1944—I would say it was in 1945, and they said we had been friends of theirs for years and they named several things and all. They mentioned about one of the sons, Sam, was in the Pacific quite a long time, which he thought was terrible, and another son, Bobby, I think he was in the Battle of the Bulge, and just conversation in the family unit, that is all.

She, later on after Mr. Bialek was taken sick, she inquired quite often about his health and one particular time she said—the first I knew he had a nurse she told me he was quite sick and had a day and night nurse. I asked up at the store if it was true.

Then other times I would go in there and Mr. Rosen would ask how is Ben, his nickname. He wasn't very talkative to me.

Several different times she has talked about them and how long they have been friends, and she knew the boys—just natural family gossip.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you recall at this time when you left the employ of Peoples Drug Store?

Mr. FARRELL. No, I can't; but I can call up and find out. The reason I recall that is I had a coat with the sleeves too short from shrinkage and she let out the sleeves for me. That was right after I left People's.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mrs. Rosen?

Mr. FARRELL. Yes; she does alterations for her husband. They have a cleaning place.

The CHAIRMAN. Right after you left People's?

Mr. FARRELL. Yes, sir. You can call and ask for Mr. C. B. Aldrich at People's. They have a card index.

Mr. RUSSELL. As far as you know did anyone else ever operate the cleaning shop?

Mr. FARRELL. Not since I have been dealing there; no, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been working at Bialeks?

Mr. FARRELL. I worked for them another year. I can't verify until we hear from People's, because I left People's in the early summer months and between that and the end of that year I had four jobs and lost each one because the stores closed. I ended up with Petworth Pharmacy.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been with Petworth?

Mr. FARRELL. I was 18 months there and went to Maxwell & Tennyson's and went in the war and came back with them January 1, 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were with them 18 months before you went in the service?

Mr. FARRELL. Yes; maybe a little longer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you married?

Mr. FARRELL. I have been married 28 years October 30.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is your wife familiar with the Rosens?

Mr. FARRELL. Yes; just the same conversation. We take clothes in there and all. She has had the same conversation. Only longer because I couldn't stay in there any longer.

Mr. RUSSELL. From the nature of the conversations which you have had with the Rosens regarding the Bialeks, would you say that those conversations indicated that the Bialeks and the Rosens were well acquainted?

Mr. FARRELL. They would have to be from the things that were brought up, and living that far apart. That is quite a distance. Bialeks live on Eighteenth Street NW., Shepherd Street, apartment house right back of the store, so that is quite a distance, especially if you don't have a car to drive cross-town. I don't know if they have or not. The sons do, or did. I have never seen him drive a car outside of the truck. I see her quite often. Used to deal with the Davis grocery store and she would come in there. She always would bring up the conversation and asked how Mr. B. was.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is the name of the grocery store?

Mr. FARRELL. Davis. He sold out.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Davis operate the store in 1935 or 1936?

Mr. FARRELL. I would say yes. Another party had it and couldn't make a go and sold it to Mr. Davis. He was the manager of it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know any other people who live in the vicinity of your address who lived at the same address in 1936?

Mr. FARRELL. Oh, yes. Davis lives a block away from the Rosens. They have been living there before that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know their first name?

Mr. FARRELL. Paul Davis. He was in business there in that block, so he would know him quite well. The bakery people, I don't know their name. They are French or Swiss. They have been there easily since 1935. Bunker Hill Hardware Store has been there. The other stores have all changed hands intermittently since several times.

Mr. STRIPLING. We called Peoples.

Mr. FARRELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. And they are looking that record up. I wish you would also check with your wife and see if you can recall when you first took cleaning to William Rosen.

Mr. FARRELL. That would be the first time I would remember, and I can go by that date. It would be the week after that.

Mr. STRIPLING. The week after you left Peoples?

Mr. FARRELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You try to find out when you left Peoples and they will check on it also.

Mr. FARRELL. You want me to call?

Mr. STRIPLING. Just call Mr. Wheeler.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all, Mr. Farrell. You are excused.

(The witness was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the next witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Henry Cherner.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cherner, will you stand, please?

Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CHERNER. I do.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cherner appeared by virtue of a telephone call I made to him yesterday. We had previously served a subpoena on him. In view of the nature of the testimony, I think the record should show he has been served with a subpoena calling for his appearance today.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Mr. Russell serves subpoena upon Mr. Cherner.)

### TESTIMONY OF HENRY CHERNER

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cherner, you have previously appeared before this committee, have you not?

Mr. CHERNER. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. The committee is investigating the assignment or the transfer or the sale of a 1929 Ford roadster which was registered in the name of Alger Hiss. In 1936 Mr. Hiss transferred the title to the Cherner Motor Co., address 1781 Florida Avenue NW., on the 23d day of July 1936.

On that same date this car was transferred or sold to one William Rosen, whose address was given as 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.

Now, this particular assignment or transfer is very pertinent to this committee's investigation at this time. All questions which will be asked you this morning regarding this transfer are pertinent questions. Any erroneous or false statements made in reply to these questions will be considered by the committee to be perjury and would be cited as perjury. Any refusal to answer any of these questions will be considered by the committee to constitute contempt unless you claim proper privilege.

Do you have a statement you want to make?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I don't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cherner, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first come to the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. Christmas eve, 1911.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1911; where did you go when you first came here?

Mr. CHERNER. You mean where I lived?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. 330 V Street NW.

Mr. STRIPLING. What port of entry did you arrive at in the United States?

Mr. CHERNER. Ellis Island, I guess.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year?

Mr. CHERNER. 1911.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1911?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you come from Ellis Island direct to Washington?

Mr. CHERNER. Right here to Washington. My father was here a year before we got here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, I show you a photographic copy of the assignment of title in question and show you the name, signature, of William Rosen, and ask you if that is your handwriting.

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You did not write that?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir; absolutely didn't.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you write the 5405 Thirteenth Street NW.?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I don't think I even had anything to do with this sale. If I did, I don't remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Write William Rosen there for me.

(Mr. Cherner writes on pad.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Write 5405 Thirteenth Street.

(Mr. Cherner writes on pad.)

Mr. CHERNER. One reason I know it wouldn't be me is I never put a "th" to any number.

Mr. STRIPLING. That 5405 certainly looks like your handwriting. Look at this 5 and look at that 5. You understand we are trying to determine what happened to this car, and we are not trying to implicate you in any way. We want to know whether or not you had anything to do with this.

You have just written 5405, and that 5405 certainly looks like the one here, particularly the 5; it is almost identical.

Mr. CHERNER. I will tell you what. I have had people sign titles and then I would fill the address in. I have done that many a time. Whether I did it in this particular case, I wouldn't say.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why would you fill the address in?

Mr. CHERNER. When we sell an automobile, we get them to just sign the title—just the name. We take care of the rest of it. I don't mean I particularly would do it, but anybody in the organization would do it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you taken samples of this address?

Mr. RUSSELL. From him? Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. Was that my writing?

Mr. RUSSELL. The handwriting experts are pretty certain you are the one who wrote the name William Rosen.

Mr. CHERNER. I wrote the name William Rosen?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. I know better than that. I know Mr. Gertler too well. He would never, never notarize a paper that any of us signed I know that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Gertler?

Mr. CHERNER. He is the notary. You mean this looks like this?

Mr. STRIPLING. I am talking about the 5405.

Mr. CHERNER. That is possible, but I don't remember doing that. I don't think I did that. The mere fact that he has got "13th" would make me believe I didn't do that.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have no recollection of that transaction at all?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I don't. If I would see this man, then maybe I could give you more light on it. Have you got a picture of him? I don't know the man; not by name, I don't. Do you have a picture of him?

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William Rosen, who resides at—what is his present address?

Mr. RUSSELL. 2008 Shepherd Street NE.

Mr. STRIPLING. Owns the Bunker Hill Valet Shop.

Mr. CHERNER. I don't know him. The last time I was here I said the name sounded familiar. If I could see him, it is possible I know him. A lot of people I know but don't know their names. You know how that is in business. Thousands of people.

Mr. STRIPLING. Write this William Rosen and the address for me three times, Mr. Cherner.

(Mr. Cherner writes on pad.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell will ask you some questions, while the members are examining this sample.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you ever recall an individual by the name of Posner being employed by the Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. CHERNER. Posner? What was his capacity, a salesman?

Mr. RUSSELL. I don't know whether he was a salesman or what he was.

Mr. CHERNER. Posner, I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall anybody having a similar-sounding name?

Mr. CHERNER. No; wait a minute. Puzrin.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know him?

Mr. CHERNER. I know him well.

Mr. RUSSELL. In what capacity was he employed?

Mr. CHERNER. He was a mechanic in the shop.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know how to spell that?

Mr. CHERNER. Puzrin. P-u-z-r-i-n.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was a mechanic in the shop?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Not a salesman?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did your brother Joe ever tell you he had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHERNER. Never told me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Never discussed Communist Party affairs in your presence?

Mr. CHERNER. In my presence?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever ask you to sign a certificate of title that you can recall?

Mr. CHERNER. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cherner, you are an official of the Cherner Motor Co., aren't you?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I am not. I am with the Cherner-Brewer Auto Sales.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were at that time?

Mr. CHERNER. In 1936?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. I wasn't an official.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were working there?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you tell this committee how a transaction like this could have occurred with no record there? Here the handwriting

people come along and say they are willing to state that Henry Cherner wrote William Rosen and the address. We are in a bad situation here.

Mr. CHERNER. That is the biggest surprise I think I ever got in my life to tell me that. Believe me, gentlemen, that is no kidding. What benefit would that be to me?

Mr. STRIPLING. We don't know whether you were transacting a business deal or what the circumstances are. That is what we want to know.

Mr. CHERNER. Does the Cherner Motor Co. have the record of this sale?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; they have got all records but no record of this sale.

Mr. CHERNER. They don't have the record of this sale?

Mr. STRIPLING. No record of this sale.

Mr. CHERNER. That is something.

Mr. STRIPLING. They have got slips out there, all the sales slips for that day, the 23d of July.

Mr. CHERNER. Usually, they have the name of the salesman that bought or sold the car.

Mr. STRIPLING. I know it.

Mr. CHERNER. I mean, you got me as I wrote the name, too.

Mr. STRIPLING. The handwriting people they are almost positive, almost positive, that you wrote William Rosen.

Mr. CHERNER. Never signed a title since I have been working for Cherner Motor Co., and that is 11 years. It would be foolish for me to do it. What benefit would that be to me? That is why I can't understand it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you tell me why Cherner Motor Co. wouldn't record the sale of this car?

Mr. CHERNER. 1936. I came to work there late in 1935. I wouldn't have had that much sense at that time. I didn't know enough about the business.

The CHAIRMAN. How old were you then?

Mr. CHERNER. Thirty years old. You see, I went to work for Joe May 13, 1935, and this happened when, in 1936?

Mr. STRIPLING. July 23, 1936.

Mr. CHERNER. A little over a year.

Mr. STRIPLING. You know Robert Bialek?

Mr. CHERNER. Robert Bialek?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. I know his brother, Benjamin. I think I know the other, too.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know his father, Benjamin Bialek?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; I know him well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever at their home at 5405 Thirteenth Street?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know they lived there?

Mr. CHERNER. That is the one that has the drug store, Riverside Pharmacy?

Mr. STRIPLING. Petworth.

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you known them?

Mr. CHERNER. I guess I have know him for 25 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. You knew him in 1936?

Mr. CHERNER. Did I know him in 1936?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; I knew him then.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever sell him a car, any of the Bialek brothers, Benjamin Bialek, the father?

Mr. CHERNER. I believe—I know I waited on his brother. I don't remember whether I sold him a car or not.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was that?

Mr. CHERNER. It must have been around that year.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1936?

Mr. CHERNER. I would imagine that. It would be between 1936 and 1938, I believe. Whether I sold him or not, I don't remember; but I do remember talking to him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Talking to him?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could it be that the car was this 1929 roadster?

Mr. CHERNER. I couldn't remember that far back. That is 12 years ago.

Mr. STRIPLING. But this is very important and very important to you.

Mr. CHERNER. Listen, if I could be of any help, believe me I would love to be.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall selling a car?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I recall him coming in the place, one of the Bialeks. Whether he bought a car or not, I don't remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. It wasn't the father, wasn't Benjamin?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. One of the boys?

Mr. CHERNER. I am talking about Benjamin's brother. I have never met any of his children. The one that runs the drug store; is that Benjamin?

Mr. STRIPLING. Benjamin.

Mr. CHERNER. I know him and a brother who had a grocery store.

Mr. STRIPLING. And Benjamin talked to you about a car?

Mr. CHERNER. His brother.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his name?

Mr. CHERNER. I don't remember his first name.

Mr. STRIPLING. What does he do?

Mr. CHERNER. He had a grocery store on Twenty-sixth and Virginia Avenue at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was the one you sold the car to?

Mr. CHERNER. I didn't sell a car to him. He talked to me. Whether he bought it or not, I don't know. I know I talked to him about an automobile. I know he was in the place, but I doubt very seriously whether I sold him the car.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know in 1936 an individual by the name of Peters?

Mr. CHERNER. Peters, no.

Mr. STRIPLING. Or an individual who went under the name of Alexander Stevens?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Or did you know an individual by the name of Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. CHERNER. Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. STRIPLING. Isidore Boorstein?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know a fellow known only to you as Peters in 1936?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you see a picture in the newspaper recently of J. Peters when he appeared in New York?

Mr. CHERNER. No; didn't see it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You positively state you did not sign the name William Rosen?

Mr. CHERNER. I swear my life on it. I didn't do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Would there have been another man in the shop at that time who might have signed the name William Rosen and made the writing look like yours?

Mr. CHERNER. I don't think so. As long as I have been with Cherner Motor Co., they are very particular on that title business. We have held titles sometimes a week or 2 weeks for people to come in and sign. I know they wouldn't do that.

The CHAIRMAN. They weren't very particular about this particular case because they have no record of it.

Mr. CHERNER. That is the surprising point. I can't understand that. Believe me, I can't, not Cherner Motor Co. They were pretty exact on everything.

Mr. RUSSELL. These are the slips for July 23. None of them reflects the sale of a 1929 Ford, Tudor or roadster.

Mr. CHERNER. I can't understand it. Have they got my name on them? That was one of the biggest years they had.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cherner, can you give the committee any suggestions about where we can go to look?

Mr. CHERNER. What did the Cherner Motor Co. say about not having records of that deal? That is the puzzling part. I didn't know that until now. The last time I was here I didn't know they didn't have a record.

Mr. STRIPLING. No record.

Mr. CHERNER. No record at all. If it was anything I knew, God knows I would be the first one to help on that. You say you have some handwriting experts here?

Mr. STRIPLING. They are Government—

Mr. CHERNER. I wish you would have one of the handwriting analysts, or whatever you call them—when I filled out my citizenship papers, when you are asked why you want to become a citizen, I wrote it down there with emphasis because I thought it was the most wonderful country in the world, and I meant it that way. I would be the last person in the world to help a Communist or anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. CHERNER. I have my citizenship papers here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let's see them.

You became a citizen in 1936?

Mr. CHERNER. That is right. You may ask me a question. I had better answer it first. I was 31 when I became a citizen, but my father



took his first papers and he died in 1915. I was always under the impression that I was a citizen because I knew he had taken out the papers, but I didn't know he had to take out the second papers. That is what I was told, and I immediately applied.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cherner, since you were a witness before this committee the first time, you have undoubtedly discussed this case with numerous people.

Mr. CHERNER. Well, a few people; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were some of the people you discussed the case with?

Mr. CHERNER. Well, maybe Mr. Courtney that works for us. Of course, Mr. Brewer, who was here at the time. He and I talked about it. A couple of other people. I think my brother was one of them. I didn't tell them what we talked about, just that I was here.

The CHAIRMAN. It came out in the newspapers that you were here.

Mr. CHERNER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, who were the other people you discussed it with?

Mr. CHERNER. There was, I guess, 15 or 20 people that told me about it, that they saw my name in the paper and that they heard it on the radio, but I didn't go into details with any of them. I might have told them they asked me a few questions. I believe I did tell I had to write the name "William Rosen" about 20 times.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anybody come from Baltimore to speak to you about the case?

Mr. CHERNER. Baltimore; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anybody come from New York to speak to you about the case?

Mr. CHERNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Just local people?

Mr. CHERNER. Just friends of mine. It was all just casual; wasn't anything that anybody was sent to question me, or anything like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Everyone who spoke to you was a friend of yours?

Mr. CHERNER. A friend, that is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cherner, could we borrow these naturalization papers for 24 hours?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; you can mail them back to me, if you will.

Mr. STRIPLING. Oh, yes.

Mr. CHERNER. That is all right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Off the record.

(Discussion was had outside the record.)

Mr. CHERNER. This thing here,<sup>46</sup> I don't understand the whole thing. Why they wouldn't have the records. You have got Mensh's name on here and Gertler's name on here twice.

Mr. STRIPLING. We got them all up here, and they don't remember a thing.

Mr. CHERNER. How about the application of William Rosen?

Did he apply for a title?

Mr. APPELL. That is the application, the bottom half.

Mr. CHERNER. Did he get a title?

Mr. APPELL. Yes; on the right-hand side of this paper it shows—

Mr. CHERNER. This is just an application for title.

<sup>46</sup> Photostatic copy of title to 1929 Ford car, previously introduced into testimony.

Mr. APPELL. This here shows he was issued title 456802 and this title shall be delivered to the Cherner Motor Co. New title was delivered to Cherner Motor Co.

Mr. CHERNER. Do they have this title in William Rosen's name?

Mr. APPELL. No; they don't keep titles until the action on the car is consummated.

Mr. CHERNER. Does the Cherner Motor Co. have a record of it?

Mr. APPELL. No. Do you know at that time who picked up titles for Cherner Motor Co.?

Mr. CHERNER. Edwards picks up for all these dealers.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stripling, they have here in Washington a firm that renders a service to most automobile dealers by picking up from the Motor Vehicle Division all titles for the respective companies. It was my understanding Mr. Edwards was not doing it for Cherner.

Mr. CHERNER. He wasn't at that time?

Mr. APPELL. That was my understanding.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is no record of any title in the District of Columbia for this car other than that it was issued to Alger Hiss and none for William Rosen.

Mr. APPELL. That is right.

Mr. CHERNER. I can't understand it. The whole thing is getting deeper and deeper. I see this belonged to Alger Hiss.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. CHERNER. I just saw this belonged to Alger Hiss. When you walk in a place like this, you are a little nervous. Now, I am beginning to get my bearings and beginning to see the whole thing.

Mr. APPELL. Did the Cherner Motor Co. back in those days hold their own chattel paper for small amounts?

Mr. CHERNER. Something like that; yes. They don't even have a note signed, or anything?

Mr. APPELL. They have no records.

Mr. CHERNER. That is the only thing. That is the mystery of the whole thing, especially against Cherner Motor Co. I would never have believed it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You and your brothers can do more to clear that up than we can. We can't go back and get all your bank records and everything. We can do it, but there is no reason why we should do it. The Cherner Motor Co. is under a very peculiar stigma here. Here is a transaction with no records. It turns out to be a phoney. No William Rosen living at this address. You people owe it to your Government to look through everything such as insurance, canceled checks, everything, and come to the committee and say, "Here it is." Things like this just don't happen every day, and there are lots of people whose names are on this such as Mensh, all officials of the Cherner Motor Co. now.

Mr. CHERNER. I don't think Mensh could tell you much. Have you had Gertler here?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. In other words, nobody knows who this William Rosen is?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right. We found a William Rosen all right, and he never lived at the address there. He is a Communist, but that is not his signature, and he knows Cherner. He has done business with Cherner Motor Co., but that is not his signature.

Mr. CHERNER. You asked me about this man Puzrin. He doesn't deny that he is a Communist. He has been one ever since I have known him.

Mr. McDOWELL. Who?

Mr. CHERNER. Nathan Puzrin. He doesn't deny it. As far as he is concerned. There is a man that could have probably been as rich as Joe right now. It is just his ideas. That is what he believes, and there isn't anything you can do about it.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was employed as a mechanic and not as a salesman?

The CHAIRMAN. Was he there at that time?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. In 1936, I think he was, but he was a mechanic.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could he have had anything to do with this?

Mr. CHERNER. No; I doubt it very seriously.

Mr. STRIPLING. Here is certificate of examination and inspection, and see if there is anything on there that would enlighten you.

Mr. CHERNER. Did you get in touch with Edward Barton?

Mr. STRIPLING. We got in touch with him.

Mr. CHERNER. This is something here, no record or nothing about all this.

Mr. WHEELER. Does the Cherner Motor Co. handle insurance?

Mr. CHERNER. Their own insurance?

Mr. WHEELER. Or recommend somebody?

Mr. CHERNER. They have an insurance agent. They just call it in.

Mr. WHEELER. Who is it?

Mr. CHERNER. At the time I was there they had Leroy Marks in the Colorado Building. The phone number is National 0601. Either that or Young & Simon; one of the two.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Cherner. I notice here on the edge of this application for title it says, "Title No. 456802. This title shall be delivered to Cherner Motor Co."

In other words, this application was made for a title by William Rosen on this date. The Cherner Motor Co. held a \$25 chattel against it. So the man picked it up, took it down to the title office, and they gave it a number to be delivered to the Cherner Motor Co. The Cherner Motor Co., we will assume, got the title. Then, what happened? Wouldn't there be a record there?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes, absolutely; there should be a record of this lien and everything else. Let's see this top title here.

How about the Traffic Bureau. They have this number there. They must have a record of this number, don't they, 456802? They could probably tell you who this was issued to. Haven't they?

Mr. APPELL. The title was issued to William Rosen, delivered to Cherner Motor Co. for Cherner to hold until Rosen paid up the chattel.

Mr. CHERNER. You said no title.

Mr. STRIPLING. No title of registration.

Mr. CHERNER. No tags issued for the car?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Well, will you check with your brothers?

Mr. CHERNER. I will be glad to.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have seen these documents.

Mr. CHERNER. I have seen all that stuff. The first time I was here I didn't know that.

Mr. STRIPLING. The date is July 23, 1936. The name is William Rosen, 5405 Thirteenth Street.

Mr. CHERNER. We got Gertler's name on there; we got Barton; we got Harry Cohen.

Mr. STRIPLING. S. A. Mensh?

Mr. CHERNER. Yes. You have got Harry Cohen on that inspection sheet; haven't you?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; Harry Cohen; title No. 458602.

Mr. CHERNER. 458602.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was the new title delivered to the Cherner Motor Co.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will look that up, it will not only be helping the committee but it will help the Cherner Motor Co. and will help you, too.

Mr. CHERNER. Yes; I don't get it. If you people would know the circumstances we came to this country—we were there in the worst time under the Czar. Good God, anybody that could have any love for that country with what our people went through, I don't know. I know some Jewish people are Communists, but I don't think they ever were in Russia—that is, at the same time we were.

My same brother Joe, if he hadn't left that town, they would have killed him. That is one of the reasons we came here. We were kids. He pushed a kid into a horse. You know how you are when you are 10 or 11 years old. The horse kicked this kid, and the kid was the son of a sort of mayor in the town, and that is all that had to happen. If they had got hold of Joe, they would have just hanged him or I don't know what.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that after the Bolsheviks took over?

Mr. CHERNER. That was before, during the Czar's.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CHERNER. We left town that same day, went right into Germany, and took the boat in Germany. That is one of the main reasons we left for this country. I don't see how anybody in our family could have any love for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail, do you have any questions?

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell?

Mr. McDOWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. If you will get that information and call Mr. Stripling we will appreciate it.

Mr. CHERNER. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. You are excused.

(Mr. Cherner was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1948

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>47</sup>

The special subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representative J. Parnell Thomas (chairman), John McDowell, and Richard B. Vail.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Donald T. Appell, William A. Wheeler, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor, to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The record will show that a subcommittee is sitting, consisting of Mr. McDowell, Mr. Vail, and Mr. Thomas; a quorum is present.

The first witness will be Mr. Rosen. Will you stand, please, Mr. Rosen?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROSEN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

Mr. Stripling, your witness.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM ROSEN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, MAURICE BRAVERMAN

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosen, would you state your full name?

Mr. ROSEN. William Rosen.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to speak louder.

Mr. ROSEN. William Rosen.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here in response to a subpoena which was served upon you?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. The day before yesterday; is that correct?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are accompanied by counsel?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

<sup>47</sup>Testimony taken in executive session and made public with this printing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Maurice Braverman, from Baltimore, Md., 15 South Gay Street, Baltimore, Md. I am a member of the bar of the city of Baltimore, the State of Maryland.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosen, you testified before this committee on August 26; is that correct?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosen, the committee is still investigating the purchase or transfer of a 1929 Ford automobile. This transfer or disposition of this car is now very pertinent to the committee's inquiry. All questions which will be asked you concerning this automobile will be pertinent. You will be expected to answer them. Any false answers will be considered by the committee to be perjury.

Did you ever buy a 1929 Ford automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that my answer I give—any answer I may give may incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Rosen, yesterday—

The CHAIRMAN. I cannot hear the witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you speak louder, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you repeat that, please.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that any answer I might give to the question may incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yesterday, Mr. Rosen, your wife was subpoenaed before the committee. She answered, I believe, all questions except those questions having to do with whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party, or whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party, or whether or not she had been active as an organizer or in various capacities with the Communist Party. She testified that you had never bought a 1929 Ford automobile.

Now, you come in today and you say that you refuse to answer this question on the grounds that you might incriminate yourself. Would you explain to the committee why you feel that you might incriminate yourself?

(Mr. Rosen confers with Mr. Braverman.)

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the grounds that any answer may incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Rosen, these are not privileged questions which we are asking. This is a committee of Congress. We are trying to get the facts regarding a very important matter. If you never did own a 1929 Ford automobile, it will be very helpful to the committee if you would say so. That cannot possibly incriminate you if you did not own the automobile.

Now, your wife has testified that you did not. The committee is not trying to involve you in any way. All we want are the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. We did not get the answer to that question. You asked a question, Mr. Stripling.

Let the record show that the witness is discussing the matter with counsel.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Excuse me a minute, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

(Mr. Rosen confers with Mr. Braverman.)

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that I may incriminate myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rosen, what was the question?

Mr. ROSEN. The question was whether I owned a 1929 car, Ford car.

The CHAIRMAN. 1929 Ford car.

Mr. ROSEN. I think it was a 1929——

The CHAIRMAN. How will that incriminate you to answer that question? Do you own an automobile today?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not own an automobile today?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, you mentioned that all right. That does not incriminate you.

Mr. ROSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But this 1929 car, you refuse to answer whether you owned that car or not. How would it incriminate you?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever owned an automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you own an automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. I owned an automobile since 1923.

The CHAIRMAN. You owned an automobile since 1923. All right. Now, in 1923 what kind of a car did you have?

Mr. ROSEN. A Dodge.

The CHAIRMAN. A Dodge. That is a good car, too.

Mr. ROSEN. It used to be.

The CHAIRMAN. 1924, what kind of a car did you have?

Mr. ROSEN. Same car.

The CHAIRMAN. Same car. In 1936 what kind of a car did you have?

Mr. ROSEN. I think it was a Pontiac.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Did you have a Ford at any time?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that on the ground that it——

The CHAIRMAN. You admit all the other cars and you won't admit a Ford?

Mr. ROSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It is very obvious that you had a Ford and know all about it. You are an American citizen?

Mr. ROSEN. I sure am.

The CHAIRMAN. And you want to help this Government?

Mr. ROSEN. I sure do.

The CHAIRMAN. And you want to fight communism?

Mr. ROSEN. I sure do.

The CHAIRMAN. And you want to fight any nation that is operating a fifth column in this country?

Mr. ROSEN. I am not interested——

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You can help this Government and this committee, and if you can help in that fight—if you will be frank in your answers that is all we want.

Now, did you own a 1929 Ford car?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that it may incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it leaves me with the impression that you do not want to help this Government.

Mr. ROSEN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to help this Government?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to help the Congress of the United States, which is the representative of the people?

Mr. ROSEN. I sure do.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to ask you again if you want to help the representatives of the people, the Congress of the United States. The question is, Did you ever own a 1929 Ford car?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is very obvious what sort of help you want to give to this country. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. ROSEN, I have here a photographic copy of an application for title, dated July 23, 1936, title No. 245647, District of Columbia, Director of Vehicles and Traffic. On the reverse side of this assignment of title, under the heading "Purchaser's application for new certificate of title," there is the signature William Rosen, which appears with the residence address of 5405 Thirteenth Street NW. I ask you to examine this signature of William Rosen and tell the committee whether or not that is your signature or whether or not you wrote this particular signature.

(Document exhibited to witness.)

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; this is not my signature.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you use glasses, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. I use glasses in driving and for far distance.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean in reading you do not use them? I want you to examine it carefully.

Mr. ROSEN. I do not use them.

Mr. STRIPLING. You definitely say this is not your signature?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that your writing, "5405 Thirteenth Street NW.?" is that your writing?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever reside at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; I never did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever at that residence at any time?

Mr. ROSEN. I never did. I never knew that there was such an address as 5405.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never knew what?

Mr. ROSEN. That there is such a number on Thirteenth Street. In fact, I was never around that section.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Benjamin Bialek?

Mr. ROSEN. I may have seen him next door to my place of business, but I do not know him well.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosen, when did you first come to Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ROSEN. I first came to Washington in 1927, and I resided here in 1927 until the fall of 1928. I went to New York, and I stayed in New York from 1929 until 1941. In 1941, June 1941, I came to Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you in Washington in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were not. You were not here in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. I was not.



Mr. STRIPLING. Then why, Mr. Rosen, did you answer on August 26, when you were asked that same question, why did you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. ROSEN. I answered at the time that I was in New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. No; I will read your testimony.

Mr. RUSSELL. During the year 1936, did you visit Washington, D. C.?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on account that the answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. McDOWELL. What was the question?

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he during the year 1936 visit Washington, D. C.?

Where were you living in 1936, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer these questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. How in the world is that going to—

Mr. NIXON. Let him say on what grounds.

And then you go on today, Mr. Rosen, "on the grounds that any answer may tend to incriminate me."

Now, Mr. Rosen, the committee is not playing a game of tag. I mean this is a very serious matter with this committee. We brought you down here twice; we sent investigators out to see you. You come in here one day and you give one answer, and you come in the next time and you give another.

Now, why did you tell us on August 26 that you refused to answer whether you lived in Washington in 1936, and yet you come in here today and say that you did not.

Mr. ROSEN. I believe, if I am correct in stating, that last time on August 26 I stated that I lived in New York, and I gave the number of the residence where I lived.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Rosen, we asked you again, that is Mr. Nixon did, "Did you visit Washington in 1936?", and you say "I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me."

Now, I just asked you that, and you said you had not. What I would like to know is why you gave that answer on the 26th of August?

Mr. ROSEN. Excuse me for a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show that the witness consulted counsel.

(Mr. Rosen consulted with Mr. Braverman.)

The CHAIRMAN. And I would like to say to both witness and counsel that it is all right for the witness to consult with counsel on constitutional questions, but on matters of fact, I do not want the witness to consult with counsel. I mean if it is a simple answer as to whether he owned a car or whether he lived in a certain place, that is a matter of fact. The constitutional question is not involved at all. He does not have to consult with counsel on those questions.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right, Mr. Rosen, what is your answer?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer. I may incriminate myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. It could not incriminate you as to why you changed your testimony.

Mr. ROSEN. When you bring in testimony of last time and this time I do not know.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right. I just asked you if you ever lived at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW. What was your answer?

Mr. ROSEN. No; I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. You said no, you did not? Well, on August 26 you were asked by Mr. Vail: "Mr. Rosen, did you ever reside at 5405 Thirteenth Street NW., Washington?"

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I may give may tend to incriminate me.

Now, I think that you owe some explanation to the committee as to why you are changing your testimony.

Mr. ROSEN. I do not see any change in the testimony. I simply refused to answer. Now, I decided to answer that question.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right. Will you answer the questions about the 1929 Ford automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. On this I refuse to answer on account of I may incriminate myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to be cited for contempt by this committee, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. If you will allow me to make a remark on this question, I will explain it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. ROSEN. I would like to make a statement to this question about citing—

The CHAIRMAN. All right. But you say you want to make a statement about that?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, all right. We will be glad to hear your statement, but I want you to answer in the statement whether you want to be cited for contempt. Now, go ahead and make a statement.

Mr. ROSEN. I was called here the last time as a witness. I did not expect that this thing will ruin my life—

Mr. STRIPLING. Do what?

Mr. ROSEN. Ruin my life.

Mr. STRIPLING. Ruin your life?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, sir. Indirectly the committee has ruined my life, has ruined my livelihood, has ruined me. Right after the day—the day after the committee hearing I have been mobbed.

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me, Mr. Rosen, we will have a short recess. (A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Rosen, will you proceed with the statement?

Mr. ROSEN. After I was at the committee hearing, the newspaper had spread a statement that I was tied up with an underground spy ring.

Mr. STRIPLING. That you were what?

Mr. ROSEN. That I was tied up with an underground spy ring, and that I was—that I belonged to a certain branch of the Communist Party in 1936 here, being a Communist, and on account of this statement I have had some threats coming to me; somebody told me I had better get out of the neighborhood. They smeared my windows—boys threw stones in my apartment. I called the police—at least they saw the boys; they did not see the boys doing the things that they did, but they saw the boys around there, and I have lost all my best friends that I built up in the last 8 years, lost every one of them on account of this smear—this lie that has been printed in the press.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment, Mr. Rosen. This smear you are talking of, you are not accusing the committee?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; I said indirect. I said indirect, on account of the hearing, the press done it. I know the committee is not at fault.

Mr. STRIPLING. I want to interrupt you right there, Mr. Rosen. Every bit of this has been brought upon you by yourself. You came before this committee and refused to answer questions on the ground that you might incriminate yourself. The committee has made no statement about your testimony or about any implication involved in your testimony.

Now, you say, that the papers have said that you were a Communist in 1936. Will you deny that you were a Communist?

Mr. ROSEN. I sure was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were not a Communist?

Mr. ROSEN. I sure was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a Communist now?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question.

The CHAIRMAN. You refuse to answer this question?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that I may incriminate myself. As far as 1936 is concerned, that involved the question of the car, and I am explaining to you that I was not a Communist; I did not belong to the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I joined the Communist Party from 1923 to 1929; 1929 I was expelled.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you rejoin the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that I may incriminate myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, you see, Mr. Rosen, you do not play fair with the committee.

Mr. ROSEN. I do play fair.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not play fair with yourself. The reason for the smear in this newspaper, as you call it, or these lies that appeared in the newspaper, as you called them, is because you are not playing fair with yourself.

Mr. STRIPLING. If you know nothing about this car, all you have to do is testify that you know nothing about it. That is all the committee wants. They want the facts, but you have come in here and refused to answer these questions. You refused to say whether you lived at a certain address.

Now, you come in here this morning and say that you did not live there. You refused to say whether you lived in Washington in 1936 or visited Washington in 1936.

Now, you say that you did not. I asked you did you ever buy a car from Cherner Motor Co.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer the question on account it may incriminate myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe he has not finished his statement. Go ahead. Will you proceed with your statement?

Mr. ROSEN. I am through with the statement because I am through as far as my life is concerned, and everything is through with me because I know that I am out; I cannot make any more a living there. My livelihood is gone, and I have nothing to lose there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Rosen, it is very strange to me that a man would throw away his entire future, his livelihood, and so forth, by refusing to answer a question before a committee of Congress involving a 1929 automobile which was sold in 1936. If you are not implicated in it, why don't you say so? Now, the choice is yours.

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer on the ground that I may implicate myself. I mean to say that I am incriminating myself.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that statement?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer on the ground that I may incriminate myself.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say after that?

Mr. ROSEN. I repeated myself, that I did not say the word right; I repeated it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. ROSEN, have you received any instructions as to your testimony from any source other than your counsel?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question. I may incriminate myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not answering any of the questions, not only that question. You are not now answering any of them.

Mr. ROSEN. I have answered some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. If you don't watch out, we are going to cite you for contempt, and you know what has happened to all the other people that have been cited for contempt by this committee. Now, the same thing is going to happen to you if you do not watch your step. You have to be responsive to the questions propounded by the chief investigator, the investigators, and the members of this committee.

Excuse me for interrupting, Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. The object of the committee, Mr. ROSEN, is to protect the interests of the American people, including yourself.

Mr. ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. It certainly is not minded in creating difficulties in the livelihood of any citizen. You, apparently, and in the opinion of the committee, have lent your assistance to that element that is making an effort to destroy the liberties that we are attempting to preserve for the American citizenry. Do you want to be placed in that position?

Mr. ROSEN. I did not quite understand.

Mr. VAIL. I mean, you have been placed in the position of assisting those forces which are attempting to destroy our form of government. I do not believe consciously that that is your intention. I think that you are interested in preserving these liberties, are you not?

Mr. ROSEN. I sure am; otherwise I would not be here.

Mr. VAIL. But your actions as a witness before this committee give the committee and the American people an entirely different impression, and that is the reason that you were feeling the effect of it in your business, because of the bad press you have received. In other words, the American people have gained the impression, as has this committee, that you are in league with that element that seeks to destroy the liberties of the American people.

Mr. ROSEN. They could not have gotten the impression if the papers would not have printed lies about it. If the papers would print a true statement, I can assure you nobody would have gotten the wrong impression on me, because they know me too well.

Mr. VAIL. Well, you were a member of the Communist Party, and you say that you were expelled from the party. Did you at any time since reenter the party?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground of self-incriminating—

Mr. VAIL. Well, I see no use in pursuing that line of questioning. I think that you have established definitely in the minds of the committee that you are at the present time a member of the Communist Party, and that you are associated with that element that seeks to destroy this form of government, and, to my mind, you can hardly blame the people of your neighborhood for reacting unpleasantly to any individual who is a pawn in this game that is being played between the Soviets and the United States today.

No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I do not think I have any questions, but there are a couple of points that I think the committee ought to seriously consider, and I am pointing them out here, because I would like to suggest to counsel that he consider these, too.

Mr. Rosen has testified that this was not his signature on the title. He has declined to testify whether he owned a 1929 Ford. His wife, Mrs. Addie Rosen, has testified that at no time did they own or have a 1929 Ford. Mr. Rosen has testified that he at one time belonged to the party, and was expelled. He has declined to say whether he reentered the Communist Party.

Now, it appears to me that, from the testimony taken from him and others, Mr. Rosen did not know any more about this automobile than I did at that time. I doubt very much if he ever saw the automobile.

He declines to say whether he owned a Ford automobile, and it is obvious that he did not own or have possession of a Ford automobile.

If such be the case, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Rosen is engaged here in a conspiracy to deceive this committee. In other words, he is engaged here in a conspiracy to drive us down an alley of blind ownership of a car which, apparently and obviously, he had nothing to do with, except that he, from my point of view, is at this very moment acting under the order of some person to decline to answer—I do not say “advise”—and I make that observation advisedly—I do not say that he is doing that on the advice of counsel, but apparently under the orders of someone, presumably the Communist Party, to not admit that he did not own an automobile in 1929.

I would like to point out to Mr. Rosen: You are past 60 years old, you, and your wife. You are a fine-looking couple. You are concerned, deeply concerned, because you say your life has been ruined because of the bad press that you got.

Are you expecting us to feel bad or sympathize with you because people, American people, are angry because you refuse to answer these questions? You could clear your honor in 2 minutes if you say that “I know nothing about this automobile, that some person used my name,” and then explain why it was that you came here to deny and refuse to answer questions when they were propounded to you.

I would like to tell you this, Mr. Rosen, we have had some of the leading citizens of the United States sitting right where you are now, great soldiers, great lawyers, officials of the Government, J. Edgar

Hoover, and all testified with honor and dignity; all left with honor, and nobody threw stones at them.

Now, I would like to suggest to counsel that in the opinion of one member of the committee, Mr. Rosen is engaged at this moment or attempting to engage in a conspiracy to commit contempt, and to deceive this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to comment on Mr. McDowell's statement, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. I can only recommend that as far as the American people, those who have threatened me, they were not considering the question that I answer the question properly or not, they were simply considering the smear in the papers that I was connected with an underground spy ring, and that I was a member of a Northeast branch of the Communist Party in 1936 here. This was the most concern, so far as they are concerned, and I know I have a great many—I have more friends—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you can clear—

Mr. ROSEN. Friends and enemies.

The CHAIRMAN. You can clear up every one of those points just like that. You said that the newspapers claimed that you were a member of the Communist Party in 1936. Is that true or not true?

Mr. ROSEN. It is not true.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not a member in 1936?

Mr. ROSEN. No; of course not.

The CHAIRMAN. But when you were asked if you were a member of the Communist Party—when you joined the Communist Party again, you refused to answer it, and you gave the impression to the press and to the public that something is wrong.

Now, when did you agree to join the Communist Party again?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question.

The CHAIRMAN. There you go again. Go ahead.

Mr. McDOWELL. Now, here, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Rosen is indignant that he was charged with being a member of the Northeast branch of the Communist Party and that he was connected with a spy ring. We are all adults here, Mr. Rosen, and you can certainly see without the advice of counsel or anybody else that at your age and with your experience that that means not a thing. You are straining at a gnat. What difference does it make whether you belonged to the Communist Party in 1936 or 1929 or if you are still or again a member of the Communist Party? What difference did it make whether you belonged to the Northeast branch or the Southeast or the Northwest branch? You are straining at a gnat.

As I pointed out here the last time, you are making a poor argument about being put upon by some members of the press or the American people. That does not mean a thing. There is no sympathy for you here, and there won't be any for you here until you decide to be an American citizen and be truthful. You are headed straight toward jail, as I see it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosen, you have complained about certain things appearing in the newspapers. This committee will have to file a report with the Congress on this entire matter. If you come in and

refuse to answer questions regarding the 1929 Ford, but you will answer questions regarding other automobiles, questions regarding other automobiles that you owned, if you refuse to answer the most pertinent questions that this committee can ask you, there is nothing much that the committee can do but come to the conclusion that you are certainly involved, otherwise you would answer. Are you involved in the sale or transfer of a 1929 automobile?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer on the ground of self-incriminating—

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I do not think it is incriminating. Furthermore, the witness does not have the right to refuse to answer that question on that particular ground.

I think Mr. McDowell's suggestion, when he appeared on August 26, to hold him in contempt would certainly be in order.

A complete investigation is being thwarted by the refusal of this witness to answer a very simple question.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I agree that it would be in order, but I would like to just ask him a simple question in regard to an automobile.

You claim that you owned a Dodge car. What were those other cars that you owned?

Mr. ROSEN. I owned a Hupmobile, a Pontiac, a Plymouth, a Chevrolet.

The CHAIRMAN. A Chevrolet, Hupmobile, and what else?

Mr. ROSEN. A Plymouth.

The CHAIRMAN. Plymouth. What others?

Mr. ROSEN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the only cars you ever owned?

Mr. ROSEN. The cars that I remember that I owned.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Now, just before that you said those were the only cars—You said, "That is all." Now, is it or is it not?

Mr. ROSEN. You asked me about some more cars, and I said that is about all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it all? Do you want to change that testimony?

Mr. ROSEN. I do not remember whether it is all or not.

The CHAIRMAN. I know. You said, "That is all."

Mr. ROSEN. I mean no further cars; yes. I do not remember of any other cars.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you own a Buick?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not own a Buick?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you own a Ford?

Mr. ROSEN. Well, this goes to the same point, too, again. I still refuse to answer the question about a Ford.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I have no more questions.

Mr. ROSEN. On account of incriminating myself.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have some questions.

Where is your present valet service located?

Mr. ROSEN. 2009 Bunker Hill.

Mr. McDOWELL. Bunker Hill?

Mr. ROSEN. Bunker Hill.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you always been there?

Mr. ROSEN. Since 1941.

Mr. McDOWELL. Since 1941. Have you ever operated at any place else in Washington?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir. I operated—I had a store here on G Street NW., in 1927.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you ever have any other establishments, cleaning or pressing or—

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; I had no other establishment. I was managing a store on Fourteenth Street NW., for about 6 months or 7 months, I do not remember exactly.

Mr. McDOWELL. When was that?

Mr. ROSEN. In 1928, before I went to New York.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you have any financial interest in any other establishment in Washington?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; I have no finances.

Mr. McDOWELL. None at all. Do you have any connection at all with any other establishment in Washington?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; no connection whatsoever.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosen, which one of your sons worked for Mr. Benjamin Bialek?

Mr. ROSEN. Sons?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. ROSEN. I do not know. I do not know whether it was Benjamin Bialek—I did not know a thing about it. They were kids; they were about 12, 13 years old, and they used to run some errands there for some people. I didn't know whether it was for Benjamin Bialek or for someone else—it was a drug store. They used to make pennies in the evenings. I would not let them do it, but they went around some places; that is about all. They did not work for him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rosen, I am going to ask you one question which is very pertinent, and if you refuse to answer it, if you refuse to answer this question, I am going to ask the committee to cite you for contempt.

Did the Communist Party instruct you to come in and give this testimony?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; they did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did anyone connected with the Communist Party instruct you to give this testimony?

Mr. ROSEN. No, sir; they did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the Communist Party get in touch with you, from Baltimore, regarding your appearance before the committee on August 26?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground it may incriminate myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you still say the Communist Party or none of its representatives got in touch with you as to the testimony you would give before this committee?

Mr. ROSEN. I said nobody instructed me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they get in touch with you or did any agent of the Communist Party get in touch with you?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer this question on the ground that I may incriminate myself.



Mr. STRIPLING. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Once again, I would like to point out that if he had nothing to do with this car, if he did not sign this title, if he did not own the car, as Mrs. Rosen has testified, and he declines to answer on the ground that it might incriminate him, that is contempt of Congress, direct contempt of Congress, and in addition to the crime of contempt of Congress it is also, in my opinion, the crime of conspiracy to commit contempt, as that was apparently established before the witness came in.

The CHAIRMAN. I certainly agree. But I would like to ask a couple of questions before we get to that question.

When did you come to this country, Mr. Rosen?

Mr. ROSEN. December 1901.

The CHAIRMAN. You came from what country?

Mr. ROSEN. I came from Austria or rather Galicia; it was a province of Austria.

The CHAIRMAN. And you came over on what boat?

Mr. ROSEN. I do not remember. It is 47 years. I think it was the Red Star Line, if I am not mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN. The Red Star Line?

Mr. ROSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any other trips back to Europe since then?

Mr. ROSEN. Yes, 1923; I was in Europe to see my old mother.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you naturalized?

Mr. ROSEN. Last time I stated in 1910, but I think it was in 1912. I think it was March or April of 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. March or April?

Mr. ROSEN. Norfolk, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you apply for your naturalization papers?

Mr. ROSEN. Norfolk, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. Norfolk, Va. What names did you use then?

Mr. ROSEN. My name, William Rosen.

The CHAIRMAN. William Rosen. When were you made a citizen?

Mr. ROSEN. Well, that was the time.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the time?

Mr. ROSEN. 1912, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the only questions I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that you excuse Mr. Rosen and have Mr. Braverman take the stand and bring in his counsel.

I also ask that Mr. Rosen remain under subpoena, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

Do you want Mr. Rosen here?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir. You remain under the authority of the subpoena.

Mr. ROSEN. I can go now, can I?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Braverman is the next witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. Braverman, will you stand and be sworn, please?

You solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Braverman, are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your address?

Mr. FORER. 1105 K Street NW. That is Washington, D. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been a member of the bar?

Mr. FORER. Let's see, about 12, 13 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed in the Government?

Mr. FORER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What agencies?

Mr. FORER. Treasury, NLRB, REA, OPA.

Mr. STRIPLING. As an attorney?

Mr. FORER. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. All the time?

Mr. FORER. Yes.

Mr. DUBOW. My name is Mitchell A. Dubow, and my address is 705 Knickerbocker Building in Baltimore.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you been admitted to practice law in the District of Columbia?

Mr. DUBOW. No; I have not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you been admitted to practice law before the Federal courts?

Mr. DUBOW. In the State of Maryland, before the district court in the State of Maryland.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been employed in the Government?

Mr. DUBOW. No; I have not, other than being an officer in the Corps of Engineers during the war.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you hold a Reserve commission?

Mr. DUBOW. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. What rank?

Mr. DUBOW. Captain.

#### TESTIMONY OF MAURICE LOUIS BRAVERMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER AND MITCHELL A. DUBOW

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Braverman, will you state your full name, please?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Maurice Louis Braverman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Here in Washington.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. 1916.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been employed in the Government?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What agencies?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I had temporary jobs; I never was on permanent civil-service status. I worked for the post office in Baltimore.

Mr. STRIPLING. Give us the years.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. About a month—I am trying to think now—1939, 1940, one of those 2 years—it was just about a month. I worked for the War Department for a few months also in that period, in either 1939 or 1940.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go on with the next question: You say the War Department. What branch over there?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. They have got a little building—I did grade 1 clerk—whatever that was—that is the lowest grade in the civil service, and I do not know what department. I think it was the Adjutant General's Department. I had a temporary job. I worked filing down here at this old building, they call the E Building down here at the Mall.

The CHAIRMAN. The E Building?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes; they called it the E Building, as I remember. I think I had a 3-month temporary appointment, and I do not think it was renewed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any other?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. And I also worked temporary appointments for the Bureau of Internal Revenue, also as a grade 1 clerk; I think that is the status.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year was that?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. That would take in, I think, 1940 to 1941. I worked for about a year for them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any other employment?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. No other employment by the Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you go to school?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Well, I attended school in Baltimore, went through high school. I had some college—I did not get much credits—I did not finish it, and I went to the University of Baltimore, where I got my law degree. That is in Baltimore.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you get your law degree?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to state here that the only reason I am before this committee is because I came here representing a witness. The committee has not been satisfied with the way that witness appeared here, and has called me here to harass me, to intimidate me, to intimidate my clients.

Any questions that go into my private, personal, or political life go to the root of the attorney and client relationship. That is the only reason that I am here before this committee, and I say that this committee has no right to ask me that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Chair would like to interrupt you for just a minute. The reason that you are here is that you refused to be sworn yesterday.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. And the only reason I was asked to be sworn yesterday was that I was here before the committee together with a witness, and the committee was not satisfied with the way I represented that witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is not correct.

The CHAIRMAN. We had certain questions we wanted to ask you, and you refused to be sworn, and you refused to be sworn because you did not have counsel, and then we served a subpoena on you and in accordance with that subpoena you are here today with your counsel, two members of the bar.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Braverman?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I repeat my answer, Mr. Stripling, and I refuse to state—I refuse to answer that question on the ground of the first amendment, which gives me the right of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of association; and the fifth amendment, the amendment providing for self-incrimination.

Mr. STRIPLING. Self-incrimination. Are you pleading self-incrimination?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I will repeat my answer, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. I want this straight. Are you pleading self-incrimination?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I am pleading the fifth amendment to the Constitution. I refuse to answer that question that was given to me just a few seconds ago on the grounds on which I stated before and on the further ground of the first and fifth amendments, which amendments protect me against giving any evidence which will incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. But, in answering whether or not you are a member of the party would incriminate you in your own mind.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I repeat again: The only reason I am here before this committee is because this committee is harassing me because I appeared here as counsel with a witness. I am not here on anything material to the inquiry that is being carried on by this committee. If I had not appeared here as counsel for this witness I would not here today be subpoenaed by this committee. The only reason I was asked to take the stand yesterday and asked to take the stand also the first time I appeared with Mr. Rosen on the 26th of August was because it was an attempt which was made to intimidate me in the eyes of my client, and, therefore, to intimidate my client. Any questions that go to my private, personal political beliefs, under these circumstances, are questions that go to the base of attorney and client relationship.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the reason that the witness was asked to be sworn on August 26, and the reason that he was asked to be sworn yesterday, and the reason that he has been subpoenaed to appear here today was not to intimidate his client, but rather to bring forth certain information as to why Mr. Rosen has refused to answer certain pertinent questions before this committee.

I believe that Mr. Rosen was instructed by the Communist Party of the District of Columbia and Maryland to refuse to answer these questions, and I think that Mr. Braverman instructed him to do so upon instructions of the Communist Party, and I shall ask Mr. Braverman certain questions along that line, which have nothing to do with intimidating Mr. Rosen.

Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Braverman?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman and Mr. Stripling, Mr. Stripling's statement has proved the point that I have been making, the point being that I am here—

The CHAIRMAN. There is a question which has been asked.

Mr. STRIPLING. I ask that he be asked to respond to the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You respond to the question.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. May I consult with counsel?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you may consult with counsel.

(Mr. Braverman consults with Mr. Forer and Mr. Dubow.)

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question for the reasons that I have already given.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of David Rein?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you last see Mr. Rein?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I do not remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you have any conversation with Mr. Rein on August 25?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. It was August 26—that was the day I appeared here?

Mr. STRIPLING. No. The 26th was the day you appeared here.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. No; I had no conversation with him on the 25th.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you have any conversation with him on the 24th of August?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. The 23d of August?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. The 26th of August?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you receive a telephone call from an individual by the name of William Taylor in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated, which go to the basis of my attorney-client relationship with Mr. Rosen. The reasons I am appearing here is because I came here as counsel for Mr. Rosen. I further refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who put you in touch with Mr. Rosen? Who asked you to appear for him?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. That question goes to the very basis of my relationship with my client. It is a privileged matter that exists between my clients and myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state under oath that the Communist Party did not put you in touch with Mr. Rosen?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have already given.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you know Albert E. Blumberg?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes; I know Mr. Blumberg.

Mr. STRIPLING. How well do you know Mr. Blumberg?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. He is a client of mine.

Mr. STRIPLING. A client of yours? Have you ever represented the Communist Party?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes; I have represented the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times have you represented the Communist Party?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I do not know. Offhand, I cannot say.

Mr. STRIPLING. You refuse to answer whether or not you are a Communist on the grounds you might incriminate yourself?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that I have already stated. I have stated them fully, and I will be glad to state them again.

Mr. STRIPLING. It is not necessary, but you do include the fifth amendment?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I do include the fifth amendment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have certain information here which I do not wish to introduce at this time. I want to introduce it in open session. I have no further questions.

I recommend that this witness also be cited for contempt of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be taken into consideration.

Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. I have no questions, but I would like to comment briefly on Mr. Braverman's testimony. When a question is asked of any sound and patriotic American as to whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party, it has been our experience that he indignantly answered, "No," and when we find that individual who seeks refuge behind certain provisions of the Constitution refuses to answer that point-blank question we have no alternative but to believe, to assume, that that individual is a member of the Communist Party, and you leave us, Mr. Braverman, with no alternative but that belief.

You are satisfied to leave us with that impression; is that correct?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Vail, I repeat, the reason I have been subpoenaed to this committee is because on two occasions I have represented witnesses before this committee, and this committee has seen fit on each occasion to attempt to put me under oath in front of my witness, has attempted to then go into my personal, private, and political life which is not at all material to the inquiry under investigation by this committee, and that is my answer.

Mr. VAIL. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions, but I would like to tell Mr. Braverman that there have been literally dozens and dozens of lawyers who have appeared here, some of them Communists, suspected Communists, who declined to answer for various reasons, self-incrimination, and so forth. They were not sworn, and they were not asked to be sworn. The caliber of the answers of Mr. Rosen, your client, raises grave suspicion in the minds of the committee that a conspiracy to commit contempt has been established. This committee and all other committees of Congress will continue to have all the respect for the efforts of the law and lawyers, attorneys, but it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that an attorney, too, is a traitor to his country. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any more questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the chief investigator want this witness to remain under subpoena?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Braverman, you will remain under subpoena, and you are excused now.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, on August 28, 1948, the committee issued a report entitled "Interim Report on Hearings Regarding the Communist Espionage in the United States Government." I ask that this report be made a part of this record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered. The meeting will now adjourn, to reconvene upon notice by the chairman.

(Whereupon the meeting adjourned.)

## INTERIM REPORT ON HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

It has been the established policy of the House Committee on Un-American Activities since its inception that in a great, virile, free republic like the United States, one of the most effective weapons against un-American activities is their continuous exposure to the spotlight of publicity. It has also been our consistent position that the people of the United States—to whom this Government rightfully belongs—are entitled to a clear picture of the extent of disloyal and inimical influences working secretly to destroy our free institutions whether they operate from within or without the Government.

The current investigations and hearings dealing with past and present Communist espionage activities in Government are therefore strictly in conformity with what the members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities conceive to be their duty and responsibility to undertake.

It is essential to the success of our efficient Federal Bureau of Investigation that it must not disclose all of its sources of information and methods of operation. It is also a fact—although one which is sometimes overlooked by the ill-informed—that the FBI is a fact-finding and investigating agency and not an exposure agency. Its duties are to find and record the facts so they will be available to police officers, law-enforcement officials, and the prosecuting agencies of Government. It is not a vehicle for reporting to the public on the extent of nefarious activities. It is under the direction of the Attorney General of the United States, and its contacts with the public and with Congress are determined by policies established by him.

In the United States we sometimes utilize the method of gathering and presenting evidence which is represented by the grand jury. Grand-jury proceedings are conducted in the greatest of secrecy. Jurors in these proceedings sit as judges of the evidence submitted, but their decisions as to guilt or to innocence are made only after the officials conducting the proceedings ask them for a verdict as to specific points and on specific questions. In the case of a Federal grand jury, it therefore rests with the Attorney General as to what verdicts are sought, as to what evidence is submitted, and as to what disposition is to be made of the material presented. Until a grand jury has issued either an indictment or a no-true bill, there is no means of establishing either the guilt or the innocence of the people before it on the basis of what goes on behind its tightly closed doors. At best, the grand jury is not a vehicle for reporting to the public on the extent of un-American activities in a free republic.

As contrasted with the FBI and the grand jury, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has a separate and a very special responsibility. It functions to permit the greatest court in the world—the court of American public opinion—to have an undirected, uncensored, and unprejudiced opportunity to render a continuing verdict on all of its public officials and to evaluate the merit of many in private life who either openly associate and assist disloyal groups or covertly operate as members or fellow travelers of such organizations. It is as necessary to the success of this committee that it reveal its findings to the public as it is to the success of the FBI that it conceal its operations from the public view.

The functioning of the Communist espionage rings in Government provides a dramatically vivid illustration of the functions of the three foregoing public institutions in their rendering of the service they are created to perform.

The FBI functions to find and assimilate all of the facts available to that organization and to make them available to the prosecuting agencies of the Federal Government. The Federal grand jury functions to consider the evidence selected from these facts by the Attorney General and to pass judgment upon whatever verdicts it is asked to make by the Attorney General. The House Committee on Un-American Activities functions to alert the public concerning the existence and operation of these espionage practices, and to point up and propose the necessary new legislation to provide our country with greater safeguards and to enable it to protect itself against the constantly changing tactics and practices of world-wide and world-dominated communism and its American ramparts.

We are an arm of the lawmaking branch of our Government. It is our job to explore, to study, and to investigate, and to determine if new laws are needed or present laws need strengthening. In pursuing this all-important function, full inquiry is essential, which is the historic and special prerogative of the legislative branch of our Government. The duties and functions of the Committee on

Un-American Activities are somewhat unique among the committees of Congress, which are principally concerned with matters of commerce, taxes, and the operation of the Federal Government, but there is delegated to us the function of investigating subversive influences which seek to destroy the Government and institutions of the United States.

In dealing with groups and individuals that engage in this subversive conspiracy, the committee has the difficult task of pursuing its inquiry through regulations and procedures which, when formulated, were meant to apply only to law-abiding citizens of the country.

It is noteworthy, for example, that not until the House Committee on Un-American Activities began its current hearings on the subject did the general public have any knowledge that the now established and disclosed Communist espionage activities had reached into vital positions of high authority in Government. Not until these hearings began did the general public or even the average Member of Congress have the evidence upon which to base decisions concerning the new legislation essential to our national security under prevailing conditions. Not until these hearings began did the people to whom this Government belongs have any direct evidence as to the men and methods being employed to subjugate our freedom to the tyranny of a foreign totalitarian power. The false security of complacent ignorance is much worse than having either no security or no complacency at all.

It is also true that in many instances the crimes of treason and espionage are so difficult to punish by conviction because of technical devices and the necessity of so tightly defining these crimes, that if near treason and "virtual espionage" and "cold-war treason or espionage" are to be safeguarded against it is imperative that not only must the power of public opinion be marshaled against these disloyal and self-serving practices but legislation must be enacted which will provide appropriate punishment for these specific derelictions. To do less than that is to deny to the people generally the protection and security they have a right to expect from alert public officials.

#### REASONS FOR PUBLIC HEARINGS

Questions are sometimes raised both by chronic critics of this committee and by sincere observers as to whether holding public hearings on questions of loyalty, espionage, and Communist conspiracy ever serves the public interest. These people hold that our committee should screen witnesses carefully in secret executive sessions and sift the testimony, releasing to the public only such portions as the committee decides it should see or hear.

It is argued by those adhering to this position that this committee, in its zeal to protect the reputations and feelings of innocent people whose names may occasionally be injected into public hearings, should operate in large part after the manner of a grand jury and in utmost secrecy, withholding from the public the steps by which evidence is accumulated and its decisions made. This committee yields to nobody in its earnest desire to protect the innocent and to expose the guilty.

It is the established policy of this committee to protect in every feasible manner the reputations and the sensibilities of innocent citizens. It is also an established fact that in conducting public hearings—and this committee deplors the use of star-chamber, secret sessions unless public necessity requires them—an occasional mention of some innocent citizen in connection with a nefarious practice will inevitably occur. When it does, we provide every opportunity for those mentioned to clear themselves of all suspicion in the same forum before the same publicity media as in the case of the original allegations. In addition we have frequently inserted memoranda in our files to protect those innocently accused elsewhere from unjust attack or suspicion.

At times, however, your committee is confronted with the necessity of running the risk that a few innocent people may be temporarily embarrassed or the risk that 140,000,000 innocent Americans may be permanently enslaved. When necessary to resolve the relative merits of two such risks as that, your committee holds to the position that its primary responsibility is to that great bulk of our American population whose patriotic devotion to our free institutions deserves the greatest diligence in being protected against those who would utilize our Bill of Rights and our American freedoms to destroy permanently these great safeguards of personal liberty and human dignity.

There is another very vital and important reason why public hearings such as are held by this committee provide an indispensable supplement to the off-the-



record investigations and activities of such institutions as the FBI and the grand jury. It is illustrated most recently by the controversial features of the Chambers-Hiss testimony. Despite the fact that Alger Hiss had been interrogated as to his connections with communism and Communists by at least two outstanding Americans, Secretary of State Byrnes and John Foster Dulles, acting independently, and by other Government officials, none of these interrogatories had established the relationship of Hiss and Chambers until our committee held its public hearings on this case. In fact, it was not until our public hearings had proceeded for some time that it was definitely established that Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers knew each other personally and rather intimately during the precise period of time that Whittaker Chambers testified that their associations took place. Mr. Hiss testified that he knew Whittaker Chambers by the name of "George Crosley" but he positively identified the man known today as Whittaker Chambers as the man he knew. He testified unequivocally that he not only knew Chambers (by name of Crosley) but that he let him use his apartment without ever receiving payment for it, that he loaned Chambers money, that he loaned or gave him an automobile, and that he had even kept Mr. and Mrs. Chambers and their baby in his own home overnight on one or more occasions. Thus the connection between Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, as a man-to-man relationship, stands without challenge confirmed by the testimony of both men and the public hearings held by this committee. This fact had never been established by other investigations.

It should also be noted that the stark fact that Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, a self-confessed paid Communist functionary and espionage agent, were acquainted with each other and did have numerous transactions and associations together, is of far greater significance under the circumstances than whether Chambers was known to Hiss by the name of "Carl" or of "George Crosley." This fact has been established without challenge for the record by the public hearings of this committee, although through the years it had been established by no other investigation.

Hiss will be given every opportunity to reconcile the conflicting portions of his testimony, but the confrontation of the two men and the attendant testimony from both witnesses has definitely shifted the burden of proof from Chambers to Hiss, in the opinion of this committee. Up to now, the verifiable portions of Chambers' testimony have stood up strongly; the verifiable portions of the Hiss' testimony have been badly shaken and are primarily refuted by the testimony of Hiss versus Hiss, as the complete text of the printed hearings will reveal.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF THE ESPIONAGE GROUPS

Elizabeth T. Bentley, in testimony before the committee, identified two Communist espionage groups composed of Government employees and Government officials in Washington, D. C. Information supplied from the files of the Federal Government by members of these espionage groups was conveyed to New York City and turned over to agents of the Soviet Union, according to Miss Bentley. The members of these groups, as identified by Miss Bentley, and their employing Federal agencies for the period concerned in the testimony, are as follows:

#### SILVERMASTER GROUP

- Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Director of Labor Division, Farm Security Administration; detailed at one time to Board of Economic Warfare.
- Solomon Adler, Treasury Department; agent in China.
- Norman Bursler, Department of Justice.
- Frank Coe, Assistant Director, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury; special assistant to United States Ambassador in London; assistant to the Executive Director, Board of Economic Warfare and successor agencies; Assistant Administrator, Foreign Economic Administration.
- Lanchlin Currie, administrative assistant to the President; Deputy Administrator of Foreign Economic Administration.
- Bela Gold (known to Miss Bentley as William Gold), assistant head of Division of Program Surveys, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Agriculture Department; Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization; Office of Economic Programs in Foreign Economic Administration.
- Mrs. Bela (Sonia) Gold, research assistant, House Select Committee on Interstate Migration; labor-market analyst, Bureau of Employment Security; Division of Monetary Research, Treasury.

Abraham George Silverman, director, Bureau of Research and Information Services, United States Railroad Retirement Board; economic adviser and chief of analysis and plans, Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Matériel and Services, Air Forces.

William Taylor, Treasury Department.

William Ludwig Ullmann, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury; Matériel and Service Division, Air Corps Headquarters, Pentagon.

#### PERLO GROUP

Victor Perlo, head of brand in Research Section, Office of Price Administration; War Production Board; Monetary Research, Treasury.

Edward J. Fitzgerald, War Production Board.

Harold Glasser, Treasury Department; loaned to Government of Ecuador; loaned to War Production Board; adviser on North African Affairs Committee in Algiers, North Africa.

Charles Kramer (Krevitsky), National Labor Relations Board; Office of Price Administration; economist with Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization.

Solomon Lischinsky, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Harry Magdoff, Statistical Division of War Production Board and Office of Emergency Management; Bureau of Research and Statistics, WPB; Tools Division, WPB; Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Allan Rosenberg, Foreign Economic Administration.

Donald Niven Wheeler, Office of Strategic Services.

Miss Bentley also testified that Irving Kaplan, an employee of the War Production Board at the time, was associated with both groups, paying dues to the Perlo group and submitting information to the Silvermaster group. She identified the late Harry Dexter White, then Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, as another individual who cooperated with the Silvermaster group.

#### UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

Miss Bentley further testified that there were certain individuals employed in the Government who cooperated in obtaining information from the files of the Government for the use of Russian agents but who were not actually attached to either the Silvermaster or Perlo groups. These individuals, as named by Miss Bentley, and the governmental agency with which they were employed during the period concerned in the testimony, are as follows:

Michael Greenberg, Board of Economic Warfare; Foreign Economic Administration; specialist on China.

Joseph Gregg, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, assistant in Research Division.

Maurice Halperin, Office of Strategic Services; head of Latin American Division in the Research and Analysis Branch; head of Latin American research and analysis, State Department.

J. Julius Joseph, Office of Strategic Services, Japanese Division.

Duncan Chaplin Lee, Office of Strategic Services, legal adviser to Gen. William J. Donovan.

Robert T. Miller, head of political research, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; member, Information Service Committee, Near Eastern Affairs, State Department; Assistant Chief, Division of Research and Publications, State Department.

William Z. Park, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

Bernard Redmont, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

Helen Tenney, Office of Strategic Services, Spanish Division.

William Remington, of the Department of Commerce, was mentioned by Miss Bentley before the Senate investigation committee as having been associated with this group.

#### WARE-ABT-WITT GROUP

On August 3, the committee heard the testimony of Whittaker Chambers. He testified regarding an underground apparatus which was set up by the Communist Party in the early thirties for the purpose of infiltrating the Federal Government. The members of this group, according to Mr. Chambers, and their

governmental employment during the period concerned in the testimony, are as follows:

Harold Ware (deceased), Department of Agriculture.

John J. Abt, Department of Agriculture; Works Progress Administration; Senate Committee on Education and Labor; Justice Department.

Nathan Witt, Department of Agriculture; National Labor Relations Board.

Lee Pressman, Department of Agriculture; Works Progress Administration.

Alger Hiss, Department of Agriculture; Special Senate Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry; Justice Department; State Department.

Donald Hiss, State Department; Labor Department.

Henry H. Collins, National Recovery Administration; Department of Agriculture.

Charles Kramer (Krevitsky), National Labor Relations Board; Office of Price Administration; Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization.

Victor Perlo, Office of Price Administration; War Production Board; Treasury Department.

#### SUMMARY OF WITNESSES AND TESTIMONY

Testimony regarding Communist espionage activities within the Government involving approximately 40 individuals was given before the committee by Elizabeth Terrill Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, and Louis F. Budenz, admitted former functionaries of the Communist Party.

Mr. Chambers was formerly editor of the (Communist) Daily Worker and of the New Masses. He is now a senior editor of Time Magazine. Mr. Budenz was formerly managing editor of the (Communist) Daily Worker. He is now a professor at Fordham University.

Miss Bentley, according to her own testimony which has been verified by Mr. Budenz, was formerly active in Communist underground activity. The Committee is in possession of supporting evidence to establish these previous Communist affiliations.

Of these forty-odd individuals named, Lauchlin Currie, Harry D. White (deceased), Bela Gold, Sonia Gold, Frank Coe, Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, appeared before the committee at their own request and categorically denied the accusations made by Miss Bentley and Mr. Chambers.

Henry H. Collins, Victor Perlo, Abraham George Silverman, William Ludwig Ullmann, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, John Abt, Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt, Duncan Chaplin Lee, Robert T. Miller, and Charles Kramer appeared in response to subpoenas. Alexander Koral, who was allegedly involved in these activities, was also subpoenaed. J. Peters, alleged head of the Communist underground in this country, will be served with a subpoena on August 30.

Norman Bursler, Allan Rosenberg, Solomon Adler, Solomon Lischinsky, Mary Price, Donald Niven Wheeler, Edward J. Fitzgerald, Harold Glasser, Joseph Gregg, Rose Gregg, Irving Kaplan, and certain Russian contacts known only as Frank, Al, and Jack, have not appeared before the committee. Harold M. Ware is deceased, as is also Jacob N. Golos.

Ten witnesses (Alexander Koral, Henry H. Collins, Victor Perlo, Abraham George Silverman, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, William Ludwig Ullmann, John Abt, Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt, and Charles Kramer) refused to affirm or deny membership in the Communist Party on the ground of self-incrimination. These 10 witnesses on the same grounds, also refused to affirm or deny contacts with 1 or more of the 40 individuals allegedly involved in espionage or with Elizabeth Terrill Bentley or Whittaker Chambers.

Nine of these witnesses (Alexander Koral, Victor Perlo, Abraham George Silverman, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, William Ludwig Ullmann, John Abt, Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt, and Charles Kramer) refused to affirm or deny charges made against them by Elizabeth Terrill Bentley or Whittaker Chambers.

No charge of Communist Party affiliation was made against either Lauchlin Currie or Harry Dexter White. Both denied such affiliation. However, both admitted acquaintance with various members of the espionage group named by Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers.

The following persons who were charged with being Communist Party members denied such affiliation: Bela Gold, Sonia Gold, Duncan Chaplin Lee, Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Robert T. Miller, and Frank Coe. They all admitted, however, associations and acquaintance with various members of the espionage groups named. Alger Hiss, after previous denials, admitted knowing Whittaker Cham-

bers as George Crosley. Duncan Chaplin Lee and Robert T. Miller admitted knowing Miss Bentley, the former acknowledging also acquaintance with Jacob Golos, Miss Bentley's superior, now deceased.

#### WHY THESE HEARINGS WERE DEFERRED UNTIL JULY

The committee would like to make it emphatically clear why we undertook public hearings on espionage activities within the Government at this time. In February of 1947 the committee's investigations determined that certain Government employees had engaged in espionage activities. We knew that certain divisions of the Government were under rigid surveillance by the FBI. The committee later became aware of the fact that a secret blue ribbon grand jury had been convened in New York City to consider this Government espionage. In deference to the functions of the grand jury, and of the investigative and prosecuting agencies of the executive branch of the Government, the committee took no action or pursued no investigation which would in anywise jeopardize or interfere with the prosecution of the persons involved. Several hearings which the committee had scheduled and was prepared to hold were postponed because of the grand jury's investigation.

In July of 1948, however, when the grand jury recessed after sitting for 14 months without returning any indictments, or issuing a no true bill, or making any other disposition concerning the persons involved in this espionage activity, the committee felt compelled to bring to the attention of the American people the information that it had before it.

When we called Elizabeth T. Bentley before our committee on July 31, we were fully aware that her information and allegations had been thoroughly checked by the FBI, and that they had been substantiated. When the committee called before it Whittaker Chambers we knew that he had advised a high official of the Government as early as 1939, of the information that he knew through first-hand knowledge of the operations of the Communist apparatus within the Government during the period 1934 through 1937. Because of the fact that the Government files are not available to the committee, we could not determine what official action had been taken on the allegations of Chambers. We were in possession of no information that his story had ever been disproved or discredited. We thought his testimony should be brought out to show that this Communist penetration in the Government began as early as 1934, and that it culminated in the actual operation of the espionage rings as described by Miss Bentley.

#### HISS-CHAMBERS TESTIMONY

One of the most difficult problems which has faced the committee has been that of resolving the conflict between the testimony submitted by Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss. Chambers testified on August 3 that Hiss was a member of a Communist underground group of Government workers during the period 1934-37 when Chambers was serving as a Communist Party functionary in Washington. On August 5 Hiss categorically denied the charges of Chambers that he was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party, and furthermore denied ever having known Chambers or "having laid eyes upon him." As a result of exhaustive investigation by the committee's staff and of hours of executive session testimony from Hiss, Chambers, and all others who had information concerning the conflicting stories, Hiss finally admitted on August 17 for the first time that he actually had known Chambers as George Crosley, during the period in question.

As a result of the hearings and investigations which have been conducted by the committee to date, these facts have been clearly established: (1) There is no doubt whatever but that Chambers from 1931 to 1938 was a paid functionary of the Communist Party and that from 1934 to 1937 he operated as a member of the Communist underground among Government workers in Washington. (2) The refusal of Nathan Witt, John Abt, Henry Collins, Lee Pressman, and Victor Perlo to answer any questions concerning their activities as members of this group on the ground of self-incrimination and to answer as to whether or not they were members of the Communist Party during that period is in itself strong corroborative evidence for Chambers' story. (3) By his own admission Hiss knew Chambers for a period of at least 10 months during the period in question and possibly longer. It is also clear that Hiss knew Chambers very well as indicated by his admission that he sublet his furnished apartment to him, that he met him on various occasions for lunch, that on at least one occasion he gave him a ride to New York from Washington, that for several days the Chambers family visited

in the Hiss home and that he loaned money to Chambers, and that he gave him an automobile. (4) While admitting that he knew Chambers, Hiss still denies that he knew that Chambers was a Communist, and that he, Hiss, was a member of the Communist Party at any time.

Hiss testified on August 16 and 17 that at the time that he leased his apartment to Chambers he gave him a 1929 Ford automobile. In his testimony in the public session on August 25, however, when confronted with documentary evidence which committee investigators produced, that he actually had transferred the car in 1936 to the Cherner Motor Co. who the same day transferred it to one William Rosen, Hiss changed his position on the car and testified in a manner which to the committee seemed vague and evasive. He stated that he could not recall whether or not he gave the car to Chambers or whether he loaned it to him. He could not recall whether he gave it to him at the same time he sublet the apartment to him or whether he did so several months later after Chambers had left the apartment. He had no recollection whatever of having transferred the car to the Cherner Motor Co. although he admitted that the signature on the transfer of title was his own. He said that it was possible that he could have given the car to Chambers and that Chambers could have given it back to him, and that he later could have transferred it to the Cherner Motor Co. but that he could not recall what happened.

This much concerning the testimony in regard to the car can definitely be concluded. Hiss stated on August 16 and 17 that he sold or gave the car to Crosley (Chambers) at the same time that he sublet the apartment to him, and that at the time that he did this he had another car which he himself was using. A check of the records by the committee staff showed that Hiss did not acquire another car until several months after the apartment transaction was concluded and that he actually transferred the car over a year later to the Cherner Motor Co.

His vague and evasive testimony on this transaction raises a doubt as to other portions of his testimony. In this connection it should be observed that on 198 occasions Hiss qualified his answers to questions by the phrase "to the best of my recollection" and similar qualifying phrases, while Chambers, on the other hand, was for the most part forthright and emphatic in his answers to questions.

For example, Chambers testified on August 7 that Hiss had expressed a desire to transfer the automobile in question to a Communist Party worker and that he effected this transfer by taking the car to a used-car lot which was operated by a Communist sympathizer, who in turn was to turn it over to a Communist organizer. To date the committee's investigations of the car transaction tend to bear out Mr. Chambers' version of what happened rather than Hiss' version. The only evidence of the transfer of the car is of the transfer to the Cherner Motor Co. in 1936 and to William Rosen to whom the car was transferred by Cherner. When questioned by the committee, Rosen refused to answer any questions concerning the car or concerning whether he was a member of the Communist Party on the ground of self-incrimination. The committee will continue to pursue its investigations of this transaction.

In summary, the developments of the Hiss-Chambers controversy to date warrant the following conclusions:

1. Despite his denial that he has ever been a member of the Communist Party or had any friends who were Communists, Hiss has admitted knowing and associating with Harold Ware, Nathan Witt, John Abt, Henry Collins, Lee Pressman, and Whittaker Chambers, all of whom are either known or admitted members of the Communist Party, or who have refused to answer the question as to whether they were members of the Communist Party on the ground of self-incrimination. It stretches the credulity of the committee to believe that Hiss could have known these people, including Chambers, as well as he did without at some time suspecting that they were members of the Communist Party.

2. The committee believes that Mr. Hiss was not completely forthright in his testimony before the committee on August 5 when he failed to tell the committee that he noted a familiarity about the features of Whittaker Chambers when a picture of Chambers was shown to him. He has since admitted that he told several friends before the hearing of his noting this familiarity but when shown a picture of Chambers he deliberately created the impression that the face meant nothing to him whatever. It is hard to believe that Hiss could have known Chambers as well as he admits he knew Crosley without being able to recognize the picture which was shown him during the hearing of August 5.

3. Hiss has either failed or refused to tell the committee the whole truth concerning the disposition of his 1929 Ford automobile. It is inconceivable that a man would not remember whether he had given a car away twice or at all and it is

just as inconceivable that he would not recall whether a person to whom he had given the automobile had later returned it to him.

4. Despite the fact that Hiss says he knew Chambers under the name of Crosley, a thorough investigation by the committee has failed to date to find any person who knew him by that name during the period in question. The committee believes that the burden is upon Hiss to establish that Chambers actually went under the name of Crosley at the time he knew him and that Hiss knew Crosley as a free-lance writer rather than as the admitted Communist functionary which Chambers actually was during that period.

#### OBSTRUCTIVE TACTICS BY WHITE HOUSE

The committee's investigation of espionage among Government workers has been hampered at every turn by the refusal of the executive branch of the Government to cooperate in any way with the investigation due to the President's loyalty freeze order. Not only have the executive agencies refused to turn over to the committee the loyalty files of the suspected members of the spy rings but they have even gone so far as to refuse to turn over the employment records of these individuals. The committee can see no excuse whatever for such arbitrary action since it is obvious that turning over employment records would in nowise involve disclosing sources of information or confidential data. Had the executive agencies of the Government cooperated with the committee in its investigation, there is no question but what the public would now have full information concerning all the ramifications of the espionage rings. The committee has proceeded to obtain this information in every way possible and eventually will see that it is presented to the public, but the committee deplors the fact that the executive branch of the Government will in no way aid the committee in its efforts to protect the national security from those who are doing everything they can to undermine and destroy it.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

The committee again calls upon the Attorney General of the United States to vigorously enforce the existing espionage and other laws against those who are participating in the Communist conspiracy. These laws should be enforced without regard to partisan or political considerations because the very security of the Nation is at stake. The failure of the Attorney General to enforce the laws as vigorously as he should has been in large part responsible for the growth and power of the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

The committee again calls upon the Attorney General to forward to the Congress at the earliest possible date recommendations for strengthening the espionage laws so that they will be adequate to deal with the Communist conspiracy. As long ago as February 5 the Attorney General appeared before the Legislative Subcommittee of the Un-American Activities Committee and declared that amendments to the espionage laws were essential in order to meet the new techniques which had been developed by the Communists and other foreign agents. He assured the committee that his recommendations would be forwarded to the Congress at an early date. Members of this committee have repeatedly requested the Attorney General since that time to give the Congress his recommendations for needed changes of the espionage laws, and as yet have received no response whatever as to what changes are needed.

The Attorney General has from time to time inferred that those who participated in the Bentley spy ring might be immune from prosecution under present laws because of the inadequacy of those laws. This investigation has shown clearly that a well-organized and dangerous espionage ring operated in the Government during the war; and if present laws are inadequate, as the Attorney General has inferred, to prosecute the members of this ring, it is the solemn responsibility of the Attorney General to forward to the Congress immediately his recommendations for needed changes in the espionage laws so that the national security can be protected.

It is also imperative that the Attorney General proceed promptly to call the New York special grand jury back into session to consider his recommendations on the disposition of the evidence he has placed before it. The public has the clear right to have this proceeding concluded by indictments where indicated, by a no true bill where warranted, and by a full report by the Attorney General on his disposition of the case.

## THE COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND APPARATUS

In the past the committee has dealt primarily with the open manifestations and activity of the Communist Party. From time to time, however, witnesses have called our attention to the existence of a far-reaching and ramified underground organization. The Communist Party has been compared with a submarine with its small periscope exposed and its destructive apparatus beneath the surface.

The testimony of Elizabeth Terrill Bentley and Whittaker Chambers has disclosed the existence of compact, conspiratorial rings consisting of Communists within the Government. These rings maintained their contact with the Communist Party through one designated person known to them only by a pseudonym. This person in turn contacted the representative of the Soviet military intelligence. Through this single contact the members of each ring paid their party dues, received literature and instruction, and transmitted documents and information. There is every reason to believe that the committee has merely scratched the surface of these activities, that more of these groups exist than have been disclosed by available witnesses, and that such groups are still operating within the Government.

This condition provides a factual answer to those who raise the fear that appropriate legislation may drive the Communist Party underground. The party is in fact and by its own choice already in large measure underground.

## HOW COMMUNIST CONSPIRATORIAL TACTICS CHANGE

Throughout the world and throughout all time a prime facet of Communist conspiracies has been the utilization of every device and protection the law of the land provides to escape detection, to avoid punishment, and to utilize the safeguards provided to protect the innocent to establish their godless tyranny to provide a dictatorship for all but the favored few.

This committee has witnessed the constantly changing practice of these devices of deceit and this misuse of constitutional safeguards by American Communists since its first inception.

First, Communists sought to defy the subpoena power of the Federal Government as exercised by the regularly constituted committee of the Congress. Then they resorted to slander, abusive invective, and diabolic mistruths about the Congress as a whole and the members of congressional investigating committees in particular. They defied the right and the power of Congress to investigate their conspiratorial activities, seeking to protect themselves by untruthfully describing themselves as a "political party."

For a time they refused to answer all pertinent questions before congressional committees. This committee continued to try to change its tactics and improve its techniques to cope with the chameleonlike tactics of these Communist conspirators. Finally, in the Josephson case the Supreme Court upheld the right of a congressional committee to cite for contempt a recalcitrant or contemptuous witness. A long series of convictions and jail sentences has now resulted as a consequence of cases cited for contempt by Congress.

Confronted with this situation, the Communist legal cell in America has lately developed yet a new tactic. They now counsel their Communist clients to fall back upon the fifth amendment and to resort to the statement, "I cannot answer the question on the grounds of self-incrimination," when any question is asked whereupon a forthright reply might expose their guilt or complicity. Utilization of the grounds of self-incrimination carried to the extreme and unreasonable extent now recommended by Communist counselors could conceivably develop to the point where all legislative investigation processes would be stymied completely and the Communists could cloak their conspiratorial and treasonable activities in and out of Government by this device. This committee is now studying methods of legally meeting this new challenge to constitutional authority as it has studied past devices developed and utilized by Communists for similar purposes. It urges the cooperation and assistance of the best legal counsel in America to aid it in arriving at a proper course of action in the interests of our national security in this uncertain and insecure juncture in our Nation's history.

The committee recognizes and desires to protect the constitutional right to use the fifth amendment, but the Communist Party has now resorted to the extreme of invoking this constitutional right as a cover-all for any and all activities whether possible incrimination may or may not be involved. They have employed

it as a device for refusing to provide the committee with any pertinent information concerning Communist activities in America.

#### PRESENT OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

This committee will issue a final report on the Communist espionage hearings just as soon as it appears that all evidence has been gathered, verified, and evaluated. In the meantime, this interim report is being issued to acquaint the public with the salient features of what has transpired to date. For that reason, too, the complete transcripts of all hearings to date are now in the hands of the Government Printing Office and will be available to the public at an early date.

We are not attempting in this report to preview the final findings which this committee will make, since every day brings in new facts which we must explore and exhaust. It is our purpose to ferret out and expose every available fact in connection with the entire espionage conspiracy which the Communists have established and operated in our executive agencies. Until that is done, other interim reports may be issued. The final report will not be delayed a day beyond that necessary to complete the vast amount of investigation, interrogation, and exploration which lies ahead of us and the staff investigators and subcommittees which will move forward diligently on this vital matter.

As of this date, however, it is possible to record certain findings and observations which we believe will be helpful in aiding the public and the Members of Congress generally to understand the significance of what is being uncovered by these hearings.

(1) It is now definitely established that during the late war and since then, there have been numerous Communist espionage rings at work in our executive agencies which have worked with and through the American Communist Party and its agents to relay to Russia vital information essential to our national defense and security. Russian Communists have worked hand in hand with American Communists in these espionage activities.

(2) It is established beyond doubt that there is grave need for vigorous, persistent, and courageous continued investigation to determine the identity of those guilty of past offenses, the methods employed in the past and at present to move carefully selected Communist agents and their sympathizers into key positions of Government, and to break up all Communist espionage conspiracies and activities prevailing at this time. These situations should command and receive the most diligent attention of this committee, of the Attorney General's office and the grand jury proceedings under his authority, and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They should proceed without partisanship and without prejudice. It would be greatly in the public interest if they could receive the support of the White House rather than to be obstructed by it. This committee believes the eradication of espionage from the Federal Government should command the same cooperation between the White House and the Congress and between the two major American political parties as has been utilized in the formation and implementation of our bipartisan foreign policy.

(3) As evidence of this committee's sincerity in desiring to cooperate fully with the executive agencies in the ferreting out of all disloyal and un-American practices in Government during our committee's existence, we have opened our files to the security officers and loyalty board representatives of the executive departments. This year alone these representatives of the executive departments have paid over 14,000 official visits to our file rooms. They have been accorded full cooperation. Contrariwise, under the President's Executive order, the files and records of the executive departments on all matters of loyalty and security have been firmly closed, not only to our committee but to all committees of Congress and to the general public. We hold that this is an unwholesome, an unwise, and an unsafe situation.

(4) Since the committee has not completed its investigation, it is not prepared at this time to forward to the Attorney General specific charges of perjury. However, we have made available to the United States Attorney a complete transcript of the hearing in this case and shall continue to keep him supplied with the full text. The committee is not a prosecuting body; that responsibility rests with the Department of Justice and not this committee.

(5) Investigations and hearings thus far completed offer convincing and compelling reasons why new legislation is necessary to safeguard this free Republic against the new and clever conspiratorial tactics developed by Communists to promote and conceal their espionage activities and their disloyal purposes.



Among the dangers which must be met by new legislation are at least the following, on the basis of existing evidence; continuing investigations may develop the need for yet additional legislative act on—

(A) Communists must be required by law to register so that the present underground activities of the party will be subject to at least this additional weapon of exposure and detection. This was a feature of H. R. 5852, approved by this committee this year and overwhelmingly passed by the House on May 19.

(B) Communists should be denied by law the privilege of employment by the Federal Government, with adequate penalties on both those seeking employment as Communists and those knowingly giving appointive positions to Communists. This also was a feature of H. R. 5852.

(C) Passports should be denied American Communists who utilize these passports to further their conspiratorial plots against our American freedoms as they confer with their co-conspirators abroad. This, too, was a feature of H. R. 5852.

(D) Legislation should be adopted making it more difficult for unlimited numbers of foreign Communists to enter the United States and making it easier for this Government to deport or imprison Communist emissaries who utilize their entrance into the United States to attack or undermine our American institutions.

(E) The espionage laws of the United States should be amended or tightened so as to provide appropriate penalties for Government officials who, without authority, relay secret and significant information affecting our national security to the representatives of any foreign power, friend or enemy, peacetime or war.

(F) Legislation should be adopted making it impossible for the executive branch of the Government to deny to the legislative branch of the Government necessary information dealing with the loyalty of employees of the Federal Government.

(G) All of the provisions of H. R. 5852 should be adopted at the next session of Congress, with certain amendments herein suggested, together with other definitive language and provisions enabling it to cope with some aspects of Communist activities, evasions, and tactics which the current investigations and hearings are making apparent to all. Among these is the new Communist tactic of evading detection and impeding the processes of legislative investigation through an unwarranted and unjustifiable misuse of the protections which the fifth amendment to the Constitution rightfully provides for those unjustly accused or those decent, patriotic Americans who may at times find themselves required to defend themselves in a court of law.

(H) Legislation should be adopted by the next session of Congress which sharply increases the penalties for those convicted of contempt of Congress.

(I) During the course of these hearings, our committee was shocked to have before it witnesses who hold Reserve commissions in our armed forces and who refused to answer under oath whether or not they were, are, or ever have been members of the Communist Party. It was equally shocking to have former high officials of the Federal Government take such a position. The committee therefore recommends that the armed services revoke the commission of any officer who refuses to answer this question. The Communist Party is now accepted in all quarters as not being a political party in fact but a conspiracy working for the overthrow of the Government of the United States. The committee further recommends that any official or employee of the Government who will refuse to state under oath whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party should be removed, and his name "flagged" against any future Government service.

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**This report unanimously approved by a vote of the committee, August 27, 1948.**

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## APPENDIX

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The following is material which has been ordered by the committee to be included in the record of these hearings:

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 13, 1948.

HON. J. PARNELL THOMAS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. THOMAS: Under date of August 12, the following statement was given to the press:

"I have only recently returned to Washington, D. C., and wish to state that the charges which I have learned through the newspapers Miss Bentley has made against me are false. I have never knowingly associated with any person or group engaged in espionage. I have not transmitted confidential information except as authorized in the line of duty as a Government employee. I have never been and am not now a member of the Communist Party. To the best of my knowledge, I have never met Miss Bentley or communicated with her in any way."

I would appreciate an opportunity of appearing before your committee in order that I might deny Miss Bentley's allegations or implications arising therefrom concerning myself. It would further be appreciated if you would make this communication a part of your committee's official records.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM H. TAYLOR.

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HON. J. PARNELL THOMAS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 2, 1948.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I was away from Washington at the time Elizabeth T. Bentley appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 31, 1948, and made certain charges against me.

Upon my return to Washington, I issued a statement to the press denying in full Miss Bentley's allegations. On August 13, 1948, I wrote to you, enclosing a copy of my statement to the press, and offering to appear before your committee to deny such allegations in person. I believe my letter was received by your office August 14, 1948, the day on which hearings in this matter were recessed until September 7.

Two weeks after the hearings were recessed, the committee issued an interim report, in which all of those named by Miss Bentley were listed. This list was followed in the report by a statement as to those who had appeared before the committee and had denied the accusations made by Miss Bentley, those who were subpoenaed and appeared in response to subpoenas, those who have not appeared, those who refused to affirm or deny membership in the Communist Party, those who refused to affirm or deny charges made against them by Miss Bentley, and those who denied membership in the Communist Party. My name did not appear under any of these classifications, nor was any reference to my denial made in the report.

In view of my public denial of the accusations made against me and my offer to appear voluntarily before the committee, I am desirous that the committee's public records shall show these facts.

In order to facilitate this matter, I am attaching an affidavit denying Miss Bentley's charges, which I have sworn to under oath before a notary public. I should like to request that this affidavit be included in the public records of the committee.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. TAYLOR.

Attachment.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

AFFIDAVIT

William H. Taylor, being duly sworn, deposes and says as follows:

I was away from Washington when Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley first appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and made certain charges against me. When I returned to Washington and had an opportunity of reading a transcript of Miss Bentley's testimony concerning me, I issued a statement to the press denying her allegations. Under date of August 13 I sent a copy of this press statement to the chairman of the committee, and stated that I would appreciate the opportunity of appearing before the committee to deny these charges in person.

I was born in Revelstoke, British Columbia, Canada, on March 30, 1906. I came to the United States in 1928 upon graduation from the University of British Columbia, to attend graduate classes in economics at the University of California in Berkeley, under the terms of a fellowship that had been awarded me. I received my Ph. D. degree in economics from the University of California in 1935. During the period prior to 1941, I held several academic positions both in American and Canadian universities. In 1937 I made my application for first papers as an American citizen. I completed my waiting period and was naturalized in March 1940.

My association with the Government began in January 1941. I had been on sabbatical leave from the University of Hawaii, and while visiting Washington I was offered an appointment with the Division of Monetary Research of the Treasury Department as an economic analyst. My employment with that Division continued until December 1946, when I resigned to accept a position with the International Monetary Fund. Of the 6 years I spent with the United States Government, nearly 4 years were spent in Government service overseas.

It is my understanding that the charges made by Miss Bentley against me are as follows:

1. That I am or was a member of the Communist Party;
2. That I participated as a member of an espionage group; and
3. That I transmitted confidential information to persons with the intent that such information would be delivered to agents of the Soviet Union.

I would like to answer each of these allegations in turn:

1. I am not now and never have been a member of the Communist Party, nor have I ever been a member of any organizations or agencies which I had reason to believe were affiliated with the Communist Party or sponsored by it.

2. In reply to Miss Bentley's second allegation, I have never been a member of any espionage group. It is true that I know some of the people mentioned by Miss Bentley. My relationship with these people was at all times one that was proper and in keeping with my position as a Government employee. Most of those whom I knew were also employed by the Treasury Department.

3. As for the third allegation, I deny that I ever transmitted confidential information to any person with the intent that such information should be delivered to agents of the Soviet Union. I deny that I ever transmitted confidential Government information or made information available to any person other than as required or proper in my line of duty as a Government employee.

In connection with the allegations of Miss Bentley and my denial of them, I wish to state that to the best of my knowledge I have never met Miss Bentley or communicated with her in any way. I have studied newspaper photographs of Miss Bentley carefully, and to the best of my knowledge I do not know this woman under the name of Elizabeth T. Bentley or any other name. Her statements are certainly not based on any personal relationship. So far as I know, she does not contend that she ever knew or met me. Miss Bentley did state that she "believed" I had been in China and Portugal on missions for the United

States Government. It is of interest that, of the 15 months that I spent in China, almost 9 months were spent as a prisoner of the Japanese. I have never been to Portugal.

WILLIAM H. TAYLOR.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of September 1948.

[SEAL]

SANDY X. DEMOU.

*Notary Public, District of Columbia.*

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, September 8, 1948.*

Mr. WILLIAM H. TAYLOR,  
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. TAYLOR: I am in receipt of your letter of September 2 and the enclosed affidavit. Pursuant to your request, I shall be glad to see that your letter of August 13, as well as your letter of September 2 and the attached affidavit are included in the printed record of the committee's hearings which will be published sometime next week.

\* \* \* At the present time, I am unable to advise you whether they intend to call you before the committee. However, if you desire to be heard, the committee will be glad to set a date for you.

Sincerely yours,

J. PARNELL THOMAS, *Chairman.*

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WASHINGTON, D. C., August 30, 1948.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In view of the publication of my name in your interim report this week end as an individual contacted by Miss Elizabeth Bentley, I would like to take this opportunity to repeat the statement I made to the press several weeks ago when my name first came up in the testimony, so that you may have it in your files.

This young lady, according to newspaper accounts, says I never gave her any secret information, so that makes it pretty clear.

I am not now and never have been a Communist, as everyone who knows me will attest.

Some 6 years ago or so, when I was a news editor in the newsroom of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, editing shortwave broadcasts for Latin America, a young lady interviewed me three or four times about our news broadcasts and programs.

She said her name was Helen Johnson and that she did articles and research for PM and other publications. We discussed only material that was available and given to hundreds of other newspaper reporters and agencies, and that could have been gotten by listening to the radio any day of the week. I never handled any other kind of material, and would not have divulged any secret material, even if I had.

I suppose this alleged Miss Johnson is Miss Bentley, but as she herself says, she never got anything secret from me.

During most of the time Miss Johnson-Bentley says she was working in an espionage ring, I was a sergeant in the United States Marine Corps. I fought overseas in the Pacific and was wounded in action in defense of my country, my home, and my family. I fought for the principles of democracy which this Nation represents and which I cherish, and am ready to defend once again, if ever the call comes.

I have voluntarily supplied these facts to the Federal Bureau of Investigation since the question came up this month, and I will be glad to furnish any additional information about myself you may need, or to testify as to these facts under oath, if you think that will be useful.

I would be deeply appreciative if—in view of the publication of my name in your interim report—you would be kind enough to include this letter or its substance in any future report you may publish.

And if, for any reason, you should care to have me appear before your committee, I would be grateful if you would advise me before my departure. As you know, I am staff correspondent for the news magazine, United States News and World Report, in Argentina and South America. I have been on vacation and temporary assignment here in the United States, but I am being sent down to resume my post in Buenos Aires in less than 2 weeks. I will be leaving Washington about September 9.

Thank you.

Very sincerely yours,

BERNARD S. REDMONT.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1948.

Mr. BERNARD S. REDMONT,  
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. REDMONT: This office is in receipt of your letter of August 30 and, pursuant to your request, the committee will be glad to place your letter in the record of the proceedings of the committee in connection with the testimony of Elizabeth T. Bentley.

These hearings will be printed within the next week, and I shall be glad to see that you receive a copy.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. STRIPLING, *Chief Investigator.*

SEPTEMBER 3, 1948.

Representative J. PARNELL THOMAS,  
*Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: On August 13, 1948, I appeared before a special subcommittee of your committee and, after making a statement denying the allegation of Miss Bentley concerning myself and answering questions of the subcommittee, I requested permission to ask Miss Bentley questions concerning the statement she had made about me. This was refused. Likewise, permission to make an oral statement in place of the questions or to amend my original statement was refused. The chairman suggested that I submit a written statement for the consideration of the committee.

As the committee may recall, my original statement pointed out that the recent hearings of the committee have many aspects of a trial by a criminal court. I wished to ask questions of the person who had made the allegation in order to secure at least part of the assistance which criminal courts provide to people accused—namely, the right of cross-examination. In my opinion the submission of questions in writing for the consideration of the committee is not in any sense a substitute for cross-examination and I have therefore decided not to present written questions.

Very truly yours,

FRANK COE.



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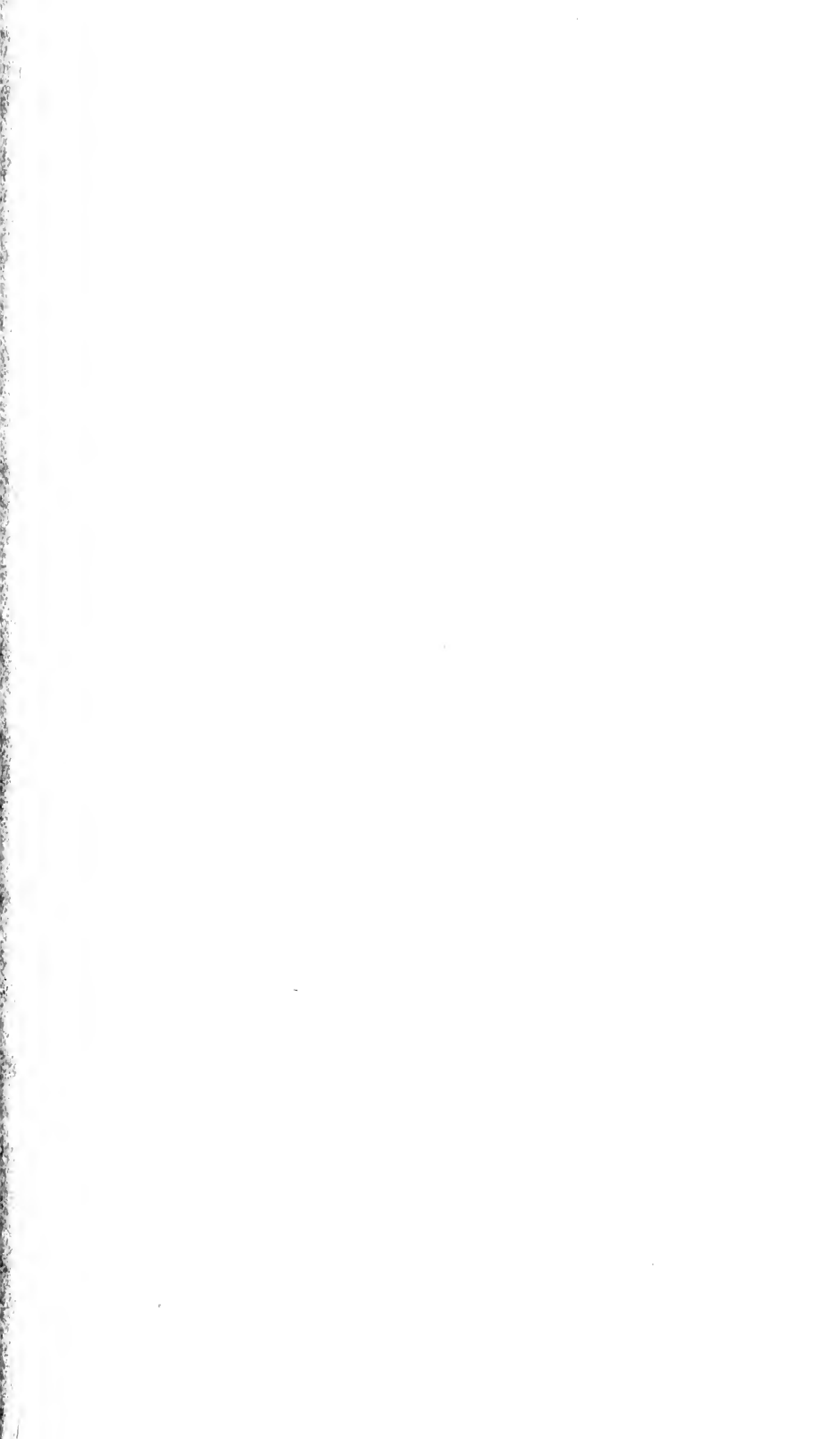
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