

No. 9335. No. 112

pts 1-2



GIVEN BY

U. S. BUREAU OF DOCUMENTS

L.V. 101

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

Blue book

x9335.4A112
pt. 1 &

HEARINGS

U.S. Congress House

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

APRIL 20, 21, 25, 29; MAY 4, 5, AND 6, 1950; JULY 30
AND AUGUST 7, 1948; AND JUNE 8, 1950

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



4117

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

June 7, 1951
* 9335.4A112
pts. 1 + 2

U. S. SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS

Pt. 1

~~JUL 21 1950~~ ✓

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JOHN S. WOOD, Georgia, *Chairman*

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania

RICHARD M. NIXON, California

BURR P. HARRISON, Virginia

FRANCIS CASE, South Dakota

JOHN MCSWEENEY, Ohio

HAROLD H. VELDE, Illinois

MORGAN M. MOULDER, Missouri

BERNARD W. KEARNEY, New York

FRANK S. TAVENNER, Jr., *Counsel*

LOUIS J. RUSSELL, *Senior Investigator*

JOHN W. CARRINGTON, *Clerk of Committee*

BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

CONTENTS

	Page
April 20, 1950:	
Testimony of Kenneth McConnell-----	1697
April 21, 1950:	
Testimony of—	
Merwin Scott Todd-----	1707
Kenneth McConnell (resumed)-----	1716
Merwin Scott Todd (resumed)-----	1717
Elizabeth Winston Todd-----	1718
April 25, 1950:	
Testimony of Solomon Adler-----	1725
April 29, 1950:	
Testimony of Howard Allen Bridgman-----	1753
May 4, 1950:	
Testimony of William W. Remington-----	1777
May 5, 1950:	
Testimony of William W. Remington (resumed)-----	1821
May 6, 1950:	
Testimony of Elizabeth T. Bentley-----	1849
July 30, 1948:	
Testimony of William W. Remington-----	1865
August 7, 1948:	
Testimony of Robbins W. Barstow and William W. Remington-----	1893
June 8, 1950:	
Testimony of—	
William Wheeler Hinckley-----	1925
Margaret C. Hinckley-----	1936

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

THURSDAY, APRIL 20, 1950

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee of one met, pursuant to call, at 12:05 p. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee member present: Hon. John S. Wood, chairman.

Staff members present: Louis J. Russell, senior investigator, and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. Wood. Let the record show that this hearing is before a subcommittee composed of Mr. Wood only.

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McCONNELL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF KENNETH McCONNELL

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. McCONNELL. Kenneth McConnell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever used any other name?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was that other name?

Mr. McCONNELL. Kenneth Malcomb, M-a-l-c-o-m-b-r-e.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address?

Mr. McCONNELL. Weaverville, N. C. That is adequate.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. McCONNELL. Huntington, Long Island, 1898.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present occupation?

Mr. McCONNELL. I am a farmer.

Mr. RUSSELL. What occupations have you followed in the past?

Mr. McCONNELL. Have you time enough for me to list them?

Mr. RUSSELL. Briefly.

Mr. McCONNELL. I have had varied occupations.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you enumerate the principal occupations which you have followed?

Mr. McCONNELL. I would like to stop right here. You want some particular statement? I will make it. I don't want to go through my occupations.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is only for preliminary purposes—background.

Mr. McCONNELL. I am a seaman, and probably one of the finest jumping-horse trainers in America, and I want that on the record. I was at one time a professional Communist. That is what you want; is it?

Mr. RUSSELL. No. I will ask you that specifically.

Mr. McCONNELL. You will? All right.

Mr. WOOD. How long have you been training horses?

Mr. McCONNELL. Since I was 7 years old. We had them when I was a boy. I am a jumping trainer. I have got a 3-year-old filly, Your Honor; she weighs at this point right now about 800 pounds, between 800 and 900 pounds. If I had the time and the patience which it requires to finish a jumping filly, I will bet you that I could make her the best jumper in the South. She is a beauty; tough, stubborn, but jump; but jump. Her mama was a gaited mare and her daddy was a jumping horse.

Mr. WOOD. I will talk to you some more about that after the hearing.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. I have.

Mr. RUSSELL. For how many years?

Mr. McCONNELL. I was a member of the Communist Party from the spring of 1935 until midsummer of 1939.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are not now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I am not now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever held any official positions in the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. Clarify the request.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever served as an organizer in the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I have.

Mr. RUSSELL. In what localities?

Mr. McCONNELL. Knoxville, Chapel Hill, Chattanooga, and Norfolk.

Mr. RUSSELL. By whom were you appointed organizer in those various localities?

Mr. McCONNELL. Nobody appoints a Communist organizer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you assigned as a Communist Party organizer by anyone?

Mr. McCONNELL. This is a question which has to be answered in the following manner: Communist organizers rise out of the ranks of the Communist Party. They rise on the basis of—"ability" is the word I could use, but it is not the correct word. It is a more precise meaning. "Ability" is sufficient.

Mr. RUSSELL. At the time you were a Communist Party organizer in Tennessee, were you associated with any other organizations?

Mr. McCONNELL. All of the top-rank party organizers are inevitably associated with other organizations.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you associated with an organization known as Workers Education?

Mr. McCONNELL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you at one time associated with the Workers Alliance?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes; I was.

Mr. RUSSELL. That was an organization dominated and controlled by the Communist Party; was it not?

Mr. McCONNELL. I will not answer your question "Yes" or "No." I will answer your question as follows: The Workers Alliance was, in my opinion, an apparatus which was constructed by the Communist Party, intended to be used as a pressure organization during the days of depression. That answers your question; does it not?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. While you were a Communist Party organizer in the State of Tennessee, did the Communist Party devote any particular attention to the infiltration of the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mr. McCONNELL. There were two areas of concentration during the time that I was a Communist Party organizer in Knoxville. The areas were the TVA and ALCOA, the aluminum-manufacturing corporation.

Mr. APPELL. Did the Communist Party also concentrate effort upon the organization of the textile workers?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes; they did. However, this must be understood: The main areas of concentration at that time by the Communist Party were TVA, primarily because it represented an opportunity to operate in the area of social living; and ALCOA because it was the major commercial enterprise in the area; and incidentally in textile, because at that time textile was being organized in the south.

Mr. APPELL. While you were not a member, were you acquainted with the existence of an organization in Knoxville, Tenn., known as Workers Education?

Mr. McCONNELL. I was acquainted with its existence. I had no contact with it.

Mr. APPELL. Evidence in the possession of the committee indicates that within Knoxville, Tenn., individuals by the names of Horace Bryan, Howard Allen Bridgman, Merwin Todd, Bernard Borah, and William Remington were associated with this organization known as Workers Education. I would like to individually ask you what knowledge you have of Communist Party affiliation of these people.

I will first show you a picture of Horace Bryan and ask if you recognize this individual and if you have any knowledge of his activities in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. This is a Communist. I know and recognize him as a party member. I never saw any document which would definitely and conclusively show that he was a party member. What I say is out of my memory.

Mr. APPELL. You identify him as being a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. Because you met and associated with him as a Communist?

Mr. McCONNELL. As a Communist; that is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Within Knoxville, Tenn., who, at the time you were there, issued the Communist Party cards and collected the Communist Party dues; do you recall that?

Mr. McCONNELL. It is my opinion that prior to my arrival in Knoxville Communist Party dues and records were attended to by Mr. Mervin Todd.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. APPELL. Do you know of any Communist activities of Horace Bryan in Knoxville, Tenn?

Mr. McCONNELL. Horace Bryan was active in the Workers Alliance. The Workers Alliance was not a Communist apparatus save that it gave an opportunity for the party to exercise its influence in the unemployed masses.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McConneell, you have identified Horace Bryan as being actively connected with an organization in Knoxville, Tenn., known as the Workers Alliance. Was the Workers Alliance an organization whose activities and operations were controlled by members of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn?

Mr. McCONNELL. Shall we use the word "directed"? Other than that, I will accept your statement as being correct.

Mr. APPELL. Can you expand on the direction which the Communist Party exercised over the Workers Alliance in Knoxville, Tenn., during the time you were there?

Mr. McCONNELL. I can say this in answer to that question: The Communist Party, in all of my experience as an organizer, had complete control of the apparatus of the Workers Alliance, and, insofar as it utilized that apparatus as a means of social pressure, there was never any restriction or any restraint on the part of the Workers Alliance. In other words, the Communist Party could use the Workers Alliance as it chose within, roughly speaking, the meaning and intent of the apparatus itself: it could expand it.

Mr. APPELL. Another individual who has been identified as connected with the Workers Education in Knoxville is an individual by the name of Howard Allen Bridgman. I will show you a photograph and ask if you recognize this individual as Howard Allen Bridgman and your knowledge of him?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is Howard Bridgman. I have known him for many years. Howard Bridgman is and was, to my knowledge, a sincere believer in the need for adult education in the South. I cannot say and I do not believe that Howard Bridgman was a Communist Party member. He was a teacher. Any ancillary activities are beyond my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Another individual who has been identified as connected with Workers Education in Knoxville is Bernard Borah. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of Bernard Borah?

Mr. McCONNELL. Briefly. I knew his wife well. I knew his wife better than I knew him.

Mr. APPELL. Is his wife Muriel Borah?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. During the time that you were there, was she the secretary of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. She was the secretary, if I am not mistaken, of the group that was formed at Norris, Tenn.: that is up by the dam.

Mr. APPELL. Did you also know Muriel Borah to be an organizer for the textile workers' organizing committee in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. She had some contacts with it. I don't know enough about it to give any evidence about it.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know whether or not her husband, Bernard Borah, was a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. He was.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. APPELL. Another individual who has been identified as being a member of Workers Education in Knoxville, Tenn., is Merwin S. Todd, who was generally known, I believe, by the nickname of Pat?

Mr. McCONNELL. Pat.

Mr. APPELL. I have a photograph here—

Mr. McCONNELL. Show it to me.

Mr. APPELL (continuing). And I will ask you if that is the individual known to you as Pat Todd?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is a good enough photograph of him. It looks just like I like to think of him. That is him. That is Pat.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Merwin Todd or Pat Tod to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I do.

Mr. APPELL. Was Merwin Todd an organizer for the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. He was.

Mr. APPELL. Was Merwin Todd also an organizer for the CIO textile organizing committee?

Mr. McCONNELL. He was.

Mr. APPELL. Did you succeed Merwin Todd as organizer for the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. You are ahead of yourself.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McCONNELL. It is my opinion—and here is a very crucial point, Mr. Chairman, which you must listen to very carefully. Miss, you may stop writing now.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McCONNELL. This I want to say, and I wish to have it embodied in the record of this proceeding. I am an American from an ancient American family. There was a time, a period, in my life when I was a convinced Communist, when I devoted my talents, such as they are, to the furtherance of the program of the Communist Party. Errors, within this period, arose of commission and omission in my own life. I am still the American I was born, now convinced that the organic construction of democratic society as we understand it in America best provides us with the method and the means of correcting the shortcomings of our society; and I think still, as I did when I was a Communist, that they are many. I give testimony before this committee because I believe that the extension of the American dream of civilization can provide the American people, from wherever they come, with the means to create a life which is in keeping with the nature of our great land.

Thank you.

Now I will go back. I want this on the record. I hadn't finished.

Mr. WOOD. I believe the question was about Todd.

Mr. McCONNELL. I think it is premature. I will answer it.

(The pending question was read, as follows: "Did you succeed Merwin Todd as organizer for the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?")

Mr. APPELL. Strike the question.

Another person who has been identified as connected with the organization known as Workers Education in Knoxville, Tenn., is William Remington. I show you two photographs and ask if you can identify the individual shown in these photographs as a person you knew in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. Just a moment, Miss.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McCONNELL. I can.

Mr. APPELL. That individual you knew as William Remington?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. I will ask you now if you, as an organizer for the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn., knew William Remington to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I did.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever see William Remington's Communist Party card?

Mr. McCONNELL. To my knowledge I cannot answer that other than by saying "No."

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever discuss with William Remington the operations or actions which he should take as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is a leading question, and I can answer it in this wise, if this will satisfy you. I found it necessary, in the course of my operations in Knoxville, to call Remington's attention to the fact that his demeanor and behavior was uncommunistic; that is to say, that he did not conduct himself as befitted a member of the party, mainly because, at that time, of the rough manner in which he dressed. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WOOD. I understood from your statement a while ago that you did discuss with Remington Communist Party discipline and Communist Party activities?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is right. This is a psychic thing. Only a psychoanalyst can go into this for you. I will give you facts.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you spoke to Mr. Remington about his manner of dressing, did you speak to him from your own personal observation or from complaints by other members of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. Nobody had to make any complaints to me. I found him unkempt. I am talking about the time when I was a convinced Communist, and if I was a convinced Communist then I am speaking out of my own mind.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McConnell, in addition to this conversation with Remington, did you ever attend any meetings of the Communist Party, meetings restricted solely to members of the Communist Party, at which meetings William Remington was present?

Mr. McCONNELL. I can only answer that question equivocally. I only remember one meeting of the Communist Party, at which I was the copresider, when Remington was present, and this may have been what is known in the parlance of the party as a fraction meeting, which would be a small number of party members meeting from a trade-union group, the purpose of the meeting being to discuss Communist Party tactics, discuss and decide upon direct courses of action

for the members of the party in that particular trade-union group. This was shortly after I went to Knoxville from Chapel Hill.

Mr. APPELL. And you went to Knoxville from Chapel Hill in June of 1937?

Mr. McCONNELL. About that time.

Mr. WOOD. Do you recall where that meeting was held, Mr. McConnell?

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Chairman, that meeting was held in one of the open parks in Chattanooga. If the names of the parks were read to me I could identify it; otherwise, I could not. It was held in an open place as a means of avoiding suspicion.

Mr. APPELL. Was it in Chattanooga or Knoxville?

Mr. McCONNELL. Knoxville. Did I say Chattanooga?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. McCONNELL. Knoxville is what I meant.

Mr. APPELL. William Remington went to Knoxville from Dartmouth, where he was a student?

Mr. McCONNELL. Was it Dartmouth or Harvard?

Mr. APPELL. Dartmouth. He returned to Dartmouth after being at Knoxville 1 year. Was his return to Dartmouth ever a question discussed within the party?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes; this question was discussed in the party, and it was pointed out to him by party members that the Communist Party needed educated people as well as workers. This was one of the arguments used to induce him to return to college.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know who instructed or advised Remington to take this course of action?

Mr. McCONNELL. Nobody could so instruct him, because at that time he was under the minimum discipline of the party, but he could be advised, and it would be a collective advice, mine, Todd's, Winston's, and whoever else might have been present at the meeting.

Mr. APPELL. You say Winston?

Mr. McCONNELL. I mean Mrs. Todd.

Mr. APPELL. Mrs. Todd?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes. It comes to my mind at this point that she was somewhat vocal in expressing her opinion that Remington should return to college.

Mr. APPELL. Did she express it to him?

Mr. McCONNELL. In open meeting; to him, of course, but to others also.

Mr. APPELL. You have referred to this person as Mrs. Todd. Is the Mrs. Todd that you refer to your former wife?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will ask a question off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the circumstances under which you first met William Remington?

Mr. McCONNELL. I met him with Pat Todd at their joint rooming house.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall where this rooming house was located?

Mr. McCONNELL. I don't recall the name of the street. It was on top of a hill in Knoxville.

Mr. RUSSELL. If you saw this particular residence, would you be able to identify it as the place where Remington and Todd resided?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes, I would.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know the present Mrs. Todd to have been a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. What is her first name?

Mr. McCONNELL. Elizabeth.

Mr. APPELL. Elizabeth Winston Todd.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McConnell, I have before me the names of individuals who were employed by the TVA in Knoxville or Norris, Tenn., who the committee has information might have been in the Communist Party in Knoxville during the time you were there. I would like to read these names to you and ask you if you can identify any of them as people whom you knew to be in the Communist Party in Knoxville. The first is John M. Frantz.

Mr. McCONNELL. Have you a photograph of him?

Mr. APPELL. I do not. His wife was Dorothy Remine Frantz.

Mr. McCONNELL. Frantz was a party member. He didn't originate in Tennessee. He came from Alabama. I know him to have been a Communist Party member.

Mr. APPELL. Mabel Abercrombie?

Mr. McCONNELL. A party member.

Mr. APPELL. Francis Martin?

Mr. McCONNELL. Have you a photograph of both of them?

Mr. APPELL. David Stone Martin was an artist and Francis Martin was employed by the TVA.

Mr. McCONNELL. One I can positively identify. The other I cannot, without seeing a photograph. One definitely was. The other probably was, but I can't state definitely. Can you differentiate them a little more? Francis Martin, did he ever work at a cooperative?

Mr. APPELL. The only distinction I can make for you is that David Stone Martin was an artist.

Mr. McCONNELL. Francis Martin was a Communist Party member. David Stone Martin probably was, but this is an opinion.

Mr. APPELL. John C. Borden, Jr., who was employed at one time at the cooperative store of TVA at Norris?

Mr. McCONNELL. He was a party member.

Mr. APPELL. Kenneth Cameron?

Mr. McCONNELL. I don't seem to remember this. Do you have a picture?

Mr. APPELL. No.

Mr. McCONNELL. I am sorry; I don't remember him.

Mr. APPELL. When you left Knoxville, do you know who succeeded you as organizer for the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. Pat Todd.

Mr. APPELL. This is the same Pat Todd in whose residence you met William Remington?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. At that time were Remington and Todd actually sharing the same room in this rooming house?

Mr. McCONNELL. They were when I first came to Knoxville. Whether they continued to do so, I don't know. They were when I first came there.

Mr. APPELL. They were not in separate rooms in the same rooming house?

Mr. McCONNELL. No. They lived in the same room. In fact, I think they slept in the same bed.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall when you first came to Knoxville?

Mr. McCONNELL. I believe it was the first week in June, 1937.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Henry Hart, who was born in India?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes; I know Henry Hart, and I think Henry Hart became a member of the party during the time I was in Knoxville. I think that he was probably signed into the party by the woman who became Mrs. Todd. I think she recruited him, as the phrase goes. You see, there was at that time a unit of the party which was known as the TVA unit, which would be those members of the party who were working for TVA. I personally never met with that unit at any time, but I feel convinced that Hart was a member of the party.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. APPELL. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions to ask Mr. McConnell, except that I would like to have Mr. McConnell remain with the committee until after we have questioned the Todds tomorrow, for the purpose of possibly confronting the Todds with Mr. McConnell, and he has agreed to do that if the committee finds it necessary.

Mr. WOOD. Do I understand you are including in the record the pictures Mr. McConnell identified?

Mr. APPELL. Yes; I would like to ask that the photographs exhibited to Mr. McConnell be made exhibits in this record.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. They will be admitted.

(The photographs above referred to are filed herewith.)

Mr. WOOD. We will suspend until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 1:10 p. m. on Thursday, April 20, 1950, a recess was taken until Friday, April 21, 1950, at 10 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

FRIDAY, APRIL 21, 1950

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood and John McSweeney [arriving as indicated].

Staff members present: Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that this hearing is being conducted by a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Wood and Mr. McSweeney. Mr. McSweeney will be here presently.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, the witness this morning is Mr. Merwin S. Todd. Will you stand and be sworn, please, Mr. Todd?

Mr. WOOD. You solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TODD. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF MERWIN SCOTT TODD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, BELLA S. ABZUG

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. TODD. Merwin Scott Todd.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will counsel identify herself, please?

Mrs. ABZUG. My name is Bella S. Abzug. My offices are at 205 West Thirty-fourth Street, New York City 1, N. Y.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, what is your present address?

Mr. TODD. 264 West Twelfth Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present occupation?

Mr. TODD. Engineering assistant.

Mr. RUSSELL. By what company are you employed?

Mr. TODD. C. D. Wood Electric Co., Glendale, Long Island.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, you are appearing here by virtue of a subpoena which was served upon you on April 12, 1950, by Investigator Alvin Stokes of this committee?

Mr. TODD. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. And that subpoena called for your appearance on April 19 and was continued from April 19 to April 21 by telegram which was sent to you by the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. TODD. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been employed by the United States Government?

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. In what capacities?

Mr. TODD. Clerical work.

Mr. RUSSELL. By what agency or agencies were you employed?

Mr. TODD. Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. RUSSELL. When were you employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mr. TODD. A good many years ago. I don't remember the precise dates.

Mr. RUSSELL. Approximately when?

Mr. TODD. Roughly, 1935 to 1937.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been employed by any other agency of the United States Government?

Mr. TODD. I think not.

Mr. WOOD. Over what period of years did your employment with the Tennessee Valley Authority extend?

Mr. TODD. Roughly 2 years, and roughly 15 years ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. TODD. I was born May 22, 1911.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where?

Mr. TODD. New York City, Seventy-second Street.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, have you even been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I don't wish to answer that question on the grounds that would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. In that connection, Mr. Todd, I might call your attention to the fact that—never mind; you have counsel to advise you about that.

Mrs. ABZUG. If I may interrupt, I think a question of that kind is highly improper, considering the activities of this committee, which have been to investigate Communist activities, and the results of which investigation have frequently resulted in criminal action of one kind or another. I feel a question of that kind is therefore totally out of order, and violates the rights that my client has.

Mr. WOOD. You may advise your client at any time. You are at liberty to confer with your client with reference to any question that is asked. However, I call your attention to the fact that the Supreme Court seems to have settled that question recently.

Mrs. ABZUG. It has not settled the question of the right of a witness to refuse to answer questions of that kind.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mr. TODD. I give the same answer.

Mr. WOOD. I want to get that answer definitely. You, decline to answer the question; is that your answer?

Mr. TODD. On the ground that it would tend, in my judgment, sir—

Mr. WOOD. In your judgment it would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. And on that ground you decline to answer the question?
Mr. TODD. Correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, you feel it would incriminate you to answer that you were a member of the Communist Party 13 years ago?

Mr. TODD. In my judgment, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. On what basis? Mr. Todd, you were called here to assist this committee in an investigation which it is presently conducting. The committee has no intention of bringing any criminal charges against you based upon any answer which you might give to the question which I have asked you. The purpose of this hearing is to ask you in particular regarding certain persons with whom you were associated, one of whom is now employed by the United States Government.

Mrs. ABZUG. If I may—

Mr. RUSSELL. I am talking to Mr. Todd as one American citizen to another.

Mrs. ABZUG. May I have the privilege of conferring with my client?

Mr. WOOD. Yes, indeed.

(Mrs. Abzug confers with Witness Todd.)

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, isn't it true that you told your present employer that you were at one time a member of the Communist Party, after you had been served with a subpoena by this committee, or shortly prior thereto?

Mr. TODD. I refuse to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. RUSSELL. On the ground that it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. TODD. That is correct, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I suggest Mr. Appell conduct the interrogation from now on.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

Mr. APPELL. Where did you reside when you were in Knoxville, Tenn?

Mr. WOOD. It was years ago and I don't recall street addresses.

Mr. APPELL. Would you recall street addresses if your memory was refreshed?

Mr. TODD. I might.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever reside at 933 Broadway, Knoxville, Tenn?

Mr. TODD. I can't give an honest "yes" or "no" answer. I don't recall.

Mr. APPELL. When you were in Knoxville, Tenn., did you room with anyone employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Whom did you room with?

Mr. TODD. I am reluctant to give an answer which might be interpreted as showing unwillingness on my part, but my feeling about that question is the same, frankly, as the others.

Mr. APPELL. You refuse to answer on the ground your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. TODD. That is correct.

Mr. WOOD. You mean to say in your opinion to divulge the name of your roommate while you were employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority in Knoxville, Tenn., 13 or 15 years ago would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. TODD. I roomed with many people during this period.

Mr. WOOD. Name some of them.

Mr. TODD. In my judgment it would tend to incriminate me, and I would prefer not to answer that question, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is not a question of what you prefer to do; it is a question of what you do or decline to do.

Mr. TODD. I decline.

Mr. WOOD. You decline?

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. While you were in Knoxville, Tenn., did you own a motorcycle?

Mr. TODD. Yes; I did.

Mr. APPELL. Where did you purchase that motorcycle and from whom?

Mr. TODD. There I will have to say I can't recall. It was purchased so long ago I really don't remember.

Mr. APPELL. Did you sell that motorcycle before you left Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. TODD. My recollection is that I did not. I can't categorically say "yes" or "no."

Mr. APPELL. Did you happen to sell that motorcycle to an individual by the name of Horace Bryan?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the foregoing ground.

Mr. APPELL. You decline to answer on the ground it might tend to incriminate you to have sold a motorcycle to Horace Bryan?

Mr. TODD. I am declining to answer the question on the ground in my judgment it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you sell the motorcycle to anyone beside Horace Bryan?

Mr. TODD. Shall I give the same answer every time, Mr. Wood, or shall I say "the same answer"?

Mrs. ABZUG. Give the full answer.

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you room with a fellow employed at TVA by the name of William Remington?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. At the time you were in Knoxville, Tenn., did you function as an organizer for the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know William Remington as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, were you a member of an organization existing in Knoxville, Tenn., by the name of Workers Education?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, did the Communist Party at Knoxville, Tenn., have a post-office box through which the Communist Party received mail and literature?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Were you ever a member of a post-office box with Horace Bryan, Howard Bridgman, and Bernard Borah?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground that in my judgment it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Appell, when you say a "member" do you mean did he ever participate in receiving mail in a box jointly with the persons you named?

Mr. APPELL. That he was a coapplicant for that post-office box from the Post Office Department.

Mr. WOOD. Let me ask it in that way, then. Mr. Todd, did you ever join with the parties whose names have just been given by Mr. Appell, or any one of them or more than one of them, in an application for a post-office box through which you received mail?

Mr. TODD. That is how I understood Mr. Appell's question when I gave the answer that is on the record, sir.

Mr. WOOD. And the answer still stands?

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did William Remington receive mail through this post-office box?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Howard Allen Bridgman?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Howard Allen Bridgman to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. I asked you if you sold a motorcycle to Horace Bryan, which you refused to answer on the ground that your answer might tend to incriminate you. I now ask you if you know an individual by the name of Horace Bryan?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Horace Bryan to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, do you know an individual by the name of Paul Crouch?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did Paul Crouch succeed you as organizer for the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, to the best of my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know an individual by the name of Bernard Borah?

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Bernard Borah to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, Bernard Borah is now deceased; he died in service, and I suggest that is the reason the witness will say he knew **Bernard Borah**.

Mr. TODD, did you know Bernard Borah's wife, Muriel Borah?

Mr. TODD. May I speak to counsel?

Mr. APPELL. Certainly.

Mr. WOOD. Yes, indeed.

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WOOD. Back on the record. The simple question is being asked, whether or not you know the wife of the late Bernard Borah.

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel.)

(Representative McSweeney enters hearing room.)

Mr. APPELL. Read the question.

(The question referred to was read by the reporter, as follows: "Mr. Todd, did you know Bernard Borah's wife, Muriel Borah?")

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, and I would like to make this interpolation: There is no facetiousness in my attitude or in my refusal to answer these questions. I have been suspended from my job. I support two children. I am very much concerned, very much concerned, about this hearing. There is no facetiousness in my attitude.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, if he has been suspended from his job, this committee had nothing to do with that. We have brought this witness here, as I have indicated, to assist us in an investigation of a Government employee. He has declined to cooperate and has declined to answer all questions thus far that are pertinent to our inquiry, on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. TODD. I hope the committee had nothing to do with it. I want to point out for 7 years I have been associated with this job, and my employer has known me and my family very well; and very suddenly, in much confusion, he suspends me.

Mr. RUSSELL. I asked if you had told your employer you had been a member of the Communist Party, and you declined to answer. If you told your employer you had been a member of the Communist Party, when did you tell him? Did you tell him at the time you were employed?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. If you told him and he employed you, and then he suspended you, I don't see how you could hold this committee responsible in any way for your suspension.

Mr. TODD. In my judgment the answer to the question you have asked had literally nothing to do with my being suspended.

Mr. RUSSELL. You still decline to answer whether or not you told your employer you had been a member of the Communist Party at one time?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd—

Mr. TODD. Just a moment, please.

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel.)

Mr. McSWEENEY. May I ask you what is the relationship of the young lady?

Mr. WOOD. Counsel. The record will disclose that Mr. McSweeney, another member of the committee, has just entered the hearing room at this point, and that constitutes the total of the subcommittee appointed to hear this testimony.

In order that Mr. McSweeney may be advised of what has transpired, so that he may be guided in any questions he might wish to ask, the witness has been interrogated concerning his knowledge of certain individuals at the time he was employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority approximately 13 or 15 years ago at Knoxville, Tenn.; and questions have been asked the witness as to where he lived at that time, which he says he does not remember, and as to whether certain individuals roomed with him while he lived there, which he has declined to answer on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I might add the witness has also declined to answer, on the ground of self-incrimination, questions regarding the sale of a motorcycle.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Francis Martin during the time you were employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the ground in my judgment it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Mabel Abercrombie?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Francis Martin as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know his brother, David Stone Martin?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, I can show you sworn testimony of David Stone Martin in which he admitted he was a member of the Communist Party during the time he was there, and David Stone Martin has never been prosecuted for admitting he was a member of the Communist Party. I can show you his sworn testimony.

Mr. TODD. It is my opinion that there is legislation in contemplation that might subject him to prosecution.

Mr. WOOD. In that connection, Mr. Todd, I think if you will consult with your counsel she will tell you no legislation can be passed that would be retroactive so as to prosecute you.

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. I would like to ask you one further question at this time: Do your answers to all the questions asked you by counsel before Mr. McSweeney came in here still stand?

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir. I would like to withdraw one answer, and that is in regard to Mr. Borah. I would like to say I decline to answer whether or not I know Mr. Borah. I would like to withdraw that answer on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, do you believe in the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever advocated that the United States Government be overthrown by force and violence?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever attend any meetings of the Communist Party where it was advocated that this Government be overthrown by force and violence?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever receive mail through any post-office box in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, during the time that you were in Knoxville, Tenn., were you an organizer for the CIO textile organizing committee?

Mr. TODD. Could I consult with counsel?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel.)

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground that in my judgment it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. During the time that you were organizing with the CIO—

Mr. TODD. I have already declined to answer the question.

Mr. APPELL. I am going to ask you something else along the same line. Were you assisted in this organization by William Remington?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. During this time did you attempt, while recruiting workers into the CIO Textile Union, to also recruit workers into the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer the question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. Isn't it true that on several occasions the workers took offense and attacked you for recruiting members into the Communist Party?

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel.)

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions for the time being.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney, do you desire to ask the witness any questions?

Mr. MCSWEENEY. May I ask under what circumstances Mr. Todd was brought in? Was he subpoenaed?

Mr. RUSSELL. He was subpoenaed.

Mr. WOOD. We asked that question when he first began testifying, before you came in. His appearance is pursuant to a subpoena served by an investigator of this committee to appear on April 19, and it was postponed by a telegram—which he admits he received—until today.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. I didn't understand Mr. Todd's statement about having his job taken away from him. When did that occur and under what circumstances?

Mr. TODD. It is in the record. Maybe the stenographer would be willing to read it to you.

Mr. WOOD. I don't believe the date of your suspension is in the record, and I think that is what Mr. McSweeney wants to know.

Mr. TODD. Last Friday. Just a moment; I am trying to recall this accurately. I am pretty sure it was last Friday, a week ago today.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. I won't bother you if it is already in the record.

Mr. TODD. I don't know whether you were present when I said it is pretty serious for me, because I happen to be the father of two children, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I show you an issue of the Knoxville Journal, Knoxville, Tenn., Saturday, May 29, 1937, with a banner headline: "CIO organizers beaten near Brookside." The organizers are listed as Bernard Borah, J. R. Coope, and Merwin Todd. I ask you if you are the Merwin Todd referred to in this article?

Mrs. ABZUG. Has he seen the article?

Mr. APPELL. I show you the article.

Mr. WOOD. Let him have the book over there.

(The article referred to was examined by witness Todd and his counsel.)

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground that in my judgment it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. You decline to answer whether or not you are the Merwin Todd referred to in this article?

Mr. TODD. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. May I ask you, did you ever live at 1533 Highland Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. TODD. I do not recall.

Mr. WOOD. Do you mean that you can't recall or that you won't recall?

Mr. TODD. I can't honestly say whether I did or not; that is what I mean, because I do not recall. This was in the neighborhood of 15 years ago.

Mr. APPELL. You were in Knoxville, Tenn., on May 29, 1937?

Mr. TODD. Yes; I think I was.

Mr. APPELL. During the time that you were in Knoxville, Tenn., did you read the Knoxville Journal?

Mr. TODD. Very seldom.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever see this article to which I have referred?

Mr. TODD. As far as I can recall, I did not.

Mr. APPELL. You did not.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Todd, while you were in Knoxville—I believe you testified previously you were there approximately 2 years—did you ever know any other Merwin Todd during the time you were living there?

Mr. TODD. I didn't get the question, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Did you ever know anybody else having the same name as yours while you were living in Knoxville?

Mr. TODD. Not that I recall.

Mr. WOOD. Did you ever know anyone else by that name organizing in the textile unit of the CIO?

Mr. TODD. Not that I recall, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, did you know an individual by the name of Kenneth McConnell?

Mr. TODD. Yes; I did. He was my wife's former husband.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. Did you introduce William Remington to Mr. McConnell during the time that William Remington roomed with you in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel. Mr. Appell leaves hearing room and returns with Mr. Kenneth McConnell.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suspend with Mr. Todd for a moment and call before the committee Mr. Kenneth McConnell.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McConnell has already been sworn before the committee, so it will not be necessary to administer a further oath. Proceed to ask him any questions you desire.

TESTIMONY OF KENNETH McCONNELL—Resumed

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McConnell, do you know this gentleman sitting here?

Mr. McCONNELL. Uh huh.

Mr. APPELL. Will you identify him to the committee, please?

Mr. McCONNELL. I know him as Pat Todd.

Mr. McSWEENEY. As what, please?

Mr. McCONNELL. Pat Todd.

Mr. McSWEENEY. What is the name given in the paper?

Mr. APPELL. Merwin Todd.

Do you know Mr. Todd to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I know him to have been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. During the time he was in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Did Mr. Todd introduce you to William Remington in Knoxville, Tenn., in a room that they both occupied?

Mr. McCONNELL. I don't know whether it was in the room or outside the room. He did introduce me to Remington.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McConnell, you have testified previously before the committee that you were a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn., at that time?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd—

Mr. WOOD. Are you through with Mr. McConnell?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Do you want to ask him any questions, Mr. McSweeney?

Mr. McSWEENEY. I don't think so.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Russell, do you want to ask Mr. McConnell any further questions?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Then Mr. McConnell will retire.

(Mr. McConnell leaves hearing room.)

TESTIMONY OF MERWIN SCOTT TODD—Resumed

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, do you recognize Mr. McConnell?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he ever known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me, in my judgment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, do you know Benjamin J. Davis?

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel.)

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, I show you a Communist Party nominating petition executed in August of 1945, a petition of signatures for the candidacy of Benjamin J. Davis. I ask you to look at line 9 and advise the committee if you are the person who signed here as Merwin S. Todd?

(Witness Todd examines document referred to and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground that in my judgment it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. I would like to ask you if the signature that appears on this petition is your signature?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground that in my judgment it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. You decline to answer that this is your handwriting?

Mr. TODD. Correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Todd, were you ever subjected to criminal charges for signing that petition?

(Witness Todd confers with his counsel.)

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you ever arrested or indicted or otherwise called to appear before a grand jury in the State of New York for signing any document?

Mr. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever appeared before a grand jury in the State of New York?

Mr. TODD. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been arrested?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you ever arrested in the State of New York?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Todd, Mr. McConnell testified that he knew you as Pat Todd. Did you use the name Pat Todd in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir. I have been called Pat Todd since I was a child.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney, any questions?

Mr. McSWEENEY. I have no questions. May I ask your age, Mr. Todd?

Mr. TODD. 38, sir.

Mr. McSWEENEY. And this situation arose in 1937, which is 13 years ago, when you were 25 years of age?

Mr. TODD. 13 to 15 years ago.

Mr. McSWEENEY. You were just a young fellow 23 to 25 years of age. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. That is all, thank you.

Any further witnesses?

(Witness Merwin Scott Todd leaves hearing room, and Elizabeth Winston Todd enters hearing room.)

Mr. WOOD. Will you please hold up your right hand and be sworn. You solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. TODD. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Be seated.

TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH WINSTON TODD, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, BELLA S. ABZUG

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mrs. TODD. Elizabeth Winston Todd.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address?

Mrs. TODD. 264 West Twelfth Street, New York City.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mrs. Todd, you are represented by counsel, are you not?

Mrs. TODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will counsel please identify herself for the record?

Mrs. ABZUG. My name is Bella E. Abzug. My office is at 205 West Thirty-fourth Street, New York City 1, N. Y.

Mr. WOOD. The same information given you in regard to the other witness applies now, but I wish to say to the witness that any time you desire to consult with your counsel, don't hesitate a minute; you have that privilege.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born?

Mrs. TODD. Asheville, N. C., August 9, 1908.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present occupation?

Mrs. TODD. I work in radio for Columbia Broadcasting Co.

Mr. RUSSELL. In what capacity?

Mrs. TODD. Associate director.

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

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with William Walter Remington?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with William Walter Remington?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever attend a meeting which was also attended by other Communists where the question as to whether William Walter Remington should return to school was discussed?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did any such meeting ever take place?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know Bernard Borah?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Howard Allen Bridgman?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Has your husband ever been an organizer for the Communist Party; that is, Mervin Todd?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Horace Bryan?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Kenneth McConnell?

Mrs. TODD. Yes; he was my former husband.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever know him as Kenneth Malcombe?

Mrs. TODD. Yes. That was his name when I was married to him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he a member of the Communist Party during the time you were married to him?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he ever an organizer for the Communist Party?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever discuss William Walter Remington in his presence?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mrs. Todd, you at one time were employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority, were you not?

Mrs. TODD. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. During what period were you employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mrs. TODD. In 1937.

Mr. APPELL. Do you remember approximately when you started your employment with the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mrs. TODD. It must have been about the spring of 1937.

Mr. APPELL. Were you a member of Local 136, A. F. of L., American Federation of Government Employees, while you were employed at TVA?

Mrs. TODD. I don't remember the local number, but I was a member of the Government workers' union while I was there.

Mr. APPELL. Were you also a member of that organization when it broke from the A. F. of L. and became the United Public Workers, affiliated with the CIO?

Mrs. TODD. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Will you tell the committee how the employees of TVA happened to break away from the A. F. of L. local and change to the CIO union?

Mrs. TODD. They took a vote to change to United Federal Workers.

Mr. APPELL. Was the changing from A. F. of L. to CIO ever discussed in the Communist Party? Was that Communist Party strategy?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. William Walter Remington was a member of Local 136 of A. F. of L. Did you know him is a member of Local 136 of A. F. of L.?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know that William Walter Remington was employed by TVA at one time?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mrs. Todd, do you believe in the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever advocated that the United States Government be overthrown by force and violence?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever attended a Communist Party meeting where it was advocated that the Government of the United States be overthrown by force and violence?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you believe in the Communist form of government?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Dorothy G. Barber?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Gertrude Tyrna, T-y-r-n-a?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Hugh W. Urban?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Robert H. Slater?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Geraldine Smith?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Mary Carolyn Smith?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Milton V. Smith?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know M. H. Satterfield?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Henry B. Schmoller?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call attention to the fact that the thing I am doing at this time is merely reading from the membership list, members of local 136. Some of the people whose names I have read are undoubtedly not members of the Communist Party, and the witness apparently is refusing to answer whether she knows just anybody whose name we bring up. I think the witness should be cautioned that she has to know within her mind that she might incriminate herself before refusing to answer. I am merely going down the membership list of local 136.

Mr. WOOD. I assume the witness has competent counsel to advise her. If she is not so advised, I would like to advise her myself.

(Witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. TODD. In my judgment your questions are trying to connect this union with the Communist Party, and I think it is my duty not to answer questions that tend to connect me with the Communist Party.

Mr. APPELL. But the question is do you know these persons, not connecting the local A. F. of L. with the Communist Party, but do you know these persons? Some of these persons undoubtedly you do not know, because I have read the names of some individuals who were members, but not in Knoxville.

(Witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. TODD. In my judgment it would be a mistake for me to answer these questions, and I stand on my right to refuse to answer.

Mr. APPELL. You do know the persons but refuse to answer?

Mrs. TODD. I didn't say I did know them. I refuse to answer on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Could you be incriminated as to someone you don't even know?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer on the ground my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Mabel Abercrombie?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever room with Mabel Abercrombie?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Muriel Borah?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Mabel Abercrombie as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Muriel Borah as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you room with Murial Borah?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Benjamin J. Davis?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. I show you a Communist nominating petition for Benjamin J. Davis as a councilman for the city council, city of New York, and ask if that is your signature on line 1 of this petition?

(Witness examines document referred to.)

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Is that your signature?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. The reason I ask that question, there is a possibility it could be a forgery. Is that your signature?

Mrs. TODD. I still would like to refuse to answer the question.

Mr. APPELL. Would you write Elizabeth W. Todd on a piece of paper for the committee, please?

Mrs. ABZUG. May I ask what purpose the investigator has in mind?

Mr. APPELL. It would enable the committee to determine whether or not this a forgery.

Mrs. ABZUG. Is that within the purposes of this inquiry, to determine whether or not a signature is a forgery?

Mr. WOOD. Whatever may be the purpose of the committee is beside the point. You can control your client by advising her.

Mrs. TODD. If I have the right to refuse to sign it, I would like to refuse to sign it.

Mr. APPELL. You may refuse to sign it on the ground of self-incrimination.

Mrs. TODD. All right. I would like to take those grounds.

Mr. APPELL. Mrs. Todd, were you a member of an organization existing in Knoxville, Tenn., by the name of Workers Education?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did your husband own a motorcycle when he was in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mrs. TODD. You mean Merwin S. Todd?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mrs. TODD. Yes; he did.

Mr. APPELL. When you left Knoxville with him, did he have the motorcycle with him?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did he sell it before you left Knoxville?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did he sell that motorcycle to Horace Bryan?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Was your husband, Pat Todd, an organizer for the CIO while you were residing in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know William Remington to be an organizer for the CIO textile workers?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. APPELL. When did you last see William Remington?

Mrs. TODD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. Anything further?

Mr. APPELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Anything further, Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. McSweeney?

Mr. McSWEENEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Let the witness be excused. The committee will stand at recess.

(Thereupon, at 11:45 a. m. on Friday, April 21, 1950, a recess was taken.)

1

t

:

:

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 1950

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Hon. John S. Wood.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, the witness this morning is Mr. Solomon Adler.

Mr. WOOD. Hold up your right hand, please. You solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ADLER. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat, sir.

Let the record show that this investigation is being conducted before a subcommittee composed of the chairman only, by order of the chairman.

TESTIMONY OF SOLOMON ADLER

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. ADLER. Solomon Adler.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your address?

Mr. ADLER. 2721 Dumbarton Avenue NW.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. ADLER. In Leeds, England, on August 6, 1909.

Mr. RUSSELL. You studied at Oxford University?

Mr. ADLER. Correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. 1927 to 1930?

Mr. ADLER. Correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. You attended London School of Economics, 1930 to 1933?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you study there under Harold Laski?

Mr. ADLER. Not primarily. I studied primarily under Howell Roberts, because I was a student of economics and not political science.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. ADLER. October 1933.

Mr. RUSSELL. As what?

Mr. ADLER. As a travelling fellow in economics.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you return to England?

Mr. ADLER. In June 1934.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you again come to the United States?

Mr. ADLER. February 1935.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; I am. I was naturalized in September 1940.

Mr. RUSSELL. In order to conserve time, I will read your employment history. If I happen to make any errors, will you correct me as I go along?

Mr. ADLER. To the best of my ability.

Mr. RUSSELL. February 1935 to February 1936, instructor in economics, Peoples Junior College, Chicago, Ill.; February 26, 1936, to November 30, 1936, associate economist, National Research Project, WPA, New York City; December 7, 1936, to October 1, 1942, economic analyst, Treasury Department, Division of Monetary Research; October 1, 1942, to February 29, 1944, American representative, Chinese Stabilization Fund Board, on the pay roll of the Chinese Government in China?

Mr. ADLER. Right. I was active representative, actually.

Mr. RUSSELL. March 1, 1944, reinstated in Treasury Department as China representative, position, Treasury Department attaché.

Mr. ADLER. My actual title at that time was Treasury Department representative. That is a protocol point which is not substantial, but I might as well mention it. I think I was made attaché in 1945.

Mr. RUSSELL. February 7, 1949, to October 5, 1949, on leave without pay from the Treasury Department to teach at Harvard University.

Mr. ADLER. That is substantially correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. October 5, 1949, returned to duty at the Treasury Department in the Office of International Finance, Washington, D. C.

Mr. ADLER. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are presently employed in the same capacity?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Except as you have made the corrections, this resumé of your employment record is correct?

Mr. ADLER. It is correct, and the only corrections I made were formal rather than substantial.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you first came to the United States, what studies did you pursue here, and at what specific places did you follow those studies?

Mr. ADLER. I had a rather loose fellowship, involving the study of the impact of the Government on the economy. Under that act, I proposed to spend most of my time in Washington during that study. I wanted, however, to keep in contact with and to visit a number of academic institutions. I visited Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, and talked with professors there and so on.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you first emigrated to the United States, what was the type and period of your first employment?

Mr. ADLER. I was an instructor in economics at a college which arose in Chicago during the depression. I taught there for a year. The

teaching load was quite heavy. It was a small college and did not have a large number of instructors, and the teaching load was heavy. In my second semester I taught as many as 18 hours a week.

Mr. RUSSELL. From whom did you receive your position with Peoples Junior College, Chicago?

Mr. ADLER. I can give you the whole background. When I visited Chicago—

Mr. RUSSELL. The first time?

Mr. ADLER. Yes, in April 1934, I met a number of economists, including Mr. Harold Glasser, who was in this college, and he asked me at the time if I would be interested in a job there; they were looking around for an economist to teach. I said I was not sure; I might be. After I returned to England he asked me again if I were interested, and I said "Yes." The president of the institute then wrote me a letter offering me the job, and I accepted.

Mr. RUSSELL. Through whom did you first meet Harold Glasser?

Mr. ADLER. Mr. Chairman, may I make a small digression here? I have been naturally thinking of the kind of questions you would ask me, and this was one of the questions I anticipated would be asked. As this is an executive session, I have no hesitation in mentioning the name. I don't say I wouldn't mention the name in an open session, also, but you can understand, when a person on whom no aspersion has been cast at all, who is quite above suspicion, has his name mentioned and it receives publicity, it does not help him. I have been asked this question before in previous interrogations, and I have answered it completely and frankly, and I will mention the name of the man, Mr. Alvin David, whom I met in Washington early in 1934. He drove out to Chicago with me. I wanted to visit Chicago, and there were a number of eminent economists I wanted to meet, such as Jacob Viner, and he introduced me to Mr. Harold Glasser. Do I make myself clear, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD. I believe so. I will interpolate to this extent: This committee is not seeking to cast any aspersions or smears in any way; so you can feel perfectly free in this executive session to answer these questions as completely as you want to.

Mr. ADLER. Thank you.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, you were introduced to Mr. Glasser by Mr. Alvin David?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. While you were employed at Peoples Junior College, did you at one time reside with the Harold Glassers?

Mr. ADLER. Yes. It was a strange city, and they had an extra bed and I stayed with them awhile.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever endorse the National Negro Congress?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. While you were in Chicago, particularly in 1936?

Mr. ADLER. I was in Chicago in 1935, not in 1936.

Mr. RUSSELL. You were not there in 1936?

Mr. ADLER. Only the first month of 1936.

Mr. RUSSELL. Subsequent to your employment at Peoples Junior College, did you become employed by the National Research Project of the WPA?

Mr. ADLER. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you obtain that position?

Mr. ADLER. Again, the same statement I made about Mr. David applies here. In 1933 and 1934 I became quite friendly with an economist-statistician in Washington by the name of Dr. Clement Winston, and he wrote me in the late winter of 1935 or early 1936 and asked if I would be interested in this new project which was being set up, as an economist, and I said "Yes; I would be," and I received an invitation to join. I applied to join.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who offered you the position?

Mr. ADLER. I can't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Wasn't it Irving Kaplan?

Mr. ADLER. I don't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the offer of employment being made?

Mr. ADLER. It might have been. I don't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. The records of the WPA disclose that the offer of employment was made in a letter from Irving Kaplan.

Mr. ADLER. I know him. I met him after I joined the project.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you first meet him?

Mr. ADLER. It must have been in 1936 in New York.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw him?

Mr. ADLER. The last time I saw Irving Kaplan was in January 1948. As I recall, I was walking down the street and I bumped into him and shook hands with him.

Mr. WOOD. Here in Washington?

Mr. ADLER. Here in Washington.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was that?

Mr. ADLER. In January 1948. The date is approximately correct. It might have been February or late December, but it was within that period.

Mr. RUSSELL. Subsequent to your employment with the National Research project, where were you employed?

Mr. ADLER. By the Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you obtain that employment?

Mr. ADLER. I was visiting Washington sometime in 1936 and I stopped in on Mr. Seltzer at the Treasury. I had happened to read some speech or article of his on fiscal policies. We had a general talk on economics, and I asked about employment possibilities, and he asked my background, and I told him. He said he himself was primarily interested in the field of domestic economy, and he referred me to Mr. Harry White. Mr. White talked over my background with me, and he said if I were interested I should file an application, which I think I did. That is to the best of my recollection. And I did not hear of any action on it until December 1936, when I got a letter from the woman in charge of personnel in the Division of Monetary Research asking me to join the Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are aware, no doubt, that Harry Dexter White was named as a Communist by two self-confessed Communist couriers, and his identification by one Whittaker Chambers was supported by documentary evidence showing Mr. White's participation in espionage activities?

Mr. ADLER. I have only heard lately about the documents. I think I recollect reading something in one of the newspapers, and I must frankly confess I was very much astonished.

Mr. RUSSELL. What were the circumstances surrounding your appointment as American representative to the Stabilization Fund?

Mr. ADLER. May I tell you what happened? Mr. A. Manuel Fox was American representative on the Stabilization Board of China, and he went to the States from China in January 1942, and during his absence—may I explain the operations? The Stabilization Board of China was a trinational organization under the Chinese Ministry of Finance. It was composed of three Chinese members, one American member, and one British member. They had a rule under which members of each of these nationalities had to participate in decisions. Mr. Fox was away in Washington from January to May 1942, and I was asked to act as the acting American member. Mr. Fox returned in May 1942, and he died of a heart failure a month later, so I was asked to act as his active alternate, or as the active representative, but I was not actually appointed as a member of the Stabilization Board until October 1942.

Mr. RUSSELL. The recommendation for your appointment was actually made by Harry Dexter White?

Mr. ADLER. He was the head of the Division of Monetary Research. I was in China all this time.

Mr. WOOD. I don't think that is a complete response to the question. Was the recommendation actually made by Mr. Harry Dexter White?

Mr. ADLER. I really don't know. It was done by cable from the Secretary of the Treasury, presumably, to the Minister of Finance, but I don't know actually what happened.

Mr. RUSSELL. You were on the payroll of the Chinese Government at a salary of \$10,000 a year?

Mr. ADLER. Correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Harry Dexter White supervise your activities while you were employed in that capacity?

Mr. ADLER. It is a difficult thing to explain. I would like to elaborate. You see, the Stabilization Board of China was a trinational organization. The members were paid by the Chinese Government and were responsible to the Chinese Minister of Finance. At the same time they were also responsible to their respective Secretary of the Treasury, in the case of the United States, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the case of England. I sent letters to the Secretary of the Treasury and also to the head of Monetary Research, who happened to be Mr. White.

Mr. WOOD. The question asked you was: Did Mr. White supervise your activities?

Mr. ADLER. I would receive instructions by cable from the Treasury. On major decisions I would naturally consult the Treasury. I would send cables to the Treasury and receive cables from the Treasury. I assume in that respect Mr. White did supervise my activities.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you make any reports directly to Harry Dexter White?

Mr. ADLER. I sent memos and stuff to the Treasury. It was usually addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever send any documents directly to Harry Dexter White?

Mr. ADLER. I would say all documents I sent were sent in official pouches and addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, to the best of my recollection.

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

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you first meet him?

Mr. ADLER. I met him sometime in 1939.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will return to Silvermaster in a moment.

You said you sent official reports to the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. ADLER. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever send any unofficial reports to Harry Dexter White?

Mr. ADLER. No. All my communications went through official pouches.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ADLER. I think through William Ludwig Ullmann.

Mr. RUSSELL. You think?

Mr. ADLER. I think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. In his own house.

Mr. WOOD. If you recall meeting him in his own house, aren't you pretty sure through whom you met him?

Mr. ADLER. I am pretty sure it was through Mr. Ullmann.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. ADLER. In an office in the Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he employed in Treasury at the same time you were?

Mr. ADLER. I don't know when he came in Treasury, whether in 1938 or 1939.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet him in Treasury if he wasn't employed there?

Mr. ADLER. I met him in Treasury when he was employed there.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many times did you see or visit Nathan Gregory Silvermaster during the time you were employed in Treasury?

Mr. ADLER. Excuse my smiling, but I have been asked that question many times. It is a hard question to answer precisely.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was it once or more than once?

Mr. ADLER. More than once.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who else was present during those visits?

Mr. ADLER. Mr. Silvermaster, his wife, and her son.

Mr. RUSSELL. Anatole?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; and Mr. Ullmann, and I think her brother, Witt, W-i-t-t or W-i-t-t-e. At other times there were other people there; Harry White and his wife, I imagine.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Mr. White also visit there?

Mr. ADLER. I have seen him there, I think, once. I may have seen him there more often, but I wouldn't want to be more specific because I really don't recall.

Mr. WOOD. But you do recall seeing him there certainly one time?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; I do.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the nature of these gatherings?

Mr. ADLER. They were completely informal.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Mr. Ullmann ever show you any photographic equipment he had in the basement of his residence?

Mr. ADLER. Excuse my smiling, but I have been asked this question many times.

Mr. RUSSELL. We are not interested in how many times the question has been asked you before. We would like to have it answered directly.

Mr. ADLER. I am not trying to digress. I have been in his basement and the thing I recall most vividly about it is something with neon lights which Mr. Ullmann was working on for advertising purposes. I am not mechanically minded, but I remember it had a flow of colors which changed, and he was working on it and said he was thinking of patenting it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you see any photographic equipment?

Mr. ADLER. I know Mr. Ullmann was a photographer, but I do not recall photographic equipment.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are positive of that ?

Mr. ADLER. To the best of my recollection. I just don't recall better than that. If you had asked me this question 2 or 3 years ago, if I had seen photographic equipment, I might have remembered it.

Mr. RUSSELL. When were you first asked if you saw photographic equipment in the basement?

Mr. ADLER. In the grand jury.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many years ago?

Mr. ADLER. Two years ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you recall having seen any photographic equipment at that time? You said a while ago if we had asked you the question 2 or 3 years ago you might have remembered.

Mr. ADLER. I don't know.

Mr. WOOD. Do you recall what you told the grand jury?

Mr. ADLER. No; I don't.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, you don't know whether you told the grand jury you saw photographic equipment in the basement?

Mr. ADLER. I might well have seen photographic equipment in the basement. I knew he was a photographer, and I knew he had photographic equipment because he was a photographer. I am really not trying to evade you.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are an economist and you know the law of diminishing return?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. It seems you would recall whether you told the grand jury 2 years ago that you saw photographic equipment in Ullmann's basement.

Mr. ADLER. I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the nature of the advertising you saw?

Mr. ADLER. Some beer. This was an experiment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you describe it?

Mr. ADLER. A collection of neon lights with a flow of color.

Mr. RUSSELL. Circular or rectangular?

Mr. ADLER. More likely semicircular.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Helen Silvermaster, Anatole Silvermaster, or William Ludwig Ullmann?

Mr. ADLER. The last time I saw Silvermaster was sometime in 1945. The last time I saw Ullmann was sometime in 1946.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you last see those two?

Mr. ADLER. I saw Ullman in the Treasury; he was working in the Treasury. Where I saw Silvermaster, I don't recall off-hand. It might have been on the street.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you aware that Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and Helen W. Silvermaster and William Ludwig Ullmann have been named as espionage agents by a witness who appeared before this committee?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. And they were also identified as members of the Communist Party. Did you know them as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ADLER. I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever contributed to the Communist Party?

Mr. ADLER. No; I have not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever made application for membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. ADLER. I have not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever registered as a Communist?

Mr. ADLER. I have not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever attended Communist Party meetings?

Mr. ADLER. I have not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Virginius Frank Coe?

Mr. ADLER. I am.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. I met him in Washington in Brookings Institution.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you describe the circumstances under which that meeting took place?

Mr. ADLER. I think it was probably at some luncheon I was introduced to him.

Mr. RUSSELL. By whom?

Mr. ADLER. I don't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where was the luncheon?

Mr. ADLER. At Brookings Institution.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the purpose of the luncheon?

Mr. ADLER. To eat, I suppose.

Mr. RUSSELL. Under whose auspices? Brookings Institution?

Mr. ADLER. No. There is a restaurant in Brookings Institution which economists use. I had the use of the facilities of Brookings Institution.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you received any correspondence from Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Helen W. Silvermaster, William Ludwig Ullmann, or Frank Coe recently?

Mr. ADLER. Not recently.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you correspond with them during the period of your acquaintance with them?

Mr. ADLER. I have not corresponded with Silvermaster or his wife. I think I wrote a post card from Honolulu to Mr. Ullmann in 1941. Mr. Coe I may have written to at times. I think I sent him a Christmas card last year.

Mr. RUSSELL. It seems to me if you can recall you mailed a post card to Mr. Ullmann from Honolulu in 1941, you could remember if you saw photographic equipment in his basement?

Mr. ADLER. I'll tell you why I recall sending him that post card. That card interested the investigators and they asked me about it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you interested in photography?

Mr. ADLER. I am not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you describe the circumstances under which the post card was mailed? You said it was interesting.

Mr. ADLER. The investigators were interested.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you know Mr. Ullmann was a photographer?

Mr. ADLER. I saw pictures he had taken.

Mr. RUSSELL. He told you he had taken the pictures?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever take any pictures for you?

Mr. ADLER. This is a strange thing, and I am glad you asked that question. When I was asked that question in the grand jury I said "No," and then I remembered afterward that he had once taken a couple photographs of me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever photograph any documents for you?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. None at all?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. He made a couple photographs of you?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the type of camera he used?

Mr. ADLER. No; I don't.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did he make those pictures?

Mr. ADLER. I think in the late winter of 1939.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall where he made them?

Mr. ADLER. At his house.

Mr. WOOD. Well, then, you did see photographic equipment in his home?

Mr. ADLER. I saw a camera.

Mr. WOOD. Isn't that photographic equipment?

Mr. ADLER. Yes. I yield to you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RUSSELL. How were those photographs developed?

Mr. ADLER. That I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you pay for them?

Mr. ADLER. No; I didn't.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he develop them?

Mr. ADLER. I assume so; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he tell you he developed them?

Mr. ADLER. Gee, I just don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never saw any developing equipment in the basement of his home?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he have a great many pictures?

Mr. ADLER. He had a number of photographs.

Mr. RUSSELL. Large or small?

Mr. ADLER. Fairly large for photographs.

Mr. WOOD. Did he deliver the photographs that he made of you to you himself?

Mr. ADLER. I think so; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever discuss his photographic ability with him?

Mr. ADLER. I don't think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did notice a number of photographs on the wall?

Mr. ADLER. I remember one of Mrs. Silvermaster, and he once showed me photographs he had made for the Farm Resettlement Administration many years ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you discuss his photographic work with him extensively?

Mr. ADLER. To the best of my knowledge I did not. I am not terribly interested in photography, anyway. In fact, I am completely ignorant.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever ask him how he enlarged those photographs?

Mr. ADLER. I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever tell you he had enlarging equipment?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; I do.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. At Brookings Institution.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the circumstances?

Mr. ADLER. Not in detail.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall anything about it at all, when it was?

Mr. ADLER. I would say it was either in late 1933 or early 1934.

Mr. RUSSELL. You met him here the first time you came to the United States?

Mr. ADLER. On my first visit to the United States; that is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. As a traveling fellow?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who introduced you to Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. ADLER. I don't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. You met him here in Washington?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where was he employed at that time?

Mr. ADLER. I think he was in a section of NRA.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who else did you meet in Washington at that time?

Mr. ADLER. I met a lot of people.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you name some others?

Mr. WOOD. You say you met him in late 1933 or early 1934?

Mr. ADLER. That is right. I met a lot of people. I met Mr. A. Manuel Fox and his wife. I met Max Sasuly. I met Isadore Lattman.

Mr. RUSSELL. Spell the last name.

Mr. ADLER. L-a-t-t-m-a-n. I had met Isadore Lattman, by the way, before, in London. Shereshevsky.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you spell that?

Mr. ADLER. S-h-e-r-e-s-h-e-v-s-k-y. And Roger Cohen.

Mr. RUSSELL. These were all in late 1933 or early 1934?

Mr. ADLER. Sometime in 1934.

Mr. RUSSELL. You don't recall who introduced you to Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was it Irving Kaplan?

Mr. ADLER. I had not met Irving Kaplan.

Mr. RUSSELL. At that time?

Mr. ADLER. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Irving Kaplan ever live in California, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. ADLER. I met Irving Kaplan in 1936 when I was working for National Research project.

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

Mr. ADLER. I have faintly heard he was in UN. I forget from whom I heard it.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw him?

Mr. ADLER. I think I have already answered that question.

Mr. RUSSELL. Answer it again.

Mr. ADLER. I think it was in January 1948.

Mr. RUSSELL. You saw him on the street?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you discuss with him the charges made by Elizabeth Bentley or Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ADLER. I did not. I did not know of the charges.

Mr. RUSSELL. In 1948?

Mr. ADLER. As made by Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. ADLER. This is a very strange coincidence. I had not seen him since 1946, and I bumped into him yesterday in the lobby of an office building.

Mr. RUSSELL. Here in Washington?

Mr. ADLER. Correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. What office building is that?

Mr. ADLER. Where my lawyer is, on K Street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth, the Commonwealth Building.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who is your attorney?

Mr. ADLER. Mr. Milton Kramer.

Mr. RUSSELL. K-r-a-m-e-r?

Mr. ADLER. Correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. In the Commonwealth Building?

Mr. ADLER. I think it is the Commonwealth Building. I know the telephone number. I think it is 1622 K Street.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you have a conversation with Mr. Silverman yesterday?

Mr. ADLER. Only for a moment.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the nature of that conversation?

Mr. ADLER. Very general. He told me he was about to become a grandfather.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you tell him you had been subpoenaed to appear before this committee?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you corresponded with him at any time during the interim?

Mr. ADLER. I have not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you have any correspondence with him while you were in China?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I recall. I may have dropped him a line at Christmas or something like that. I am sure it could not have been more than that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever discuss the nature of the work you were doing with Mr. Silverman through a letter at any time?

Mr. ADLER. I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know where Mr. Silverman is employed now?

Mr. ADLER. Yes. He is working for Murray Latimer.

Mr. RUSSELL. Here in Washington?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with William Henry Taylor?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. I met him in 1941 in Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he employed in Treasury at that time?

Mr. ADLER. Correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Through whom did you meet Mr. Taylor?

Mr. ADLER. I don't know. It could have been any one of our colleagues.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are aware that Abraham George Silverman was named as an espionage agent by Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you hear he was also named by Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ADLER. As I recall, he made some statements about him, but not in detail, that I recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. ADLER. I met her for the first time in my life at my loyalty hearings in September 1948.

Mr. RUSSELL. You had never seen her before?

Mr. ADLER. Never seen or heard of her before she gave testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you last see William Henry Taylor?

Mr. ADLER. I bumped into him on a streetcar a few weeks ago on the way to work.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Victor Perlo?

Mr. ADLER. He is another guy I met in 1933 or 1934, but only once or twice, and the next time I saw him, to the best of my knowledge—I am not a lawyer, but do I make my meaning clear? On minor details I may say things inconsistent with what I have said on previous occasions. If I do, I want to say I am testifying to the best of my recollection now.

Mr. WOOD. That is all that is required of anyone.

Mr. ADLER. The next time I saw Mr. Perlo that I recall was in 1946. My acquaintance with Mr. Perlo was completely casual.

Mr. RUSSELL. You saw him in 1946?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; in Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he employed in Treasury at that time?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever see him in the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. You haven't seen him since 1946?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are aware he was also named as a member of an espionage ring by Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. And also by Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Solomon Lischinsky?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. How are you acquainted with him?

Mr. ADLER. I met him in Chicago in 1935.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the circumstances?

Mr. ADLER. Not specifically.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall who introduced you to Mr. Lischinsky?

Mr. ADLER. I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. When did you last see him?

Mr. ADLER. I saw him sometime in 1946. I saw his wife sometime in May 1948.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where?

Mr. ADLER. At his house.

Mr. RUSSELL. In Washington?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the address?

Mr. ADLER. No; I don't. It is W Street SW., or something like that.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the nature of that meeting?

Mr. ADLER. His father and mother were visiting him and I went over and they invited me to stay for dinner, and I did.

Mr. RUSSELL. You were also acquainted with his mother and father?

Mr. ADLER. That was the first time I had ever met them.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he invite you there for the purpose of meeting his mother and father?

Mr. ADLER. Offhand, I would say yes, but I really don't remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were there any other persons present?

Mr. ADLER. His wife, his sister, and his two children.

Mr. RUSSELL. No one else?

Mr. ADLER. No one else that I recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Harry Magdoff?

Mr. ADLER. I am acquainted with him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall where you met him?

Mr. ADLER. At the National Research Project.

Mr. RUSSELL. During the course of your work, or was he introduced to you by someone?

Mr. ADLER. During the course of my work.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw him?

Mr. ADLER. The last time I saw him was at Brentano's book store. I don't recall whether it was in 1944 or April 1945.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the circumstances of that meeting? Was it prearranged?

Mr. ADLER. No. I was looking at the magazines in Brentano's and I bumped into him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did anyone else come into the store while you were there?

Mr. ADLER. The store was full of people.

Mr. RUSSELL. Anyone you know?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I knew. I think I exchanged a few words with him and then left.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Charles Kramer?

Mr. ADLER. I met him once in the corridor of Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. By whom was that introduction effected?

Mr. ADLER. I don't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall anybody else being present at the time you met him?

Mr. ADLER. It was in someone's office that I was introduced to him.

Mr. WOOD. I thought you said you met him in the corridor?

Mr. ADLER. That is right, but he was with other people on the way to an office. I don't recall which office.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where was he employed at that time?

Mr. ADLER. I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. What year was that?

Mr. ADLER. 1944.

Mr. RUSSELL. Spring, summer, fall?

Mr. ADLER. I was here from August to December in 1944, so it was during that period.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was not employed by Treasury?

Mr. ADLER. No; he was not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where was he employed at that time?

Mr. ADLER. I think it was in connection with some House committee or something.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he have business with Treasury Department at the time you met him?

Mr. ADLER. I assume so.

Mr. RUSSELL. You don't recall whether you discussed that Treasury business with him?

Mr. ADLER. I was introduced to him and that was all.

Mr. RUSSELL. You don't recall whether anybody else was present?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Nor do you recall the name of the person who effected the introduction?

Mr. ADLER. I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with John Abt?

Mr. ADLER. I saw him two or three times.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. Through my friend Sol Lischinsky.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you meet him in the home of Solomon Lischinsky?

Mr. ADLER. No. I think the amalgamated clothing industry had a statistical bureau, and I used to have luncheon with Lischinsky in that vicinity from time to time, and that is where I met John Abt.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw John Abt?

Mr. ADLER. At least 10 years ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you aware Charles Kramer was named a member of an espionage group by Elizabeth Bentley, and as a member of a Communist cell by Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. ADLER. I am aware of that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever discuss those charges with Charles Kramer?

Mr. ADLER. The only time I met Charles Kramer was this occasion in 1944, so I could not very well discuss them with him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you seen him since?

Mr. ADLER. I have not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Nathan Witt?

Mr. ADLER. I met him once; it was in the winter of 1938 or 1939 at the home of Tom Emerson.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he in Washington at the time?

Mr. ADLER. Tom Emerson was, yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the nature of that meeting?

Mr. ADLER. It was at a dinner.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who else was present?

Mr. ADLER. Tom Emerson and his life and a couple other people.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Charles Coe, the brother of Frank Coe?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; I know him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know his present occupation?

Mr. ADLER. I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall through whom you met him?

Mr. ADLER. At Brookings in 1933.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he employed at Brookings?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; he had a Brookings fellowship.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long did you stay in China?

Mr. ADLER. I arrived in China in September 1941. I was in China until 1944. I spent a month in India in 1943. I was in Washington for 5 months in 1944. I was in Washington about 3 months in 1945. And I was in Washington for 3 weeks in 1946.

Mr. RUSSELL. Stop right there. While you were in Washington from July 14 to August 6, 1946, did you see Mr. and Mrs. Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you also see Frank Coe?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Harold Glasser?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. William Ludwig Ullmann?

Mr. ADLER. He was in Treasury in 1946. I saw him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Dorothy and Irving Kaplan?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Sol Lischinsky?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you visit the home of Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you visit the home of Frank Coe?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; I did.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you visit the home of Harold Glasser?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you visit the home of Dorothy and Irving Kaplan?

Mr. ADLER. No; I was not at their home.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you visit the home of Sol Lischinsky?

Mr. ADLER. I think I was at his home. I am not sure.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know any of the persons about whom I have asked you as Communists?

Mr. ADLER. I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did they ever discuss communism with you?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I recall.

Mr. WOOD. By that, do you mean to leave the inference that it is possible they did and you would not recall it?

Mr. ADLER. It might have been discussed in a purely incidental way. I don't want to exclude that possibility. After all, this was over a period of years, and it might have been discussed in an incidental way, but not in any other way.

Mr. RUSSELL. None of them ever admitted Communist Party membership to you?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did any of them ever ask you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of Anna Berenson?

Mr. ADLER. Yes I met her at the Whites.

Mr. RUSSELL. At the home of Harry Dexter White?

Mr. ADLER. She seemed to be a friend of Harry Dexter White's wife. I am not sure.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you remember who else was present?

Mr. ADLER. No. It was so long ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know the nature of her occupation at that time?

Mr. ADLER. I think she was a social worker.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever see her after you met her at the home of Harry Dexter White?

Mr. ADLER. I probably did, but I don't recall how many times or where. I think in the course of my life, if I have met her more than 4 or 5 times I would be surprised.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Hal Ware?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Phillip Jacob Jaffe?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Oscar Lange?

Mr. ADLER. Lange I met in Chicago. I think I had tea with him and his wife once.

Mr. RUSSELL. What year was that?

Mr. ADLER. I think in 1935.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Chao-Ting Chi?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. I first met him in the Congressional Library. I have a desk in the Congressional Library, and as I recall he was working on the same floor.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the subject you were working on?

Mr. ADLER. That I was working on or that he was working on? I was in the Congressional Library on my traveling fellowship.

Mr. RUSSELL. What year was that?

Mr. ADLER. Late 1933 or early 1934.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet Mr. Chi?

Mr. ADLER. Sitting in the Congressional Library, when you have a pew there, after a while you begin to get acquainted with people there.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you discuss communism with him?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with John Stewart Service?

Mr. ADLER. Yes. I met him in China in 1941.

Mr. RUSSELL. In what city in China?

Mr. ADLER. Chungking.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who else was present when you met him?

Mr. ADLER. I am sure Mr. Clarence Gauss or John Carter Vincent introduced us in the office of the Embassy. I think it was in November 1941.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Richard Sorge?

Mr. ADLER. I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever heard of him?

Mr. ADLER. The only occasion I heard of him was when I heard of this thing from Tokyo a few months ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. How about Agnes Smedley?

Mr. ADLER. I never met her.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you see Mr. Service more than once in China?

Mr. ADLER. Sure.

Mr. RUSSELL. How often?

Mr. ADLER. I don't know. Quite often. We were good friends. I don't know how often I saw him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you usually see him?

Mr. ADLER. In the Embassy or in the homes of other people.

Mr. RUSSELL. What other people?

Mr. ADLER. People in the Embassy.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you name some?

Mr. ADLER. People of the American community there, the Standard Oil people—

Mr. RUSSELL. I am speaking of the Embassy now. I am not speaking of the Standard Oil Co.

Mr. ADLER. He lived with Mr. Gauss and John Carter Vincent, and I used to go to lunch with Mr. Gauss and play pinochle with Mr. Gauss.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say you visited the homes of other people connected with the Embassy. You didn't visit all of them; did you?

Mr. ADLER. I wouldn't say I visited all of them, but it is a rather small community in Chungking, and most foreigners got to know each other, and over a period of years I have been in many people's homes, including my own. He lived with me a while.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you discuss Nationalist China with him?

Mr. ADLER. It was part of our job.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever evince any sympathy with Communist China?

Mr. ADLER. I would say no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you?

Mr. ADLER. I would say no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Alexander Stevens?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Also known as J. Peters?

Mr. ADLER. I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Donald Wheeler?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. In Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. When?

Mr. ADLER. I think in 1938.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he employed by Treasury at that time?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; he was.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever visit his home?

Mr. ADLER. I recall having dinner there once.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with the fact Donald Wheeler was also mentioned in the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw Donald Wheeler?

Mr. ADLER. I was carrying a big bag of groceries home——

Mr. RUSSELL. Here in Washington?

Mr. ADLER. Yes, in 1945, on lower Wisconsin Avenue, and I greeted him and I returned home.

Mr. RUSSELL. That was the last time you saw him?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with Allan Rosenberg?

Mr. ADLER. I have been asked this question many times, and I do not recall meeting this person.

Mr. RUSSELL. You don't know him?

Mr. ADLER. To the best of my knowledge, I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Richard Sasuly?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. I think at the home of his mother.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was his occupation at that time?

Mr. ADLER. I think he was a student.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you aware of his present occupation? Is he in Europe?

Mr. ADLER. I was told he had been in Europe. I don't know if he is now.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know what Richard Sasuly had been doing in Europe?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he connected with Tass?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I know of.

Mr. RUSSELL. Or Federated Press?

Mr. ADLER. I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Elizabeth Sasuly, his wife?

Mr. ADLER. I met her through him.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time you saw him?

Mr. ADLER. I would say 5 or 6 years ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were Richard and Elizabeth Sasuly known to you as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ADLER. They were not.

Mr. RUSSELL. You haven't seen them for 5 or 6 years?

Mr. ADLER. Except I saw Sasuly once on the street.

Mr. RUSSELL. How about Elizabeth?

Mr. ADLER. I didn't see her.

Mr. RUSSELL. You saw Richard when?

Mr. ADLER. Once on the street.

Mr. RUSSELL. Recently?

Mr. ADLER. I think it was more than a year ago. I think it was sometime late in 1948. I am not sure.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should show at this point that Elizabeth Sasuly appeared before this committee during the past summer in connection with the committee's investigation of communism in the District of Columbia, and at the time of her appearance she declined to answer all pertinent questions.

Are you acquainted with Edward Fitzgerald?

Mr. ADLER. I have met him certainly not more than half a dozen times in my life.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall where you met him?

Mr. ADLER. I met him at the National Research project.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you meet him through an introduction or during the course of your work?

Mr. ADLER. During the course of my work. Many of the people you have mentioned I have met in the course of my work.

Mr. RUSSELL. After you left the National Research project, did you see him?

Mr. ADLER. Two or three times in Washington, on the street.

Mr. RUSSELL. When was the last time?

Mr. ADLER. I think in 1944.

Mr. RUSSELL. On the street?

Mr. ADLER. I think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are aware of the fact he was also mentioned in the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you acquainted with George Perazich?

Mr. ADLER. No; I don't recall him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Henry Hill Collins?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Owen Lattimore?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. In China in 1941.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet him?

Mr. ADLER. Through Mr. Fox.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was his occupation at that time?

Mr. ADLER. Special adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you see him very often?

Mr. ADLER. Fairly often; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever discuss with him the activities of the Chinese Nationalists?

Mr. ADLER. We certainly discussed the situation in Nationalist China. This was around December of 1941, and he was strongly in favor of a loan to the Nationalist Government of China.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever discuss the affairs of Chiang Kai-shek with you; in other words, the nature of his duties?

Mr. ADLER. I think he did in a general way, but not in a specific way. If you are living in a country you are interested in that country; it is your job to be interested in it. If we had no discussed the strength of the regime and so on, it would have been inhuman.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever discuss the strength of the Nationalist Chinese Army with him?

Mr. ADLER. In detail, no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you discuss it in a small way?

Mr. ADLER. When I say in detail, I am sure neither he nor I knew the number of Nationalist divisions, but we might have discussed the morale of the Nationalist Army.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was the situation at that time?

Mr. ADLER. In 1941 it was still pretty good, I would say. We would discuss those things in a general way, such as we would discuss the impact of the coal strikes which we have sometimes. These are the kind of things anyone discusses in a foreign community.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you visit Mr. Lattimore often, or did he visit you?

Mr. ADLER. Not too often. We met at Madame Kung's, I remember, for a New Year dinner. I have seen Mr. Lattimore since. I don't know how often. I know my wife and I spent a week at his home in 1945 in Baltimore. I saw him last year when he visited Harvard to give a lecture. I think that was the last time.

Mr. RUSSELL. You saw him at Harvard University?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. While you were a professor there?

Mr. ADLER. No. You are jumping to conclusions. He was visiting Harvard to give a lecture at a seminar. I had nothing to do with organizing the seminar.

Mr. RUSSELL. I didn't say you did, and I am not jumping to conclusions. That was during the period you were a professor at Harvard?

Mr. ADLER. Yes. I am sorry. I apologize.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever resided in New York City?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the addresses? Did you ever reside at 419 West One hundred and twenty-first Street?

Mr. ADLER. Right.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you resided there, did you lease, sublet, or reside with someone else?

Mr. ADLER. I was by myself.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever live with someone else there?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever know anyone named Edel?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he also live there, or did he sublet the place to you?

Mr. ADLER. I got the place from Leon Edel. I met his brother in England. I have not seen either of them in many, many years.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you find out that you could sublease that apartment?

Mr. ADLER. I suppose I arrived in New York and I stayed in a hotel, and I naturally would look up people I knew and ask about apartments, and I probably called Abraham Edel and he told me his brother was leaving and was going to sublet his apartment, and I took it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where was his brother going at the time you sublet his apartment?

Mr. ADLER. I think to France.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was leaving the country?

Mr. ADLER. I think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long did you reside there?

Mr. ADLER. Six or seven months, something like that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall when that was?

Mr. ADLER. In 1936.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is Abraham Edel still residing in New York?

Mr. ADLER. As far as I know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did he reside at that time?

Mr. ADLER. Somewhere near the City College of New York campus.

Mr. RUSSELL. You also lived at 66 Perry Street, New York City?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you reside with anyone there?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Sybil May?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall whether you rented the apartment from her?

Mr. ADLER. I think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. You think so?

Mr. ADLER. I am pretty sure, yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was she the owner of that apartment?

Mr. ADLER. I think so, yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. How did you meet Sybil May?

Mr. ADLER. I don't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you seen her recently?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you corresponded with her?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was she employed at that time?

Mr. ADLER. I think she was a teacher.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where?

Mr. ADLER. At one of the private schools in New York.

Mr. RUSSELL. You think she was a teacher?

Mr. ADLER. I know she was a teacher.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know when you lived at 66 Perry Street, New York City?

Mr. ADLER. From about September 1936 until I came to Washington.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is Sybil May a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I know of.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did she live at the time you lived at 66 Perry Street?

Mr. ADLER. She was living there, too.

Mr. RUSSELL. In an apartment in the same building?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many apartments were there in the building?

Mr. ADLER. I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was it a large building?

Mr. ADLER. Not too large; no.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you were in China, in Chungking, did you ever reside with John Stewart Service?

Mr. ADLER. He lived with me a few weeks.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did you reside with him?

Mr. ADLER. At 22 Pao Tai Kai. He was there about a month or so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall when that was?

Mr. ADLER. December 1944, just before I left.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever collaborate with Service on a report on the Chinese situation?

Mr. ADLER. He asked me to look it over; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you help him?

Mr. ADLER. Yes; on the financial and economic aspects.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was that report turned over to Vice President Henry Wallace upon his arrival in China in 1944?

Mr. ADLER. When I worked on it I didn't know what its purpose would be, but I heard later that it was.

Mr. RUSSELL. That it was turned over to Henry Wallace?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever have a copy of that report?

Mr. ADLER. I don't recall. I really don't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. If you had one, would you recall that you did?

Mr. ADLER. I really don't recall. I may well have had one.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you still have it?

Mr. ADLER. I certainly do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. If you had had a copy, what disposition would you have made of it?

Mr. ADLER. If it was an official document I would have sent it to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. If it was Service's document you would not have sent it to the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. ADLER. I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know where that report is now?

Mr. ADLER. I think extracts are in the white paper.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was the entire report ever published, to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. ADLER. To the best of my knowledge, no.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you identify any extracts from it that appear in the white paper?

Mr. ADLER. Yes, I could.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are positive you never had a copy of the entire report?

Mr. ADLER. I cannot say that. If I were positive either way I would not be telling the truth.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you meet Mr. Wallace in China in 1944?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where?

Mr. ADLER. At the home of Mr. Gauss.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was Owen Lattimore there?

Mr. ADLER. Yes, and Mr. Gauss and John Carter Vincent were there.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall what the report contained, the one you collaborated with Mr. Service in formulating?

Mr. ADLER. "Collaborate" is a strong word.

Mr. RUSSELL. Or assisted.

Mr. ADLER. It was a report of the situation in China as Mr. Service saw it. It was a very frank report, in which he did not pull his punches. He pointed out that unless something was done there was a chance of China falling under Russian domination.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you say the general tenor of the report was pro-Communist or anti-Communist?

Mr. ADLER. I would say neither. I would say it was very critical of the Government. I would say it recognized the potential strength of the Chinese Communists and recognized the danger of China falling under Russian domination, and proposed countermeasures to prevent that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you think the report could be published in its entirety at this time?

Mr. ADLER. I would have to read it over again to decide. It wasn't a short document, I can assure you.

Mr. TAVENNER. What action did the report recommend that the Kuomintang take?

Mr. ADLER. Revitalizing of the Kuomintang in all fields, political, economic, and financial.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did it urge the removal of any particular people from office?

Mr. ADLER. I don't think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was any recommendation made as to what loans should be made to China?

Mr. ADLER. I don't think that was a point during the war. I don't think there was any question about that at that time, in 1944.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were any recommendations contained in that report providing for extension of lend-lease on a greater or lesser scale?

Mr. ADLER. I don't know. There might well have been.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you ever offered a position in the Central Bank in China?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who offered you that position?

Mr. ADLER. Mr. Tsuyu Pei, who at that time was governor of the Central Bank. He is now in this country. He is a good friend of mine.

Mr. RUSSELL. Wasn't that position offered you by Chao' Ting Chi?

Mr. ADLER. It was not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know Chi to have been a Communist during the time you were associated with him?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know what his present position is?

Mr. ADLER. I read about it in the papers.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is he still head of Monetary Affairs in the new Chinese Communist Government?

Mr. ADLER. I saw he had been nominated by the Chinese Communists to represent them in economic and social affairs.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do know he is an employee of the Chinese Communist Government at this time?

Mr. ADLER. He is now, yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. During the time you knew him, was he ever associated with the Chinese Nationalist Government?

Mr. ADLER. He certainly was. When I saw him in 1941 he was secretary of the Stabilization Board of China, appointed by Mr. Chen and Dr. Kung.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you aware that Elizabeth Bentley alleged that you were working with Chi while he was associated with the Chinese Nationalist Government?

Mr. ADLER. I am not aware.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you?

Mr. ADLER. I was not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were you associated with Chi at that time?

Mr. ADLER. The only connection was official. He was secretary of the Stabilization Board of China and I was a member.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was Chi acquainted with Lattimore?

Mr. ADLER. I think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you sure?

Mr. ADLER. Pretty sure.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he acquainted with John Stewart Service?

Mr. ADLER. I think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you definite?

Mr. ADLER. Pretty definite.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever see them together?

Mr. ADLER. I am pretty sure they knew each other socially, yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did Chi know Abraham George Silverman, according to your recollection?

Mr. ADLER. I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. ADLER. I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he know William Ludwig Ullmann?

Mr. ADLER. I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he know any of the other persons I asked you about this morning?

Mr. ADLER. He knew Harry White and Frank Coe.

Mr. RUSSELL. How about Harold Glasser?

Mr. ADLER. Not that I know of.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was he acquainted with Kate Mitchell, or do you know Kate Mitchell?

Mr. ADLER. I do not know Kate Mitchell.

Mr. RUSSELL. You first met Chi in the Library of Congress?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you followed Chi's career closely since the time you first met him in the Library of Congress?

Mr. ADLER. I have not.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many times have you seen him since the first time you met him?

Mr. ADLER. In China I saw him very often. We had board meetings. He kept the minutes of the board meetings. So I would see him very often, just as I saw other members connected with the board very often.

Mr. RUSSELL. From what you know of him now, do you believe he was a Communist espionage agent during the time he was associated with the Chinese Nationalist Government?

Mr. ADLER. I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. He had access to confidential, restricted information?

Mr. ADLER. He had access to the files of the Stabilization Board.

Mr. RUSSELL. They would have been restricted as to the Chinese Communists, would they not?

Mr. ADLER. I would say so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Chi is now associated with the Chinese Communists?

Mr. ADLER. Chinese bureaucrats are notorious for going over to the side in power.

Mr. RUSSELL. During the time that Chi was associated with the Chinese Nationalist Government, the Nationalists were in power?

Mr. ADLER. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. You know communism as well as I do; probably more.

Mr. ADLER. I doubt it.

Mr. RUSSELL. A man would not be taken out of the Chinese Nationalist Government and put in the Chinese Communist Government unless he had always been a Communist?

Mr. ADLER. That is not so.

Mr. RUSSELL. You had no indication Chi had any sympathy for Communists at all?

Mr. ADLER. No. He was very close to Dr. Kung and Madame Kung. He came from the same province as Dr. Kung and apparently knew him when he was a boy.

Mr. RUSSELL. You said it did not necessarily follow that a man would not be taken out of the Chinese Nationalist Government and put in the Chinese Communist Government unless he had always been a Communist. Will you elaborate on your answer, please?

Mr. ADLER. I would say Chinese Communists are great opportunists.

Mr. RUSSELL. This man was originally a Chinese Nationalist?

Mr. WOOD. At least presumably.

Mr. ADLER. You ask if the Chinese Communists would take over someone who was not one of them?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. ADLER. They have taken over many of them.

Mr. RUSSELL. That doesn't necessarily mean they didn't have Communist sympathies all the time?

Mr. ADLER. There were many of them. Don't take my opinion. Take the State Department's opinion.

Mr. RUSSELL. I want your opinion. Mr. Chi, during the time he was associated with the Chinese Nationalists, did have access to restricted information that would have been of value to the Chinese Communists?

Mr. ADLER. He had access to restricted information, but the point I want to make, and you can ask any China expert—

Mr. RUSSELL. There aren't any that I know of.

Mr. ADLER. It is notorious that they go over to the side in power.

Mr. RUSSELL. People do that in the United States, but it doesn't mean the man did not long have Communist sympathies.

Mr. ADLER. No; nor does it mean otherwise. In China the Communists have taken many people who opposed them before they came in power. Ignore my word. Ask anyone who knows anything about China whether that is so or not. Ask them whether many people in China who opposed the Communists before they came in power have not gone over to the Communists, and they will tell you yes. Fu Tso Yin, one of the few generals everybody agreed the generalissimo could trust has now gone over to the Communists?

Mr. RUSSELL. He and his army capitulated?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is a different situation.

Mr. ADLER. He has become a member of the Communist government in a very high position.

Mr. RUSSELL. Insofar as China is concerned, it enjoys a peculiar distinction in its Communist regime, because in other countries where the Communists have gained control the people who have headed the Communist governments have been people who have always been sympathetic with communism.

Mr. ADLER. That is right, and you will find in China prominent people in high positions who opposed the Communists before they came in power.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever had an American passport for travel in Russia?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been to Russia?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever had a passport granted by the British Government?

Mr. ADLER. To come to this country.

Mr. RUSSELL. To go to any other country?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever own stock in radio station WQQW?

Mr. ADLER. My wife bought a share.

Mr. RUSSELL. Her name is Dorothy Richardson?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. She bought a share?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Does she own it now?

Mr. ADLER. I think the company has gone bankrupt. The value is nebulous, if any.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever been associated with anyone known to you to be a Communist?

Mr. ADLER. I don't think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever suspected a person with whom you were acquainted of being a Communist?

Mr. ADLER. There were people in London at the London School of Economics.

Mr. RUSSELL. In the States, those persons I have named.

Mr. ADLER. I had no reason to suspect them of being Communists.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never did suspect the Silvermasters?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever discussed the allegations made by Elizabeth Bentley or Whittaker Chambers with any of the persons I have named this morning, other than possibly your attorney?

Mr. ADLER. I don't think so. Let me say I have respected confidences. For instance, I was told that what happened in the grand jury was strictly confidential. My interrogation by the FBI was strictly confidential. My interrogation by Treasury was confidential. I have never violated those confidences.

Mr. RUSSELL. What you told the grand jury and the FBI and Treasury has no bearing on the question I asked you: Did you ever discuss the allegations made by Elizabeth Bentley or Whittaker Chambers with any of the persons I have named this morning? In other words, did you discuss them with Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. ADLER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Sol Lischinsky?

Mr. ADLER. No; because I haven't seen him since the allegations were made.

Mr. RUSSELL. Harold Glasser, Frank Coe, Victor Perlo, or Charles Kramer?

Mr. ADLER. I have seen Frank Coe and his wife, and in the presence of his wife and my wife we may have made general comments.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the nature of the comments?

Mr. ADLER. Not specifically.

Mr. RUSSELL. How about Harold Glasser? Did you ever discuss the nature of the charges with him?

Mr. ADLER. No; I have not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever used any other name besides Solomon?

Mr. ADLER. Yes, I have; my Hebrew name, Shelomoh.

Mr. RUSSELL. You testified here about people you met in 1934.

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. You recalled in some cases where you had met them?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. In 1941, according to your testimony, you mailed a post card to William Ludwig Ullmann from Honolulu?

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have gone back several years and recalled when you last saw certain individuals.

Mr. ADLER. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. And it seems peculiar that you cannot remember whether you ever saw photographic equipment in the basement of Ullmann's home.

Mr. ADLER. I may well have seen it. I am sure it was there. I am not trying to hide. But at this moment I do not recall having seen it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I suggest this witness be retained under subpoena and be asked to return Thursday morning at 10:30.

Mr. WOOD. Day after tomorrow?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. You will return at 10:30 Thursday morning.

Until that time, do you have any further witnesses?

Mr. RUSSELL. No.

Mr. WOOD. The committee stands adjourned until Thursday morning at 10:30.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m. on Tuesday, April 25, 1950, an adjournment was taken until Thursday, April 27, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART I

SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Morgan M. Moulder, and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; William A. Wheeler, Courtney E. Owens, and William Jackson Jones, investigators; and John W. Carrington, clerk.

Mr. WOOD. Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; Mr. Chairman. The witness this morning is Mr. Bridgman.

Mr. WOOD. Will you stand and be sworn, Mr. Bridgman.

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat. Let the record disclose that the hearing this morning is being conducted before a subcommittee composed of Mr. Wood, Mr. Moulder, and Mr. Kearney.

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD ALLEN BRIDGMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bridgman, the matter under consideration this morning involves an employee of the United States who, according to sworn testimony, actively engaged in espionage in behalf of the Soviet Government. The committee has found it necessary to subpoena you for the purpose of inquiring as to your knowledge of the activities of this individual; so your assistance and cooperation as a loyal citizen in developing the true facts is solicited.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. My name is Howard Allen Bridgman.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. 6 Lawlor Road, Medford, Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was born in Brookline, Mass., on August 25, 1911.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly for the committee your educational background?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I am a graduate of Amherst College in Amherst, Mass., in the class of 1933. I have the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard University, which I attended from 1938 through 1940. I am currently writing a doctor of philosophy dissertation for Harvard University.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly what your occupation record has been since obtaining your master's degree.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Since obtaining my master's degree? I was instructor at Brown University in Providence, R. I., while working for completion of my master's degree, which I took that same year.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That was the academic year 1940-41.

Mr. TAVENNER. I expect we had better go back to an earlier date. When did you obtain your bachelor of arts degree?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. In 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then will you state your record of employment since that date?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. I was employed by the Affiliated Schools for Workers, now known as the Labor Education Service, in 1934, for a project of developing workers' education in North Carolina. I went from that to be supervisor of workers' education in North Carolina for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1934 and 1935.

I went to the Tennessee Valley Authority in January 1936, where I remained employed until the fall of 1937. I was then employed by the Eastern Cooperative League from the fall of 1937 through June of 1938. That is a consumer cooperative organization.

Then, in 1940, I was instructor at Brown University in Providence, R. I. From the fall of the year 1941-42, I was instructor in economics at Connecticut College in New London, Conn.

In the fall of 1942 I came to the War Manpower Commission, with which I remained until June 1943.

Since 1946 I have been assistant professor of economics at Tufts College in Medford, Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you are presently so employed?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I am presently so employed; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bridgman, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I have; yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Tavenner, may I interpolate? Between 1943 and 1946 he did not state what his employment was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I am coming to that.

How long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was a member of the Communist Party from December 1936 to September 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you resign or sever your connections with the Communist Party in 1939?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I did, sir. I severed my connections at the outbreak of the Second World War.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, after severing your connections with the Communist Party, did you engage in military service?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. I was in the Navy during the war.

Mr. TAVENNER. From what date to what date?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was commissioned a lieutenant junior grade in the United States Naval Reserve in about June of 1943. I went on active duty in August 1943. I attended indoctrination school and communication school, and served as ship's communication officer of the U. S. S. *Gilliam* APA 57. This was an attack transport, and we participated in the invasions of Leyte and Okinawa.

In the summer of 1945 I returned, still in the Navy, to Boston, where I remained for nearly 12 months at Headquarters, First Naval District, doing general personnel work.

Mr. TAVENNER. This record of service in the Navy, which is a very fine record—

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was after you had severed your connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It was, sir.

Mr. WOOD. May I interpolate? When were you discharged from the Navy?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I am still in the Naval Reserve, sir, on inactive duty.

Mr. KEARNEY. When were you relieved from active duty?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was relieved from active duty in August 1946. May I correct that? My terminal leave expired in August of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee the circumstances under which you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was approached by an organizer from the Communist Party in the city of Knoxville, Tenn., in the late fall of 1936. He urged me to join, and I did join that party in December of that year. The manner of joining was very informal. I was asked, I accepted, and then I started to attend party meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the party organizer who solicited your membership?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He was known to me as Pat Todd.

Mr. WOOD. Who?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Pat Todd. His full name was Merwin Todd. "Pat" was the nickname by which he went.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bridgman, I hand you a photograph which I shall ask be marked "Bridgman exhibit 1" for identification only, and ask you if you can identify it?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. I identify that as Pat Todd.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photograph in evidence and have it marked "Bridgman exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You were a member of the Communist Party until 1939?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the circumstances under which you severed your connection with the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I had been on leave of absence from a unit of the party since the spring of 1939. In September, at the outbreak of the

Second World War, they called me in and asked me whether I was with them or not, and I said "No."

Mr. TAVENNER. What unit of the Communist Party was that which had given you a leave of absence?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That was a branch of the party in Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the designation of that branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And who were "they" to whom you refer as having asked you whether you were with them or not?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the people who asked me the question. I recall a girl named Margot Clark who was in the organization, but I did not know the others well enough to recall their names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your principal contact with the Communist Party had been at Knoxville, Tenn., I believe.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That is true, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave Knoxville, Tenn., for Massachusetts?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I left in the fall of 1937 and went to New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Going back to the time that you first became a member of the Communist Party at the time you were recruited by Pat Todd, how were you employed?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. How I was employed?

Mr. TURNER. Yes. How were you employed at the time you were recruited by Pat Todd?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. At the time that I was recruited into the Communist Party I was an employee of the Tennessee Valley Authority. At that time I was becoming a file clerk within that organization, having just been a messenger. I remained as a file clerk during the rest of my employment with the Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you assigned to a cell or branch of the party when you united with it?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. I was assigned to what I understood as the local branch, Knoxville branch, of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it have any further designation.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It was known as a branch with, I believe, the number "1," but I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you then attend Communist Party meetings as a member of that branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the other members of that branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. The other members of that branch whose names I recall were, William Walter Remington, Pat Todd—

Mr. WOOD. When you speak of Pat Todd, do you refer to Merwin Todd?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do. A girl known to me as Betty Malcom, Mabel Abercrombie, Muriel Speare, later Muriel Borah, later Muriel Williams.

Mr. KEARNEY. What are these names, aliases or remarriages?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Marriages. She married Bernard Borah and was divorced and married Williams.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have named five individuals. Can you recall others?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. There were two brothers, named Francis and David Martin, one of whom, I believe, was a member of this branch, although I am not positive.

Mr. MOULDER. As to which one, you mean?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. As to which one or as to whether he was a member.

Mr. MOULDER. Both?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Both.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any other persons?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall the name of Laurent Frantz. That is all I can immediately recall.

Mr. WOOD. Who was that last person you said you recall?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Laurent Frantz, L-a-u-r-e-n-t F-r-a-n-t-z.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how these various persons were employed at that time? Were they all employed by the same employer? If they were not, I will ask you about each one individually.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It is my recollection, with the exception of Laurent Frantz and one of the Martin boys, the persons whom I have just mentioned were all employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the name of Henry Hart?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir; I do. Henry Hart was a member of this branch and was an employee of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is a list of seven persons, four of whom are men and three of whom, I believe, are women. The first person you mentioned was William Remington. When did you first meet William Remington?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I met William Remington first in the fall of 1937, when he had come to be an employee of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn from what place he came when he came to the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It is my understanding, sir, he came from Dartmouth College, where he was a student, and he was spending a year at the Tennessee Valley Authority between, I believe, his sophomore and junior years at college.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his employment with the Tennessee Valley Authority; do you recall?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He was employed as a messenger.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn to know him before you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he ever speak to you on Communist Party matters before you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall that he did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you state to this committee whether Remington, to your knowledge, was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. William Remington was a member of the Communist Party and attended branch meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many meetings did you attend at which he was present?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the exact number. I should estimate five or six.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he hold any position of any character within the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Not to my recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee any Communist activity on the part of Remington which would further identify his membership in the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall any specific party activity that he did outside of the branch meetings; that is, specific activity for the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part did he play in the holding of branch Communist Party meetings?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He took an active part in the holding of the branch meetings. I do not recall anything that he said, but I remember his manner of speaking, which was forceful, and with head bowed and with hands this way [indicating], out front.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall how long he had been at Knoxville prior to your joining the party, or whether he came after you joined the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He came to Knoxville in the fall of 1936, prior to my joining the party in December of that year. I believe I said he came to Knoxville in 1937. I should like to state that William Remington came to Knoxville to work for the Tennessee Valley Authority in the fall of 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you referred to the year 1937 in your earlier testimony, you were in error as to that?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any means of knowing whether or not Remington was a member of the Communist Party before he came to Knoxville, or at the time he came there?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I have no means of knowing; no, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. These 5 or 6 meetings which you stated you attended at which Remington was present, will you state where those meetings were held and identify the time as nearly as you can?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. These meetings to which I refer were held at the home of Betty Malcom in the evening.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was her home located?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Her home was located in the area of the city just north of the campus of the University of Tennessee. I believe it was on either Highland Avenue or Laurel Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you be able to identify the home if you saw a picture of it?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir, I would not, since to the best of my recollection it was an upstairs apartment, and I do not picture the house in my mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph which I will ask to have marked "Bridgman exhibit No. 2" for identification only, and ask if you can identify the photograph?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. That is Betty Malcom.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce the photograph in evidence and have it marked "Bridgman exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection, it may be admitted.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Betty Malcom's husband?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I knew him slightly. As I recall his name, it was Kenneth Malcomb.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party, although he was not a member of this branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall one time in the lobby of the New Sprinkle Building of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Mr. Malcomb spoke to me from the doorway of the lunch room about a certain individual, and said approximately as follows: "He would be a good member of the party."

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he held the position of organizer of the Communist Party prior to Pat Todd?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir. I do not recall his being actually an official organizer for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Going back to the meetings which you say you attended at the home of Betty Malcom, will you state who else attended those meetings in addition to William Remington?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall best, sir, the early meetings. Those who attended, other than Mr. Remington, were: Betty Malcom, Pat Todd, Henry Hart, and myself. I do not recall, actually picture, the others whose names I have mentioned at meetings at that apartment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet at any other time or place when William Remington was present, that is, as a Communist?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall meeting at any other place where William Walter Remington was present as a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything else you can recall relating to William Remington's activity as a member of the Communist Party, or any incident, which would be further proof of his Communist Party membership?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. I recall one incident in which he was explaining some point and the organizer for the Communist Party for the State, Ted Wellman, said to him words to this effect: "Bill, you are being too intellectual about this."

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph which I will ask to have marked for identification only as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 3," and ask if you can identify the person whose picture is found there?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I identify that as Ted Wellman.

Mr. TAVENNER. The person who was the State organizer at the time?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce the photograph in evidence as Bridgman Exhibit No. 3.

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 3," is filed herewith.)

Mr. WOOD. I understand when you refer to State organizer you mean State organizer for the State of Tennessee?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That was my understanding.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was his correct name Theodore F. Wellman?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall that full name.

Mr. WOOD. He was known to you as Ted Wellman?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He was known to me as Ted Wellman, Mr. Chairman, and that is all I recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not William Remington returned to Dartmouth College?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. May I answer that question in two parts, sir? I recall, to the best of my memory, that Mr. Remington severed his employment with the Tennessee Valley Authority in the spring of 1937, but remained in Knoxville doing general organizational work in the labor field, but his actual position I do not recall. Answering the second part of that question, I do not recall Mr. Remington's returning to Dartmouth in the fall of 1937, because that was at the time I severed my connection with the Tennessee Valley Authority, but I believe, and to the best of my understanding, he did return to Dartmouth at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear a discussion, or take part in a discussion, among Communist members, with regard to the reason for Mr. Remington returning to Dartmouth College?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Excuse me a moment, Mr. Tavenner, General Kearney wants to ask a question.

Mr. KEARNEY. In response to counsel's question, Mr. Bridgman, you stated that Remington left the employ of the Tennessee Valley Authority and became engaged in labor work.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Labor organizational work?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you describe a little more fully to the committee what kind of organizational work he was doing, and for whom?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I did not know that specifically. I do not recall the exact organizations with which he worked, or whether he was doing it for the Communist Party or not. The only specific thing I remember is a trip he made on his motorcycle to Harlan County, Ky., on a personal errand for a resident of Knoxville who used to live in Harlan County, which was quite a dramatic trip, but I do not believe that had anything to do with labor organizational work or with Communist Party work.

Mr. KEARNEY. To refresh your memory somewhat, did you ever tell anyone that Remington was engaged in organizational work for the CIO Textile Workers?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall that, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. As I understood you to say, you recall no discussion among Communist members regarding the return of William Remington to Dartmouth College?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall no discussion. It was my impression that he was returning to Dartmouth College in the fall of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Returning to the question of the organizational work in labor which was referred to by you, do you recall whether any incident occurred involving Remington in a labor dispute or any alleged violation of law relating to his activities?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall that, sir. I believe he had some contact, though, in the local union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in the Knox County or east Tennessee area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did William Remington live while you knew him?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. William Remington lived first with Henry Hart. They were roommates. Later, I am not positive where he lived; possibly he lived with Pat Todd.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever visit his room?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I attended one Communist Party meeting that I recall at Pat Todd's residence, and in that sense would have visited his room, but otherwise I do not recall visiting Mr. Remington's room.

Mr. WOOD. Was he present at that meeting?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Todd lived? Can you give us the street address?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Pat Todd lived on Broadway, or in that immediate neighborhood of Knoxville.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Bernard Borah and Horace Bryan?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I knew them both, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Horace Bryan, William Remington, Pat Todd, and Bernard Borah lived in the same apartment house on North Broadway in Knoxville?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. To my knowledge Pat Todd and Horace Bryan lived there. I do not recollect that Bernard Borah lived there; and William Remington possibly stayed there when he was in town. I am referring to the period after Remington had severed his connection with the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph which I will ask to have marked for identification as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 4," and ask if you can identify the person pictured there?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. I identify that person as Horace Bryan.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce that photograph in evidence as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 4."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 4," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state whether or not these two persons, Horace Bryan and Bernard Borah, were members of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. To my knowledge Horace Bryan was. Bernard Borah was, when I first knew him, an active member of the Socialist Party in Knoxville. It was my impression toward the end of my stay there that he had gone over to the Communist Party.

Mr. KEARNEY. Of your own knowledge do you know that, or is that supposition on your part?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. General conversation, sir, about that time.

Mr. KEARNEY. You mean he told you he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir; Bernard Borah did not tell me he was a member of the Communist Party, nor do I recollect anyone saying he was, but there seemed to be general discussions among members that Borah was.

Mr. KEARNEY. You mean from the conversations you might have had with Borah you got the feeling he might have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. From conversations I had with other people I gained the impression that he was in the Communist Party.

Mr. KEARNEY. Can you name these members you had conversations with who stated Borah was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir; I cannot.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred, in your earlier testimony, to Francis Martin. I do not recall whether you definitely identified him as a member of the Communist Party. Let me ask you this question: Do you know whether or not he was secretary of the Knox County section of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall his being secretary of the Knox County section of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the name of Mabel Abercrombie as being one of those persons who met with you at Communist Party meetings at the home of Betty Malcolm, who later became Betty Todd; is that correct?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall Mabel Abercrombie attending meetings of the Communist Party at that location.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I knew Mabel Abercrombie quite well, and from day-to-day contact around Knoxville, working in the same organization, that is, working for the Authority, I was very cognizant that she was a member of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with her at any place?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not specifically recall a Community Party meeting where she was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Hugh W. Urban?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I did, sir.

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

Mr. BRIDGMAN. To my knowledge, sir, Hugh Urban was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position at any time within the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I held no position within the Communist Party at Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were never a member of the county committee of the Communist Party at Knox County, Tenn.?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were never a member of the county committee of the Communist Party in Knox County, Tenn.?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall specifically the members of the county committee of the Communist Party in Knox County, Tenn., but I believe that Pat Todd was a member of that committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was an All-Southern Conference of the Communist Party held on September 11 and 12, 1937?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall attending one general conference at Chattanooga, Tenn., but I do not recall its purpose nor its name, nor do I recall the date or time. I do not believe this was that meeting, inasmuch as I left Knoxville about that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a copy of Draft Resolution, County Committee, Communist Party, Knox County and Report of Knox

County Organizer on All-Southern Conference, Communist Party, September 11-12, 1937, which I asked be marked for identification only as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 5," and ask if that freshes your recollection of whether you received at any time or saw a copy of those resolutions?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall seeing a copy of these resolutions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I will reserve that for a future witness.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 5" for identification only, are filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the name of Laurent Frantz as a member of the Communist Party. How was Laurent Frantz employed?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He was not employed, to my recollection, by the Tennessee Valley Authority, and I do not recall his employment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify him by any further description?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall his being very round-faced, baby-faced.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph, which I asked be marked for identification only as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 6," and ask if you can identify the person pictured there?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That is Laurent Frantz.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that photograph in evidence as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 6."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 6," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Mr. W. R. Taylor?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the name, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall at any time a visit to Knoxville of an official of the Communist Party from Alabama in connection with Communist activities in Nashville?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph which I will ask to have marked for identification only as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 7," and ask if you can identify the person pictured there as a person you have ever seen or known?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I cannot identify this picture, sir.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 7" for identification only, is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Harold Ralston?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the name, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph which I ask to have marked for identification only as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 8," and ask you whether or not you can identify that person?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I cannot identify this picture, sir.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 8" for identification only, is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another photograph, which I ask be marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 9" for identification only, and ask if you can identify the person whose photograph appears there as a person known by you at any time?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 9" for identification only, is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another photograph, marked for identification only as "Bridgman Exhibit No. 10," and ask if you have ever seen that individual whose photograph appears there?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I cannot place the photograph, sir.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Bridgman Exhibit No. 10" for identification only, is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever know Paul Crouch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I have heard the name, but I do not recall ever meeting him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know a person by the name of Cecil Wiggles?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were connected with the Communist Party at Knoxville, Tenn., were you associated in any manner with an organization known as Workers Education?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about that, please?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. The Workers Education organization was a program which was sponsored by the Union of Government Employees at the Authority, and, in particular, by the education committee of that union, of which I was the chairman. This committee raised a sum of money by the showing of foreign moving-picture films, for the purpose of an educational program among workers in the area. When it came time to select a person to run the program and teach the classes, the question was discussed both within the education committee and within the Communist Party.

(Representative Moulder leaves hearing room.)

Mr. BRIDGMAN (continuing). Horace Bryan was selected to head this work, and was approved for it by the Communist Party, and then, with my help and leadership, the committee of the union decided to employ him for this purpose.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, the Communist Party, in effect, set up and organized this organization?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It determined the policy in choosing the person to run this program. The program was already decided upon in advance by the union. The party came in in choosing the person to do it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have mentioned in the course of your testimony the name of Bernard Borah, and you have also mentioned the name of Muriel Speare. Did Muriel Speare marry Bernard Borah?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir; she did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And then later became Muriel Speare Borah Williams?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you testified whether or not Muriel Speare Borah Williams was a member of the Communist Party? If not, I would like to ask you that question now.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. She was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I know that because I knew her personally very well, and from day-to-day contact, doing the same type of things together, I knew that she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether a Communist Party meeting was ever held in her home, attended by you?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Returning for a moment to the Workers Education organization, I am not certain that I understood the full extent to which the Communist Party was responsible for the policies of that organization and the carrying of such policies into effect. Will you describe that a little more in detail?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. The Communist Party was responsible for the selection of Mr. Bryan. Beyond that, I can add nothing, since I do not recall discussing with Mr. Bryan either the conduct of his courses or where he was teaching.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you state whether or not the courses which were taught carried the Communist Party line?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I cannot state this.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time that you saw William Walter Remington?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I last saw William Walter Remington during the late fall and winter of 1942-43 in Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at that time have any discussion with him on the subject of communism, or make any reference to Communist Party membership?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the language used, but in walking down a corridor I indicated to him that I had changed my views, and my impression is that he reciprocated the same feeling.

Mr. KEARNEY. You mean that he had changed his views also?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That was my impression, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know a person by the name of Jacob Golos? Did you ever meet him?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No; I never met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know an individual by the name of Harry Chick Alber?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he have any connection or affiliation with the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. My impression is that he was a member, but I have no specific evidence or recollection to back that up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Henry Thornton?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know V. V. Paul?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Frank C. White?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Marshall Frantz?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He was the brother of Laurent Frantz. I do not recall his being a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. John C. Borden, Jr.?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Kenneth B. Talley?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you desire to make any statement to the committee as to the reasons why you decided to withdraw from the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do, sir. I had been becoming, during the period of my membership, increasingly dissatisfied with the work of the Communist Party. Further, I had, through my graduate work at

Harvard University in economics, come to realize that the doctrines which are espoused, or were espoused, by the Communist Party were but a small footnote in the general line of economic and social thinking. I gained from my work at Harvard an intellectual foundation which easily refuted all the theories of the Communist Party. I felt, moreover, that world conditions were changing, and at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact that the cards were down and that it was necessary finally to make a choice, which had been a delayed choice, between my country and the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Bridgman, was this realization, or your change of attitude toward the Communist Party, inspired more or less due to your desire to obtain a commission in the United States Navy?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No; because I left the Communist Party in September of 1939, and did not think about getting a commission in the United States Navy until considerably later.

Mr. KEARNEY. When you became a member of the commissioned personnel of the Navy, were you ever asked the question as to whether you had ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall, sir, having been asked that question.

Mr. KEARNEY. There was some reference in your testimony concerning a talk with a woman in Cambridge who stated words in substance as follows: "Are you with us or against us?"

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. What was the name of that woman again?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall if she was the one who put that question or that she was there when the question was put, nor do I remember the exact language used.

Mr. KEARNEY. This was in Cambridge?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes. Her name was Margot Clark.

Mr. KEARNEY. Who is Margot Clark?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. She is the daughter of Sue Ainsley Clark.

Mr. KEARNEY. She is a resident of Cambridge?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. She was at that time.

Mr. KEARNEY. This organizational group at Cambridge, was that known as a cell?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. To the best of my recollection, that was known as a branch.

Mr. KEARNEY. Can you give the committee the number of that branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I believe there were 8 to 10 members.

Mr. KEARNEY. The number of the branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not remember the number of the branch.

Mr. KEARNEY. In those days a member of the Communist Party was a card-carrying member; isn't that so?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. And you had a card issued to you?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I had a card; yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. What was your card number?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the number.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you have the card?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. To the best of my knowledge, I do not. It may possibly be somewhere in my files, but I do not believe it is, because I probably handed it in when I quit.

Mr. KEARNEY. You first became a member of the so-called Knoxville branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you an officer of that branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. KEARNEY. Can you tell the committee approximately how many members belonged to that branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. When it was first formed, sir, there were about four members. Later the number of members grew in size, but I do not recall specifically. I would say possibly 12 to 20.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were they all employees of the TVA?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. As I recall, they were a mixed group.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was William Remington a member of the original group?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He was.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that the same William Remington who is now employed in Government in the Department of Commerce?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That is the same man, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that the same William Remington who brought action against a Miss Elizabeth Bentley, if you know, for calling him, in committee, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He is the same William Remington against whom Miss Bentley has testified.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then you wouldn't have any information of your own knowledge concerning this suit brought by Remington against Miss Bentley?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No; I wouldn't.

Mr. KEARNEY. The papers stated, a day or so ago, that settlement had been made out of court.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I don't know.

Mr. KEARNEY. When you became a member of the Cambridge branch, did that mean an actual transfer from the Knoxville branch to the Cambridge branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall whether that was a transfer or, shall I say, reactivation, because I had not been attached to any branch from the time I severed my connection with TVA to the time I joined this Cambridge branch.

Mr. KEARNEY. When you left the Knoxville branch, were you told to contact anyone in particular in the Cambridge branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir; because I spent a period of work in New York at the time.

Mr. KEARNEY. And that gave you the necessary information as to who the members of the Cambridge branch were?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I knew who Margot Clark was.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was she an officer of the Cambridge branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. To the best of my recollection, she was not.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you an officer of the Cambridge branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was treasurer of the Cambridge branch.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you at any time an officer of the Knoxville branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir; I was not.

MR. KEARNEY. Now, Mr. Bridgman, in these various meetings that you have testified to that you attended as a member of the Communist Party, Communist Party meetings, was there any particular discussion concerning the overthrow of the Government by force or violence?

MR. BRIDGMAN. I do not recollect any such discussion, sir.

MR. KEARNEY. But you did know that was the platform of the Communist Party?

MR. BRIDGMAN. I knew, sir, that there were certain Marxist theories which were along that line, but the actual work which was being undertaken was of a very immediate and direct nature.

MR. KEARNEY. What were some of the discussions that took place in these various meetings held by the Knoxville branch or Cambridge branch?

MR. BRIDGMAN. Such matters as trade-union organization and CIO.

MR. KEARNEY. By that do you mean that there should be an infiltration into labor unions by the Communist Party?

MR. BRIDGMAN. I mean that labor unions should grow. This was during the time labor unions were growing very rapidly. At the same time, the Communist Party had a doctrine of building the party and recruiting new members rapidly.

MR. KEARNEY. During these meetings, or at any time that you attended any of these meetings, was any party literature given to you to read and study?

MR. BRIDGMAN. There was party literature given out. I recall the Daily Worker. I recall a pamphlet called the Party Organizer. I do not recall specifically other pamphlets, but I am sure that they were distributed.

MR. KEARNEY. During any of the meetings of the Communist branch in Knoxville, Tenn., was there any talk of organizing the employees, so far as possible, of the Tennessee Valley Authority?

MR. BRIDGMAN. One of the aims was to increase the membership.

MR. KEARNEY. What would you say was the highest total membership in that Communist Party branch at Knoxville?

MR. BRIDGMAN. Up to the time I left, the highest total membership was up to 20 members, between 12 and 20 members.

MR. KEARNEY. That, in your opinion, would be the highest number, the number 20?

MR. BRIDGMAN. That would be an outside estimate.

MR. KEARNEY. That belonged to the branch at Knoxville?

MR. BRIDGMAN. The branch of which I was a member.

MR. KEARNEY. Insofar as the Cambridge branch was concerned, what would you say would be the highest number of members in that branch?

MR. BRIDGMAN. I would say 10.

MR. KEARNEY. This branch at Cambridge—that is Cambridge, Mass.?

MR. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

MR. KEARNEY. Was that a branch of the Communist Party at any particular place, such as at the university, or city?

MR. BRIDGMAN. It was a branch within the city.

MR. KEARNEY. Within the city?

MR. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

MR. KEARNEY. Was there a branch that you know of at the university?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I believe there was.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know any members of the university staff who were members of the Communist branch at Cambridge?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall a girl named Sylvia, whose last name I do not recall, who was a member of this city branch and who was an employee of Harvard University in the library, but I do not know of any academic people who were members.

Mr. KEARNEY. Either professors or students?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That is right.

Mr. KEARNEY. I presume, Mr. Bridgman, you heard or read statements from William Remington that he never was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It is my understanding, sir, that he has stated that.

Mr. KEARNEY. You realize that you are under oath here?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. And you say definitely and unqualifiedly that William Remington, who is now an employee of the Department of Commerce, was a member of the Communist Party, and a member of the same branch of the Communist Party that you were?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. That was in the years—

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Early 1937.

Mr. KEARNEY. Early 1937. Did you ever have any officials of the Communist Party, outside of the names indicated in your testimony here today, who spoke to your group at any of your meetings?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall any other officials speaking at our meetings, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. When you were asked the question by Margot Clark, "Are you with us or against us?" what was your answer?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. May I say this, sir. I do not recall her language. I do not recall the language of the person who asked me. But a question was asked as to whether I was going to continue as a member or not.

Mr. KEARNEY. Why was that question asked you?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. My understanding, sir, was that the Communists were, shall we say, cleaning house. The war was imminent. They were going after their people to see who would continue and who would not continue under the new conditions.

Mr. KEARNEY. During your testimony, as I recollect, you stated, in words or in substance, that insofar as these meetings in Knoxville were concerned, you were getting fed up with the whole business. Did I understand you to mean those were the labor meetings, or the meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Well, sir, it was all the meetings. There were a lot of things going on in Knoxville, all kinds of meetings and interests. And it was the spring of the year and I was sick of organizational work. I was becoming, too, increasingly dissatisfied with my position as an employee of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and that, I think, was the main factor in my beginning to pull away. You see, I took leave in the spring, in May, I think it was, to see if I could find another job in the Government.

Mr. KEARNEY. I believe you also said you obtained a leave of absence from the Communist branch at Knoxville?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That leave of absence was from the Cambridge branch.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is it a general custom to obtain a leave of absence from membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I don't think it was. I think it was considered quite an unusual thing. But I was studying very hard at the time, and having a difficult time with my studies, and also working on the side, and I felt that I just could not go on with the load, so I don't recall just what I did, but—

Mr. KEARNEY. Did that follow your thought that you expressed a while ago that you were getting fed up with the whole business?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It went along with my thought.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was your thought of getting fed up with the whole business, as you stated, getting fed up with the whole business of being a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Well, now, I said that when I was referring to my being at Knoxville, and said the other when I was referring to my being at Cambridge. In Cambridge it was my load of work. In Knoxville it was being fed up with the whole business, with all this organizational work. I got sick of it.

Mr. KEARNEY. Organizational work?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I mean committee meetings.

Mr. KEARNEY. Committee meetings within the Communist Party, or committee meetings within your organizational work concerning labor unions?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Concerning the latter.

Mr. KEARNEY. Concerning labor unions?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. You were not fed up with your work so far as the Communist Party was concerned?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Well, it is hard to say, sir. I remained a member. I did not pull out as a member, because many of the members were my friends. If I had pulled out it would have, in a sense, ostracized me, and I just didn't want to break with my friends.

Mr. KEARNEY. But eventually you did?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Eventually I did.

Mr. KEARNEY. And did that mean ostracism from your friends?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, sir. I got new friends.

Mr. KEARNEY. From your old friends?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. From my old friends; yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. You were ostracized from your old friends?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I have had very little contact with the old friends.

Mr. KEARNEY. Have you had any contact with any of the old friends, or members of the Communist branches to which you belonged, since you left the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. As to the Knoxville branch, I saw Muriel Spere later, and I saw Mabel Abercrombie later. I do not recall seeing any others later.

From the Cambridge branch, there was a boy whom I succeeded as treasurer, who left there, whom I met about a year later. I think I can place it better than that. I met him while I was at Brown in 1940-41. I met him on the street and, as I recall, our conversation was that we had mutually dropped out.

Mr. KEARNEY. Your thought, as I understand from your testimony, in dropping out of the organization, was that you realized war was coming on sooner or later?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was there any talk in the Communist Party as to what the attitude of the party would be in case this country got into war?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall any specifically. The whole attitude at Knoxville was one, shall we say, internationally speaking, united action against fascism, keyed to the Spanish civil war.

Mr. KEARNEY. I am referring to what the Communist Party would do in case we got in war.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. You mean, then, the period in Cambridge later on? I do not recall any specific thing, because I was not attending meetings at that time.

Mr. KEARNEY. Over how long a period did you know William Remington?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I knew William Remington from the fall of 1936 until late spring or summer of 1937. I met him twice subsequently, the time I spoke of in 1942-43, and also I ran into him in New York when I was in New York in 1938.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know of your own knowledge whether Remington was a member of the Communist Party in 1942?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. At that time, when I indicated to him that I had changed my views, I have a general impression that he reciprocated in the same way.

Mr. KEARNEY. But there isn't any question of a doubt, insofar as William Remington is concerned, that this is the same Remington I called your attention to a few minutes ago as being an employee in the Department of Commerce of the United States Government, and that he was a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn., when you were a member there, and you attended Communist Party meetings with him and knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. There is no doubt in my mind that he was a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Bridgman, was William Remington ever in the Navy while you were in the Navy?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I read in the papers that he had received a commission in the Navy as ensign, but that was only what I read in the papers.

Mr. WOOD. You had no contact with him while he was in the Navy, if he was?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I had no contact with him.

Mr. WOOD. You stated you knew Henry Hart?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. And knew he was a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Did he know you?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He knew me; yes.

Mr. WOOD. Did he know that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I believe he did, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Did he attend Communist Party meetings with you?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall him at party meetings; yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. At the time you were present?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I asked that question specifically because in his appearance before this committee in 1940 he was asked this categorical question: "Can you name some persons in the TVA who were members of the Communist Party during your membership and attended meetings?" His answer was: "I was the only member so far as I know in the TVA."

Yet you say you were employed in TVA at the time. He knew you were employed in TVA; didn't he?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. And he attended party meetings with you?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I believe you said at that time the party was issuing cards to its members?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I don't recall cards at Knoxville. I recall cards at Cambridge.

Mr. WOOD. In the Knoxville branch were dues assessed against members?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Members paid dues, and members who could afford it also made contributions.

Mr. WOOD. The contributions were on a voluntary basis; is that right?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir, depending on the individual's capacity to contribute.

Mr. WOOD. Would they assess those contributions or give some indication what they expected members to pay in ratio of their earnings or ability to pay?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. As I recall, it was \$3 or \$4 a month plus dues. I recall dues of around \$1 a month.

Mr. WOOD. You made some reference to an organization known as Workers Education League. What was the exact title?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. You mean the earliest organization I worked with?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Affiliated Schools for Workers, which is now known as Labor Education Service.

Mr. WOOD. Was it changed to that name while you were with it?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was with it under the earlier name.

Mr. WOOD. I believe you said that organization raised funds by exhibiting motion pictures and things of that sort?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Those were two different things entirely. The Knoxville program was what I was referring to when I talked about raising funds. This other organization is a private organization sponsored by many trade-unions. It is a fairly widely recognized workers' education organization.

Mr. WOOD. What was the organization which raised funds by the exhibition of motion pictures?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. In Knoxville, Tenn., the organization was a subcommittee or a parallel committee to the education committee of the local union.

Mr. WOOD. Local union of what?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Local union of Government employees in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. WOOD. And you belonged to that organization?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I did.

Mr. WOOD. Did all the members of the Communist Party who were working at TVA at that time belong to that organization?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Were the members of the Communist Party in control of that organization?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Not in control, sir. They were of influence, but there were also other influential people in the organization.

Mr. WOOD. Did members of the Communist Party occupy key positions in that organization as officers of trust?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall any members other than myself, who was chairman of the education committee.

Mr. WOOD. What character of motion pictures were shown?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. As I recall, we had two series of foreign films.

Mr. WOOD. When you say foreign, where from?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. They were foreign language films. The first series is the one I have more in mind. I can't recall the second. To the best of my recollection we showed a French film, a Russian film, and two German films. I recall a criticism at that time of our committee from one of the Jewish organizations in the community for our showing the German films.

Mr. WOOD. Getting back for a moment to Mabel Abercrombie, do you know that Mabel Abercrombie is now married to a man by the name of Mansfield?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Mansfield, yes, sir; I do. I saw Mabel last in the summer of 1945, when she called on me with Mr. Mansfield prior to their marriage. At that time I recall her telling me that she had dropped out, that she was no longer interested in the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. Just what did she say; that she had dropped out of the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the exact language that she used, but I recall her indicating to me definitely that she had changed her views. This was a social call.

Mr. WOOD. When was that?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. In the summer of 1945.

Mr. WOOD. And where?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. In Milton, Mass., where I was living at that time.

Mr. WOOD. What was she doing there?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. She was going through. Her husband-to-be—either it was just prior to her marriage or after—had just been discharged from the Army, and they were talking about setting up a little tourist or resort inn in Vermont. She asked me about what I would recommend as to her getting into such work, and I believe I spoke to her about looking up want ads and the like for jobs in a hotel to get some experience. They later went on, I understand, to Hanover Inn, and worked there. My later understanding was that she returned to Georgia. I had known Mabel pretty well prior to her joining the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. Approximately how many Communist Party meetings would you say you attended with her?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I cannot give you an estimate of that.

Mr. WOOD. Was it more than one?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I would say more than one.

Mr. WOOD. And where were they held? At the home of Betty Malcom?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I cannot recall her at the home of Betty Malcom.

Mr. WOOD. Where were they held? Were they in her own home?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. No, they were not in her own home. I just can't recall, easily, her being at meetings. Perhaps the meetings were at a house which a group of five of us fellows had rented for the summer.

Mr. WOOD. Is that your best recollection?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That is my best recollection.

Mr. WOOD. That it was at a house you and four other men had rented for the summer?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Where the meetings were held which Mabel Abercrombie attended?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Just to the best of my recollection, yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Where was that house?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That house was on the edge of Knoxville. I can't remember the street, but I would say over in the southeastern part.

Mr. WOOD. Southeastern part of Knoxville?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. What kind of house was it?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It was a residential house owned by a professor at the University of Tennessee, and he was going away for the summer, and there had been talk of us fellows getting together. Many of us were living in single rooms, and we thought it would be fun and cheaper.

Mr. WOOD. So you rented the house furnished?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. We rented the house furnished.

Mr. WOOD. And kept it over a period of how many months?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. For a couple months. When I left Knoxville it was just at the end of our having the house.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Bridgman, is there any doubt about Mabel Abercrombie, now Mrs. Mansfield, being a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir; I am afraid I will have to say there is doubt, because I do not recall anything specific about it. I felt I knew her pretty well.

Mr. WOOD. Did she know that you were a member of the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I believe she did, sir.

Mr. WOOD. As a matter of fact, aren't you positive about that? Otherwise, why would she have talked to your about it in Massachusetts?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. Then she did not know you were a member of the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. She must have; yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Did she know that William Remington was a member of the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. That I am not sure.

Mr. WOOD. Have you ever seen her at a Communist Party meeting that William Remington attended?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall them both at party meetings, because I recall Remington at the earlier meetings but not at the later ones.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Bridgman, as to the names of those individuals that you gave in your earlier testimony who attended Communist Party meetings in Knoxville, Tenn., they were present at these meetings, as I understand, at the same time that William Remington attended those meetings?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I shall have to amend my statement, sir, to say this, that to my recollection the persons who attended meetings where William Remington was present were Betty Malcom, Pat Todd, and myself. I cannot recall whether others attended and, if so, who they were.

Mr. WOOD. Was Henry Hart present at any of them?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I know Henry Hart attended meetings at the house of Betty Malcolm, but I do not recall whether Remington was also at the same meetings. I don't picture them together.

Mr. KEARNEY. But those names which you gave in response to the questions of the chairman were also members at that time of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Those persons, yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. As I understand from your testimony, you are now teaching at Tufts University?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Tufts College, at Medford, Mass.

Mr. KEARNEY. What are you teaching there?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I am teaching economics, sir. I am teaching a course in personnel problems and organization and a course in production and price analysis.

Mr. WOOD. Are the authorities of that educational institution cognizant of your former membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. They were not when I was hired, and I did not tell them so until this past week.

Mr. WOOD. But they are now cognizant of that?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. They are, the president, the vice president, my department head, and whoever else they have told.

Mr. WOOD. Any other questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. I failed to ask you, to whom did you pay your Communist Party dues when you were in Knoxville?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I don't remember. I don't remember the officers.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were treasurer in Cambridge, from whom did you collect party dues?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I don't remember the people. I believe the dues were collected at meetings, but I don't remember the people.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Permit me, Mr. Bridgman, to express to you the appreciation of this committee for your cooperation here and to commend you for the very courageous stand you have taken with reference to what I consider a very serious menace. I commend you for the stand you have taken to denounce this cancerous growth to the free people of the world, and I hope your appearance here will not mitigate against you.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. I would like to call attention—I am sorry Mr. Moulder is not here—to the fact that this is an executive session of this committee, to be treated as such by members of the staff as well as members of the committee, and I hope in any interview you may have with the press you will not divulge the contents of your testimony.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand adjourned.

(Thereupon, an adjournment was taken.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART I

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1950

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

PUBLIC HEARING—MORNING SESSION

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney (arriving as indicated), Francis Case, Harold H. Velde, and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, William A. Wheeler, Courtney Owens, and William Jackson Jones, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order, please.

Let the record show that there are present Messrs. Walter, Harrison, Case, Velde, Kearney, and Wood, a majority of the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER, have you some witnesses here this morning?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. William Walter Remington.

Mr. WOOD. Is Mr. William Walter Remington present?

(No response.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wheeler, will you call his name in the hall. Mr. Owens, will you look in the reception room to make certain that he is not there.

(Investigators Wheeler and Owens leave hearing room, returning shortly.)

Mr. WHEELER. There are only 3 people in the hall and none acknowledged that they were Remington.

Mr. OWENS. I looked in all the committee offices. He is not in any of the committee offices.

Mr. TAVENNER. The witness was subpoenaed on April 25 to appear here on May 11. On April 28 he was advised verbally that the hearing had been set up to May 4, and that was confirmed by letter. I rather think that a forthwith subpoena should be issued directing his appearance this afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Mr. WALTER. He was not subpoenaed to be here at 11 this morning?

Mr. TAVENNER. Only the subpoena as amended by the letter, which would constitute the direction.

(Representative McSweeney enters hearing room.)

Mr. WALTER. Yes, but that is not the service of a subpoena.

Mr. WOOD. I understand his counsel called the staff yesterday and advised the staff he would be here.

Mr. TAVENNER. The staff was advised by his counsel that he would be here this morning.

Mr. HARRISON. Why don't you call his counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you have Mr. Appell call his counsel? He knows who he is. I do not.

Mr. WOOD. Have you any other witnesses?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. We can proceed in the meantime, Mr. Chairman, with our legislative hearings.

(Whereupon the committee proceeded with hearings on legislation until the appearance of William W. Remington, approximately 10 minutes later.)

Mr. TAVENNER. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Mr. William Walter Remington.

Mr. WOOD. Is Mr. Remington in the committee room? Come forward, please.

Mr. Remington, will you stand and be sworn, please. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat. Let the record disclose that for the purpose of this hearing there are present Messrs. Walter, Harrison, McSweeney, Case, Velde, Kearney, and Wood, a majority of the committee.

You may proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM W. REMINGTON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this is a continuation of the hearings which the committee has been holding for some time regarding alleged communism in the Federal Government, and I will say to the witness that there has been some testimony before this committee with regard to him in that connection, and I would like him to have the opportunity to answer that testimony, and to make certain inquiries of him regarding matters which are committed to this committee for investigation.

Mr. WOOD. First of all, Mr. Remington, are you represented by counsel here?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. WOOD. I would like to advise you at the outset that you will be accorded the privilege of conferring with your counsel at any time you desire before answering or responding to any question which may be propounded to you.

Mr. REMINGTON. Mr. Chairman, I would appreciate your permission to read a short statement at the outset.

Mr. WOOD. When the committee has finished its interrogation you will be given the opportunity to make any statement you desire.

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I am sorry I can't read it now, but may I offer it for the record.

Mr. WOOD. That will be perfectly all right, and at the conclusion of your testimony if you desire to read it into the record you will be given that opportunity. I have a copy of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. RAUH. My name is Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., 1631 K Street, NW., of the firm of Rauh and Levy, L-e-v-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Remington, will you state your full name and present address?

Mr. REMINGTON. William W. Remington, 2402 Temporary "T" Building, Department of Commerce.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was born in New York City on October 25, 1917.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give to the committee a brief outline of your educational background?

Mr. WOOD. Before going into that, may I make an inquiry? The rule of this committee is that a witness is not to be photographed unless he is willing. Do you have any objection to being photographed while you are testifying?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have no objection.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask that you gentlemen do it as rapidly as possible so as not to interfere with the proceedings.

Mr. CASE. I thought the question of counsel was for the residence address of the witness. Was that the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. REMINGTON. If that was the question, my residence address is 2136 North Troy Street, Arlington, Va.

Mr. CASE. And the answer you previously gave was your office address?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee your educational background, please?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was educated in the public schools of Ridgewood, N. J.; the Episcopal Church Sunday School there also. I went to Dartmouth College and I did graduate work at Columbia University.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee a statement of your employment background since completing your high-school training?

Mr. REMINGTON. When I was 18 years old and at college, Dartmouth College, I was hit by the depression, short of funds, and left college to work between my sophomore and junior years. I worked as a messenger for the Tennessee Valley Authority during that period of time.

Mr. WOOD. Where?

Mr. REMINGTON. In Knoxville, Tenn. That was my first regular employment, aside from the many jobs I held as a college student, earning most of my way through college.

After completing some graduate work at Columbia, I came down to Washington to the National Resources Planning Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that, please?

Mr. REMINGTON. In 1940. From there I went to the Office of Price Administration for about 6 or 7 months; from there to the War Production Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go to the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. In February of 1942. I left the War Production Board in the spring of 1944 to enter the Navy. After approximately 2 years in the Navy—I was in the Navy, pardon me, for longer than 2 years—I went with the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion at the end of 1945. I remained there until the spring of 1947, when I went to the Council of Economic Advisers. I remained there about a year, until the spring of 1948, when I went to the Department of Commerce, where I now am employed.

Mr. CASE. Can you be more specific as to the time you went to the Department of Commerce?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir. I went to the Department of Commerce, I believe, May 16, 1948. Pardon me. I said May. I meant to say March 16.

Mr. CASE. March 16, 1948?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. CASE. And in what department?

Mr. REMINGTON. The Office of International Trade, where I headed the so-called export program staff.

Mr. CASE. Which had to do with issuance of export licenses?

Mr. REMINGTON. The export program staff had no direct connection with the issuance of export licenses. The program staff did review the volume of export licenses which would be appropriate to issue for various types of commodities.

Mr. CASE. Dealing with the completion of exports under lend-lease?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I believe that lend-lease exports had been wound up at an earlier period.

Mr. CASE. There was a recommendation that certain items be exported to complete the lend-lease program to Russia, which was presented to Congress in the spring of 1948.

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I know nothing about that at all. I am sorry.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what year did you enter Dartmouth College?

Mr. REMINGTON. I entered Dartmouth in September 1934, when I was 16 years old.

Mr. TAVENNER. During those 2 years, the years of your freshman and sophomore courses at Dartmouth College, were you a member of the American Student Union or its predecessors, the Student League for Industrial Democracy or the National Student League?

Mr. REMINGTON. It is my recollection that the American Student Union was formed in 1936. Is that right, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not certain of the date, but that is approximately correct.

Mr. REMINGTON. I had absolutely nothing to do with its predecessor organizations. I did take part in some of the campus activities of the American Student Union after that organization was formed.

Mr. TAVENNER. In taking part in the activities of that union, were you a member of it?

Mr. REMINGTON. As I have testified before, I do not know for a fact that I became a member. However, I freely associated myself with some of the organization's activities on the Dartmouth campus. I certainly participated in them willingly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take the pledge required of the members of that organization?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't know what that pledge was, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read to you the pledge as contained in the January 9, 1936, issue of the Dartmouth paper. It was known as the Oxford pledge. Are you familiar with what was known as the Oxford pledge?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am familiar with that, and I never took the Oxford pledge. I think that is borne out by the fact that I willingly entered the Navy during this last war.

Mr. TAVENNER. But that was in in 1942 or 1943, was it not?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the time with which we are dealing was what year?

Mr. REMINGTON. 1936, when I was approximately 17 years old, 18 years old.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become a member or not of the American Student Union?

Mr. REMINGTON. My best recollection is that I took part in the activities of the American Student Union on the campus. I have been told that I was listed in the campus paper as a member. I think that is quite possible, that I was a member, because I know for a fact that I took part in its activities willingly. I do not, I cannot, state categorically that I was a member or was not a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are uncertain in your own mind at this time as to whether or not you were a member, how can you be certain whether you took the pledge which was required to be taken by members of that organization?

Mr. REMINGTON. I remember considerable discussion of that pledge, sir, in a general way, in various campus organizations. I remember that at that time I was never fully willing to follow the ASU organization on the campus. The Oxford pledge was one of the points of disagreement which I had with some members of the organization. I did not know from my personal knowledge and personal recollection that the pledge was required of ASU members at Dartmouth College. I know that only from what you tell me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall this to be a correct statement of the Oxford pledge:

The American Student Union accepts without reservation the Oxford pledge committing us against the support of any war conducted by the United States Government.

Mr. REMINGTON. I have heard the name of the Oxford pledge. I have heard it discussed. I do not know what the specific wording of it was.

Mr. WOOD. The question you were asked, Mr. Remington, is: Are you familiar with the fact that it contained the statement that has just been read to you?

Mr. REMINGTON. There are some points in there which I could not affirm from my knowledge. I know that the Oxford pledge had something to do with refusal to bear arms. I do not know whether the American Student Union adopted it as its rule, as its policy, at Dartmouth. I do not know from my own knowledge whether the wording was that a person who took the pledge would not bear arms under any circumstances for the United States.

Mr. WOOD. I wanted your answer to be responsive to the question. Do you know that the language that has just been read to you by counsel was included in the pledge that is under discussion, the Oxford pledge?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not know, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not it was a membership requirement that there be an acceptance of that oath by the members?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not know, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. The article to which I refer states that there was no such requirement, that the Oxford pledge was not an absolute requirement for membership in the union. At any rate, you tell us that you did not subscribe to that pledge?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That you did not take that pledge?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What particular activities of that group did you engage in?

Mr. REMINGTON. I remember helping to raise money, helping to secure donations of clothes, for the refugees from bombing in Spain at the time when Mussolini and Hitler were interested in that country. I remember taking part in the planning of student meetings to discuss problems of war and peace at Dartmouth College on Armistice Day. I think you will find that in many colleges there were what were called at that time student strikes on Armistice Day. I think you will find at Dartmouth in the years when I had some influence on the policy of certain student organizations there, not particularly the ASU but others, that there was not such strike at Dartmouth College. At that time there were meetings to discuss seriously the problems of war and peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in a cooperative movement to establish a restaurant which was organized and sponsored by the the American Student Union?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did, sir. That restaurant was originally sponsored by the American Student Union in 1936. When I came back to the campus from my year of absence there was no formal connection between the eating club, as it was called, and the ASU. It was not referred to as an ASU club, and it was not an ASU club. It was a cooperative, and in that cooperative I earned my food and in addition some cash income to help put myself through college. I worked there as a janitor, as a dishwasher, and later as manager.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you state you worked in that capacity, there was no connection between that restaurant and the American Student Union?

Mr. REMINGTON. In 1937-38, academic year, when I acted as manager, there was no such connection. When it was set up in 1936 I believe there was such a connection.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a further activity, did you take part in a movement by the American Student Union to bring in foreign films?

Mr. REMINGTON. I recall attending several movies produced in France, in England, and in other places—pardon me, France, England, and Italy; no other country that I can recall—in Dartmouth Hall. I believe those films were arranged for by ASU. There may have been

other films that are not specifically in my mind at the moment. The French films were shown partly because the romance language department was interested in them. There were films, I believe, in the Spanish language and in Italian. There may have been others, also.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in a cooperative bookshop establishment organized and controlled by the American Student Union?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the 2 years of your freshman and sophomore courses at Dartmouth, were you a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I wonder, sir, if I could summarize these years at Dartmouth College by reading to you some very brief excerpts from an affidavit which was written and sworn to by President Ernest Martin Hopkins. He was president of Dartmouth at that time. He knew me well during these years and he has known me since.

Mr. WOOD. For the purposes of this hearing, Mr. Remington——

Mr. REMINGTON. He summarizes these activities.

Mr. WOOD. Just a moment. At the conclusion of your testimony if you desire to offer any portions of any affidavits from other people for the purpose of the record, the committee, I am sure, will be glad to receive them; but for the time being, please confine your testimony to responsive answers to the questions.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir. I am sorry you don't want me to read it.

Mr. WOOD. It isn't that I want or don't want you to read it. We are conducting an investigation here and want to conduct it in an orderly manner. Please don't leave the inference I am exercising preference about it at all, because I am not. I think we can proceed in a more orderly manner if you will confine your answers to the questions propounded, and at the conclusion of your testimony you may offer any portions of affidavits from other people as you desire.

Mr. TAVENNER. During your freshman and sophomore years at Dartmouth, were you a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I was never a member of the Communist Party at any time.

Mr. TAVENNER. During your sophomore year at college, did you belong to an organization known as Veterans of Future Wars?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any part to play in the founding of the program of the Veterans of Future Wars at Dartmouth?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I believe that was done at Princeton, was it not?

Mr. TAVENNER. Or did you have any association with the activities of that organization at Dartmouth?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. With whom did you room during your freshman year at college?

Mr. REMINGTON. I roomed with Mr. Richard Sherwin.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you finished your sophomore year at college, I understood that you sought employment at TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of that employment?

Mr. REMINGTON. Messenger.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was at the Tennessee Valley Authority in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you arrive at Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. During the last week of September of 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you, prior to your arrival at Knoxville, joined the Young Communist League or the Communist Party of the USA?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I never joined them at any time.

Mr. TAVENNER. With whom did you reside while employed by the TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. For 8 months of that period—7 months of that period, pardon me—I resided with Mr. Henry Hart.

Mr. WOOD. Would that be the first 7 months you were there?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir; the first 7 months, excluding the first week or 10 days when I resided at the YMCA. I believe I had no roommate there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember the address?

Mr. REMINGTON. Temple Street. The number was 920, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue to work as messenger?

Mr. REMINGTON. Until I resigned from the TVA, effective, according to personnel records, on May 17, 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then your entire employment with the TVA was in the capacity of a messenger?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you reside with any other person or persons, other than Mr. Henry Hart, after the first 7 or 8 months?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state with whom, please?

Mr. REMINGTON. On about the 1st of May 1937—that was when I was 19—I moved into a room with a Mr. Merwin Todd. Within a few days he brought into that room two friends of his, one of whom lived there for a month, the other of whom lived there for part of that ensuing month. Then on about June 1—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Who were those persons?

Mr. REMINGTON. A Mr. Horace Bryan was there during the entire month, I believe. I myself was out of town a great deal during that period, so I can't say whether he was also out of town. Mr. William Marlow was at that residence during part of that month.

Mr. WOOD. You spoke of living in that room with Mr. Merwin Todd. Was that individual known sometimes as Mr. Pat Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir; Mr. Pat Todd. Mr. Todd and I left 933 North Broadway, the two of us, on about June 1, and went to an address on Highland Avenue for a brief period of 2 or 3 weeks, perhaps 4, when I was winding up my affairs and packing in anticipation of returning to Dartmouth College in September for my junior year, which I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the address of the place of residence at the time the four of you lived together, the four persons you mentioned, including yourself?

Mr. REMINGTON. The address was on North Broadway. I believe the number was 933.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your departure from Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. I left Knoxville approximately the last week of June 1937. It may have been about the 1st of July. I believe it was before the 1st of July by several days.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with the rating given you by Mr. Jerome Allen, senior clerk in the TVA, on May 13, 1937, regarding your work?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this a correct statement of that rating:

Mr. Remington's work in the mail room was not satisfactory. He was not interested in our work. He was slow and appeared to be physically lazy, which was probably due to his activities after working hours.

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe he made some remark—he certainly did to me personally—to the effect that my interest in the A. F. of L. union there in the TVA was greater than my interest in carrying mail. Carrying mail is a dull job for an economist, no matter what mail it is. It is true that I spent more time on the A. F. of L. union than anything else in Knoxville. I think my record since then proves that I am not physically lazy.

Mr. WOOD. I feel, again, that your answer is not responsive directly to the question asked. The question asked was whether the language read to you was the correct language of the rating made of your work at that time.

Mr. REMINGTON. Mr. Allen said that. I thought he said more, too. I thought he went on to make some more favorable remarks, but I am not sure of that. I believe that is part of the statement he made.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, there is more which I did not read. I shall read it now:

He resented being supervised by his superiors. He was not adapted to our minor routine work. Mr. Remington has a bright mind and reads a great deal. He is interested in sociology, and I believe he would succeed in any type of work dealing in social problems. If Mr. Remington had not resigned, I would have recommended in the report due May 15, 1937, that he be transferred to another division.

Does that complete what you understand was his statement?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think so, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that you arrived in Knoxville, Tenn., what month? September 1936?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir; when I was 18.

Mr. TAVENNER. In December 1936, while you were in Knoxville, Tenn., were you a member of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir; not then nor any other time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then your answer would be the same for the months of February, March, April, May, and June 1937?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir, same answer. I was not a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated that the person mentioned by you as Merwin S. Todd—

Mr. REMINGTON. Pardon me, sir. I didn't state his middle initial. I don't believe I know that.

Mr. TAVENNER. The person mentioned by you as Merwin Todd is also known as Pat Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know that Pat Todd, the person with whom you roomed, was an organizer for the TVA cell of the Communist Party in Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. Mr. Todd, when I knew him, roomed with him, never said anything or did anything which gave me that impression.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know that Pat Todd was a member of the Communist Party or affiliated in any way with the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. He never said anything or did anything which gave me that impression. I have been asked about him many times by investigators, who have certainly implied that he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, will you answer my question, please? Did you know—whether you knew it from his actions or not—that he was a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or the Young Communist League?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend any Communist Party meetings with Pat Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have mentioned the name of Horace Bryan as one of the persons who lived with you at 933 North Broadway. Did you know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. He never said anything or did anything which led me to think he was a Communist. No one ever told me that he was, except that investigators have asked me so many questions about him that I think they may have been trying to give me that implication. I do not know.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Remington, you were asked, at the time you were rooming with Horace Bryan, whether or not you knew that he was a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. The answer is "no."

Mr. WOOD. At no time while you roomed with him did you have any information that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. None.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were subpoenaed on the 25th of April, I believe, to appear here as a witness before this committee?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. I don't recall the date, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Mr. Appell, to my right, a member of the investigative staff of this committee, served the subpoena on you.

Mr. REMINGTON. He did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not, at the time of the service of that subpoena, state to Mr. Appell that when you were in Knoxville you were told, in 1939, that Horace Bryan was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. When I was in Knoxville—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer my question, please? Did you make that statement to Mr. Appell?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not in those words. I did not make that statement. Shall I state what I did say?

Mr. TAVENNER. If you desire to make any explanation, proceed.

Mr. REMINGTON. I said that when I came through Knoxville—that happened to have been in September of 1939—I talked to many people I had known there before. They told me that there had been, after I left Knoxville, Communists there. They told me the names of

some people who they thought had been in that group. Mr. Bryan's name, I think, was mentioned. I could not swear that Mr. Bryan's name was mentioned in that connection.

Mr. WOOD. You say "they" told you. Could you identify for the record whom you got that information from in 1939?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not know who told me that. I know to whom I talked during the several days I was in Knoxville. I do not know who, specifically, told me about that period. As I said, I do not know for a fact that anyone mentioned Mr. Bryan's name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not, in your conversation with Mr. Appell, narrow it down to one of two individuals with whom you stated you had "bull sessions" regarding this subject?

Mr. REMINGTON. Narrow what down, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. Narrow down the source of the information that you obtained?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think I said that I talked with several people; that I certainly knew that I had talked to a group which I narrowed down to one or two people; but I did not say that I talked exclusively to them. I do recall precisely having talked to some people while I was there. I think I may have seen others. I know I talked to a great many.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not tell the investigator that that information came as a result of a "bull session," as you expressed it, that you held with one of two individuals?

Mr. REMINGTON. I didn't narrow it down that narrowly, sir. That certainly does not jibe with my recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did either Bernard Borah or Henry C. Hart tell you that?

Mr. REMINGTON. One of them or someone else may have said, "Mr. Bryan is suspected of having been in that group," but I doubt it.

Mr. TAVENNER. At any rate, this instance in 1939 was after you had left your employment in Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; it was after I left Knoxville. I had been gone from Knoxville well over 2 years before those conversations took place.

Mr. TAVENNER. When I mentioned Horace Bryan being a member of the Communist Party, I was not drawing a distinction between being a member of the Communist Party cell at Knoxville and being a member at large.

Mr. REMINGTON. I understand that.

Mr. TAVENNER. So I want to make it plain I am including in my question whether or not you knew him as a member at large of the Communist Party.

Mr. REMINGTON. I understood that from your question. A Communist is equally malodorous regardless of which status he is in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does your answer apply to either status?

Mr. REMINGTON. It does, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Howard Allen Bridgman?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How well acquainted were you with him?

Mr. REMINGTON. I saw Mr. Bridgman as a fellow messenger in the TVA for a few weeks after he returned from a trip to Russia in 1936. I was associated with him in several union committees, although not.

very closely so. I saw him on one or two social occasions that I can remember, although they, in turn, had grown out of A. F. of L. activities. Then I believe I saw him at a meeting of the American Economic Association, or perhaps a meeting of the Society for Public Administration, in some fairly recent year; but aside from that I did not see him after leaving the TVA.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend Communist Party meetings with Mr. Howard Allen Bridgman?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I have never seen a member of the Communist Party. I have never attended Communist meetings with Mr. Bridgman or anyone else.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then your answer is that you have never attended a Communist Party meeting with Mr. Bridgman?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were employed from September 1936 to July 1937 with the TVA at Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. I never attended any Communist Party meetings with Mr. Bridgman, and I have never attended Communist Party meetings, in Knoxville or anywhere else.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Elizabeth Winston Malcomb?

Mr. REMINGTON. I know an Elizabeth Todd, sir. Is that the person you named?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, also known as Betty Malcolm.

Mr. REMINGTON. She had been married before she married Pat Todd.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is right, and is presently the wife of Pat Todd.

Mr. REMINGTON. I know her. I knew her, rather.

Mr. TAVENNER. How well did you know Betty Malcolm, or Mrs. Pat Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have met her 2 or 3 times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. REMINGTON. I met her here in Washington to spend—oh, for dinner and to talk some.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. REMINGTON. In the fall of 1938, when I was coming down here to begin my first applications for a possible Federal position. The Todds were in town.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they assisting you in securing a Federal position at that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. How well did you know Mrs. Todd while living in Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not at all. I am not sure that she was in Knoxville when I was there. If she was there and I saw her, it was just in passing.

Mr. TAVENNER. In order that there may be no chance of a misdescription, I hand you a photograph and ask you if you can identify the person shown in that photograph?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe that is Betty Todd, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photograph in evidence and ask that it be marked "Remington Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection, let it be admitted.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Remington Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Case.

Mr. CASE. When was it that you came to Washington looking for a position?

Mr. REMINGTON. I made several trips. The first was in the late fall of 1938 or winter of 1938-39, when I came down to inquire about civil-service examinations. I also talked with two or three persons in Government about law or economics as a postgraduate study. I may have made specific application with a Government agency, but I don't think so. I was interested primarily with the examinations and a choice of career.

Then I came down again in 1939 two or three times. That is, I came down during the academic year 1939-40 two or three times before I was employed.

Mr. CASE. When you left the Navy, when did you negotiate for a Government position?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe in December of 1945, when I was still in the Navy, knowing I was to be released within a few months.

Mr. CASE. When did you take a Government position?

Mr. REMINGTON. I took a civilian Government position with the OWMR effective about April 1, 1946.

Mr. CASE. That was the Office of War Mobilization—

Mr. REMINGTON. The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

Mr. CASE. Who was your immediate superior there?

Mr. REMINGTON. I worked under Charles Hitch.

Mr. CASE. What were you doing there?

Mr. REMINGTON. My first duties there were to study the problems of stabilization, how to prevent wage increase and price increases which would be inflationary during the decontrolled period. During that time I recommended wage stabilization as well as price stabilization.

Mr. CASE. During that time did you have anything to do with making recommendations as to exports or imports?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. CASE. When did you go to the Council of Economic Advisers?

Mr. REMINGTON. About the end of March of 1947.

Mr. CASE. What were your duties there?

Mr. REMINGTON. My duties there were to participate in the drafting of reports on the economic situation. I was particularly assigned to the problem of working out ways and means for preventing or mitigating the consequences of either excessive inflation or excessive deflation.

Mr. CASE. Who was your immediate superior there?

Mr. REMINGTON. Mr. Gerhard Colm.

Mr. CASE. And you have testified that you entered the Department of Commerce in March of 1948?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASE. And who was your immediate superior there?

Mr. REMINGTON. My immediate superior was Mr. Francis McIntyre.

Mr. CASE. And what was his position?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was Assistant Director of the Office of International Trade.

Mr. CASE. And Director of Export Control?

Mr. REMINGTON. That was his special area of responsibility as Assistant Director.

Mr. CASE. And what were your responsibilities in that connection?

Mr. REMINGTON. As director of the export program staff I had the responsibility to review, through my subordinates, the programs, so-called, of materials which could be exported from this country without causing an inflationary impact. I also, through my subordinates and also directly myself, had responsibility for setting up the machinery for review of all exports to Europe, whether they would have an inflationary impact upon our economy or whether they were commodities which could have no impact.

Mr. CASE. That is a rather intriguing phrase you use when you say you reviewed through your subordinates. What do you mean by that?

Mr. REMINGTON. It means I had the responsibility. They did the review under my supervision.

Mr. CASE. You do accept the responsibility for the decisions made?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do, within the scope of the export-program staff work.

Mr. CASE. When did you first meet Mr. Thomas W. Blaisdell?

Mr. REMINGTON. I first met him, I believe, in March 1940, when I was seeking Federal employment.

Mr. CASE. What was his position at that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was Assistant Director of the National Resources Planning Board.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Case, I believe we will have to recess.

Mr. CASE. Just one more question: Did Mr. Blaisdell have anything to do with your employment in the Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce?

Mr. REMINGTON. He had nothing to do with initiating that appointment. He did approve it before it was carried out.

Mr. CASE. In what capacity did he approve it?

Mr. REMINGTON. He approved it as Director of the Office of International Trade and as supervisor of the men who had initiated it.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

Will that be a convenient time for you to come back, Mr. Remington?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am at your service, sir.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART I

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1950

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

PUBLIC HEARING—AFTERNOON SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 2 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, John McSweeney (arriving at indicated), Harold H. Velde (arriving as indicated), and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, William A. Wheeler, Courtney Owens, and William Jackson Jones, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order, please.

For purposes of the hearing this afternoon, the chair has designated a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Walter, Kearney, and Wood, and they are all present. I believe, in view of the fact the witness was sworn to testify before the full committee this morning, it may be necessary to administer an additional oath, so will you stand and be sworn, please. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM W. REMINGTON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Remington, near the close of the morning session I was asking you questions relating to your acquaintanceship with Betty Malcolm, also known as Elizabeth Winston Malcombre. You told us, I believe, of an occasion when you met her in Washington in the fall of 1938. I do not know whether that completed your testimony with regard to your acquaintanceship with her or not.

Mr. REMINGTON. I said that I had known her as Betty Todd. I did not know her by the other name that you gave, the longer name. I said also that I did not know whether she arrived in Knoxville be-

fore I left Knoxville or not. If she did, I may have seen her. I do not recall her there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you visit her in Knoxville on any occasion at her residence at 1412 Forest Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't recall it, sir. I think not.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time of your employment with TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, are you in doubt about that?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then possibly you did visit at her home?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think not. My recollection is that when I saw her in Washington, I was meeting her as Betty Todd for the first time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Meeting her as Betty Todd for the first time. Do you mean meeting her in her new married name for the first time?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe I was meeting here for the first time. As I indicated, if she arrived in Knoxville before I left there, it is possible that I met her before I left Knoxville. I don't think I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, if you met her, would you not know whether or not you visited in her home?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. That was a long while ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. If there is any uncertainty about your having visited her in her home, did you go to her home on, say, 2 or 3 occasions?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am sure I did not. I think if I had I would remember having met her there, if I had.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know her husband, Kenneth Malcomb, otherwise know as Kenneth Malcolm?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have never met him?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, I don't think I ever met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have a conversation with Kenneth Malcolm, also known as Kenneth Malcomb, on any occasion while you were employed at TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't remember it, sir. I don't think he was in Knoxville when I was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting at the home of Betty Malcolm, otherwise know as Elizabeth Winston Malcomb, then as Mrs. Pat Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of any kind at the home of this same person?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Kenneth Malcolm to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I have read his name in the newspaper since then, in the very recent past, and I have been asked, I think, perhaps by some investigator, about him. Whether it was some investigator, or whether it was your Mr. Appell, I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you see the article to which you refer?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think I saw it—I don't know whether I read it in a clipping from the Knoxville Journal, whether I read it quite recently, or whether I read it 2 or 3 years ago here in the Washington papers. I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Betty Malcolm to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Muriel Speare, who likewise has been married several times? She has also borne the name of Muriel Speare Borah, and later Muriel Speare Borah Williams.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are the circumstances under which you knew her?

Mr. REMINGTON. I met her in the AFL union at TVA. She was an active member. I saw her in connection with several union committees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she an employee at TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. She was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of her employment?

Mr. REMINGTON. She was a secretary or stenographer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that in the same section in which you worked?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Muriel Speare Borah Williams was a member of the Communist Party at the time you were an employee at the TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. When I was there she never said anything or did anything, to my knowledge, which made me feel that she was a Communist. I have heard that she has testified, before this committee, I believe, that she joined the Communist Party when she was employed by TVA. However, that was at a period after I left Knoxville and the TVA.

(Representative Velde enters hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. My specific question was whether you knew she was a member of the Communist Party during the time of your employment at TVA. During the time of your employment at TVA, did you know she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn of that alleged membership prior to your leaving Knoxville for the resumption of your collegiate duties at Dartmouth?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Ted Wellman?

Mr. REMINGTON. I met Ted Wellman when I was in Tennessee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where and when?

Mr. REMINGTON. I met him in Chattanooga in the spring of 1937. I met him again in Knoxville in the late spring of 1937, in June.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the occasion of your meeting him in Chattanooga?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was in Chattanooga one day, I believe it was a Sunday, on the way back from a week-end trip with several members of the TVA union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am sure that one of them was Merwin Todd. I do not know who the others were.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you do not recall their names?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not recall the names of the others who were on that trip. I am sure that one of them was Mr. Todd.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of your meeting Ted Wellman in Chattanooga?

Mr. REMINGTON. There was no purpose of the meeting. We were coming back from this short week-end trip. We stopped at Chattanooga to eat a meal. He joined us at the restaurant. I don't know how or under what circumstances he came, but he came and joined us and we talked about labor union activities during the course of a meal.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you met him before that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. I had not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know the other members of your party prior to that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. He knew at least one member of the party, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which member was that?

Mr. REMINGTON. I couldn't swear which member it was, but I could guess, if you want me just to guess.

Mr. WOOD. Only what you know.

Mr. TAVENNER. It should seem you should know. When a person who is a stranger to you comes up to a group of you, you would likely know which of the group he had met before?

Mr. KEARNEY. How long ago was this?

Mr. REMINGTON. This was 13 years ago, sir, when I had just passed my nineteenth birthday.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you recall?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not recall well enough to swear who it was he had known before. If you want guesses—

Mr. TAVENNER. No, I am not asking for guesses. I am trying to help you refresh your recollection. Where had you gone on this particular trip?

Mr. REMINGTON. We had spent the day at a labor union school in the Cumberland Mountains.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the school?

Mr. REMINGTON. Highlander Folk School.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at that time know that Ted Wellman was the Communist Party organizer for the State of Tennessee?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I did know him as a man who was in charge of the hod carriers' union in Chattanooga, and who was active in the Central Labor Union, because those were the matters we talked about at that short dinnertime or lunchtime session.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph and ask you if you can identify the person whose picture appears there?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not positively, but I think this is Ted Wellman. This picture is not a good one, but I think it probably is.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photograph in evidence and ask that it be marked "Remington exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Remington exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us when you met Wellman the second time, this time, I believe, in Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. I recall one day having an appointment to eat dinner with a friend of mine, going into the restaurant, and find-

ing him with another man. I had seen the man before. I recognized him as Mr. Wellman. I sat down, because I had had a dinner appointment with my friend, not with Mr. Wellman. We talked during the course of that meal.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was present besides Mr. Wellman?

Mr. REMINGTON. The person, the friend of mine, with whom I had the dinner appointment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it Henry C. Hart?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; it was not Mr. Hart. I know that for a fact. I think that it was Mr. Todd, but it is not something that I could swear to definitely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this meeting held at Crawford's Grill restaurant in Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am sorry. I don't know where Crawford's Grill restaurant is.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was at a restaurant in Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the general location of it?

Mr. REMINGTON. It was, as I recall it, quite near the TVA, because those were the only restaurants I ever ate in. I ate in a restaurant directly across the street from the union building quite often; and also in a restaurant between the union building and the New Sprinkle Building. I think it was the latter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a conversation with Mr. Wellman, or he with you, at that meeting, in which the matter of the Communist Party was discussed?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; indirectly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please tell us about it.

Mr. REMINGTON. We discussed labor union activities almost entirely. There was some remark made during the course of that meal which led me subsequently to inquire, "Who is this guy?" It was something about the Communist Party, or the Communist attitudes, or Communist views, or something of that sort. I can give hypothetical examples of what it might have been. I can't recall the chance remark which was made 13 years ago which aroused my curiosity.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make inquiry and determine that Wellman and your roommate, Pat Todd, were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why not?

Mr. REMINGTON. I made an inquiry which led me to find out that Mr. Wellman was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You made no inquiry regarding Pat Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that because you knew that Pat Todd was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why didn't you make inquiry in regard to him?

Mr. REMINGTON. Because Mr. Todd had never said anything, Mr. Todd had never done anything, which would lead me to believe that he was a member of the Communist Party. Consequently, there was no call whatsoever for such an inquiry to be made.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make inquiry of Pat Todd as to whether Wellman was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would guess that it was Todd of whom I made the inquiry which I know I made.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did he advise you that Wellman was the Communist Party organizer for the State of Tennessee?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe he said: "Wellman is the Communist Party organizer for the State of Tennessee, didn't you know?" Or something of that sort, because Mr. Wellman was known to and he know most of the labor organizers, AFL and CIO, in that vicinity. He, I assume, made it his business to know them.

Mr. TAVENNER. And so Mr. Todd expressed surprise that you did not know Wellman was the Communist Party organizer for the State of Tennessee?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would not call it surprise. I think he probably thought I had heard it somewhere. After finding out that he was a Communist, of course, I was not dealing with him again. I saw him on these two occasions. After finding out he was a Communist, I did not see him again. I want the record to show that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you were so opposed to the Communist Party and what it stood for that you would have no dealings with Mr. Wellman after you found out that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that your attitude toward other persons in the TVA at that time who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. If I had known, or if I had reason to believe, that there were people among my friends who were members of the Communist Party, I would have had that attitude.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you married?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was married in 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was your wife from?

Mr. REMINGTON. My wife was from Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were Communist Party activities carried on in the home of your mother-in-law?

Mr. REMINGTON. At the home of my mother-in-law I met Communists. I did not work with them in union activities; I did not work closely with them on any matter; I did not associate with them as close friends. I talked with them and—I am trying to draw the distinction. I would have talked with a Communist in 1940, 1941. I would have talked with a Communist earlier. I would not have chosen a Communist for a personal friend, nor would I have worked intimately with a Communist in union activities, as I worked with my friends in the TVA union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet, at the home of your mother-in-law, Joseph North?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe he is a member of the Communist Party; at the time I knew him, at any rate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he tell you he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. I certainly assumed it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why?

Mr. REMINGTON. Because of his position as the editor of the New Masses.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he active at the home of your mother-in-law in the promulgation of Communist views and principles?

Mr. REMINGTON. He talked a lot.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, there were many meetings held there which he attended; isn't that true?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he developed Communist Party meetings in the home of your mother-in-law; isn't that correct?

Mr. REMINGTON. At social gatherings there he talked about the Communist Party, about its beliefs and its program. I have never seen a Communist Party meeting at the home of my mother-in-law. I have seen social gatherings at which Mr. North was a somewhat more-than-usually vociferous guest.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you, after knowing of his position as a Communist Party member, accepted his invitation to dinner, didn't you?

Mr. REMINGTON. I accepted an invitation to dinner, but not to work with him in labor union activities or anything else.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you were not so averse at that time to communism as I gathered from your statement in regard to Mr. Ted Wellman, to the effect that you wouldn't have anything further to do with a person that you thought was a Communist, and that you wouldn't have a Communist for your friend. But it was a different situation when it came to Mr. North, wasn't it?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir; I said I didn't see Mr. Wellman after I learned he was a Communist. I said I certainly would not have associated actively with Communists doing work at TVA in any capacity. That is, to my way of thinking, an utterly different matter than meeting someone at the home of my mother-in-law. When I was at my mother-in-law's for the weekend, I couldn't pack up my bag and leave because of her guests, and I couldn't ask them to leave.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was through Mr. Joseph North that you met Mr. Jacob Golos, was it not?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. North introduce you to him?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who Mr. Jacob Golos is?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do now. I did not know then.

Mr. TAVENNER. You received your introduction to him from Joseph North?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And at the same time, or I believe it was at a later time than your introduction to Golos, you met Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now let us return for the moment to the period of time spent by you at Knoxville, Tenn. Did Ted Wellman ever give you any directions?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or instructions or advice regarding your own conduct, as a party member or otherwise?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I was never a member of the party, and there was no way in which he could have given me any kind of instructions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or advice?

Mr. REMINGTON. There was no way in which he could have given me any advice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you were present at this meeting at this restaurant, at which communism was discussed?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I said at that restaurant there were some words spoken which aroused my curiosity to the point that I asked: "Who is this guy?"

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall what those words were?

Mr. REMINGTON. I told you, sir, that I could give you, perhaps, a hypothetical example of what it might have been, some mention of what the Communists thought of the unions, or what the Communists were trying to do, but I cannot remember a specific sentence that was spoken 13 years ago when I was 19 years old.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir. Did you know Mabel C. Abercrombie?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she an employee of TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. REMINGTON. She was a clerk-stenographer at the TVA.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your department?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the occasion for your meeting her?

Mr. REMINGTON. I met her first at the dinner table at 920 Temple Street, where I resided, as we have discussed. She left there about a week after I took up my residence at that address. Subsequently I found I was delivering mail to her at the TVA. She was on my route, in other words.

Mr. TAVENNER. Incidentally, was Muriel Speare Borah Williams on your mail route also?

Mr. REMINGTON. Occasionally I had special messages to run which either originated at her office or which terminated at her office. She was never on a regular delivery route which I had responsibility for, as nearly as I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Pat Todd and Muriel Speare were close friends prior to her marriage to Borah?

Mr. REMINGTON. They certainly worked together in the A. F. of L. union on many committees. I do not know if they were, as you say, close friends.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Pat Todd work at the TVA also?

Mr. REMINGTON. He did.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was an assistant, a junior assistant, I believe, at about \$1,620 or \$1,860 per annum, to someone in the Coordination Division of TVA. He had been a messenger.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he on your mail route?

Mr. REMINGTON. I carried special messages which sometimes originated or terminated there, but I never had his office on any regularly assigned delivery route.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of Mabel C. Abercrombie visiting at 920 Temple?

Mr. REMINGTON. I said she lived there, sir, for the first week that I was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was the same house in which you and Pat Todd lived at that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. In which you and Hart lived at that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was Hart's first name?

Mr. REMINGTON. Henry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Henry. Was Henry Hart also an employee at TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to state you did not know that Hart was a member of the Communist Party. Am I correct in that?

Mr. REMINGTON. When I was in Tennessee he did nothing and said nothing which would give me that belief. I know from his public testimony, before this committee, I believe, that he joined the Communist Party after I left Tennessee.

Mr. WOOD. Then what is your answer to the question whether, at the time you were in Knoxville, Tenn., you knew him to be a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. The answer is "No."

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend any Communist Party meetings with Mabel Abercrombie?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any kind of meetings with her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about them.

Mr. REMINGTON. I attended many meetings of union committees with her. Those were meetings of the committees of the Government Employees Union of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any of those meetings held at the home of Betty Malcolm, otherwise known as Elizabeth Winston Malcombre?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Henry C. Thornton?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph and ask if you can identify the person whose picture appears there?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know John M. Frantz?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not when I was at TVA. I met him when he was at the Housing Agency and I was in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. REMINGTON. That was in 1946, during the latter part of the year, and also during the first 2 months of 1947. He told me that he recalled having seen me when I was in Knoxville, but I did not remember him. Pardon me, I would like to correct that. I said I met him when he was at the Housing Agency and I was at OWMR and he apparently remembered me. There was another occasion which I have just recalled on which I met him, in a grocery store on Pennsylvania Avenue in about 1941, the early part of the year. That chance meeting, at which he recognized me but I did not recognize him, led to a lunch a few days later. He was employed by the Government at that time and so was I.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand, then you do not recall ever having met him while you were living in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. REMINGTON. I can't place him. He seems to remember me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. As far as I know, I don't even remember having met him in Tennessee, so I would have no knowledge about him there at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wasn't confining the question entirely to Tennessee, but to any time?

Mr. REMINGTON. In my contacts with him here we have, aside from our one lunch of reminiscences about this and that, our contacts were strictly limited to official business.

Mr. TAVENNER. Still you haven't answered my question.

Mr. REMINGTON. The answer is that I have no reason to regard him as a Communist at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whether you have any reason or not, have you any knowledge? There may be a distinction.

Mr. REMINGTON. I have no knowledge of any Communist activities, affiliations, or sympathies on his part.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was not my question. My question was, Do you know that this person, John M. Frantz, was ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Laurent Frantz?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. His brother?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph and ask if you can identify the person whose photograph appears there?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Kenneth Cameron?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was Kenneth Cameron employed?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was employed at TVA.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of his duties?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was, I believe, in central files during the entire period of my employment there. I know he was in central files during part of my employment there, and I think he probably was in central files the whole time I was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he on your mail route?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with him?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge that John M. Frantz was in any way affiliated with the Communist Party of the United States or any of its branches?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know William Haney?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the earlier part of your testimony you stated that a complaint was made by the person rating you at TVA that possibly you were devoting too much of your time to outside matters, in effect. What matters outside of your employment at TVA were you particularly interested in at that time, such as organizations to which you may have belonged?

Mr. REMINGTON. I put my heart and soul into one organization. That was the Knoxville branch for the TVA workers of the American Federation of Government Employees, which was an AFL affiliate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of an organization known as the Workers Alliance?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have made talks to the Workers Alliance in connection with my work with committees of the A. F. of L. I once went with the Workers Alliance workers to ask about relief problems in Knoxville.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of Workers Alliance?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't think so. I certainly worked with it, and so, for purposes of this hearing, I would like to assume that I was sympathetically associated with its efforts in Knoxville to gain higher relief benefits and more WPA jobs. Beyond that, I know nothing about the Workers Alliance. I can say I was sympathetically associated with that activity, but I have to stop at that point. I know nothing about the rest of its activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a meeting of the Workers Alliance that you attended when you traveled there by motorcycle?

Mr. REMINGTON. I traveled everywhere through that valley on a motorcycle. I may have gone to Workers Alliance meetings at which I talked, on my motorcycle, yes, but never over the speed limits, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Regardless of the speed at which you traveled, did you take Kenneth Malcolm with you on your motorcycle to a Workers Alliance meeting?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I carried a lot of people on my motorcycle, but not him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything especially significant in your saying "not him"?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; simply that I never met him to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know the secretary of the Workers Alliance, Francis Martin?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think I met him if he is the brother of the David Martin who worked in TVA.

Mr. TAVENNER. David Stone Martin?

Mr. REMINGTON. There was a David Martin whom I knew as David Martin—I don't know about the rest of it—who worked at TVA, who was quite active in the union, and who brought his brother around to the office once or twice.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a rather clear newspaper photograph and ask if you can identify that person.

Mr. REMINGTON. I think that is the man who is the brother of David Martin.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, Francis Martin?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. A secretary of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. REMINGTON. I know nothing about his connections with Workers Alliance, but that, I think, is the man. I say I know nothing about his connection with Workers Alliance. I want to point out that I left Knoxville in June 1947. I know nothing of what happened after that. I know nothing that happened before I got there in late September of 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was secretary of the Knox County branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. I read 2 days ago, in an old, old clipping from the Knoxville Journal, that he was such.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know it?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were living there?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you belong to an organization in Knoxville by the name of Workers Education?

Mr. REMINGTON. I belonged to the Workers Education Committee of the American Federation of Labor union at the TVA, called the Knoxville Workers Education Committee at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any official position in that group?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was officially a member of it. I was the kid on the committee, and so I believe my official position was, for the most part, errand boy. Later on I became teacher.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Howard Bridgman was the chairman of Workers Education?

Mr. REMINGTON. My impression was that Merwin Todd had been chairman of that committee and ran it. He certainly ran it. I don't know whether he was chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Horace Bryan connected with that organization, Workers Education?

Mr. REMINGTON. Mr. Bryan was hired as the full-time study director, director of education, of that group, for a period of 3 months; they had money for 3 months. During part of that 3 months I was in Knoxville, but only during part of the period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the circumstances under which Horace Bryan was chosen to conduct that work?

Mr. REMINGTON. Mr. Bryan's name was proposed to the Workers Education committee. The committee made a check on him, interviewed him, and selected him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who proposed his name to the Workers Education group?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't know. I could guess if you want me to guess. I don't know specifically who proposed him. It was someone who had known that Mr. Bryan had been engaged in Workers Education in Tennessee. I don't know who that would be, specifically, although I can guess.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Horace Bryan was chosen for that position, in fact, by the Knoxville cell of the Communist Party and recommended to the group by the Communist cell?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; definitely not. Do you want me to describe the reviewing process the committee went through in selecting him? I can recall something about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. REMINGTON. The committee, after having the proposal of his name, called those men in the labor unions in that vicinity who had heard him perform. The committee called or wrote persons who had known him teach at Highlander Folk School, which was closely tied in with American Federation of Labor unions at that time, and with the CIO unions which were beginning to be formed. A check was made on him with persons I have every reason to believe were reputable trade-unionists. That is how the check was made on Mr. Bryan. I know nothing of anything else.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was asking what position, if any, you held with the Workers Education organization. Were you secretary of that organization at any time?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. The secretary was a lady who could take shorthand. I functioned as general legman for a time, and then I became a teacher.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was the mail addressed to that group received?

Mr. REMINGTON. At the TVA union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What post-office box? Do you know anything about that?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I would think it impossible that the union would have had a post-office box, because they would normally receive their mail at the TVA union at TVA offices.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Horace Bryan, of the Workers Education committee, procured a post-office box for the receipt of the mail addressed to that organization?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. If he had one, I know nothing about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if I can refresh your recollection. I hand you a photostatic copy of an application for postoffice box dated March 8, 1937, which was signed for by four different individuals. Will you read the names of those individuals?

Mr. REMINGTON. Signature of applicant: Horace Bryan. References: Harry Bridgman. I suppose that means Howard Bridgman. M. Todd. I assume that is Merwin Todd. And Bernard Borah. All three of TVA. Bryan, of course, was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the business and street address given?

Mr. REMINGTON. The address of both Bridgman and Todd is TVA. The residence of Mr. Bryan is given as 933 North Broadway. At that time I was living with Mr. Hart on Temple Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. 920 Temple Street?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. Mr. Borah's address is not given as TVA, but is given as 308 Twelfth Street, an address I do not know. There were three keys. I know nothing about them and I know nothing about this box, which I think is clear from this document.

Mr. TAVENNER. Merwin Todd is the same person to whom you have referred as Pat Todd in your previous testimony?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would assume so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Bernard Borah the husband of Muriel Speare Borah?

Mr. REMINGTON. Muriel Speare married Bernard Borah some time after I left the TVA. I do not know precisely when.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were acquainted with Bernard Borah, were you?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was an employee at TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he on your postal route?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. He was not on my regular route, but I carried messages to and from any office that called for a special messenger.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of his duties?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was in the Social and Economic Division, I think that is what they called it, when I first went to work at TVA.

Mr. TAVENNER. This post-office box 1692, assigned as a result of this application, in the name of Horace Bryan, Workers Education, residence address 933 North Broadway, was used by what other persons, to your knowledge?

Mr. REMINGTON. I had no knowledge of the box at all. I didn't know it existed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive mail through that box?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a mailing list from the office of the American Federation of Government Employees, national office, which gives the names and addresses of various persons who were members of local 136 at Knoxville, Tenn., and ask if you do not find on that list the name of William Remington, post-office box 1692, Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. There it is. What is the date on this? I think it is clear that I was on this mailing list. I think it is also clear that my name could have been sent in to this mailing list. I have no personal knowledge of receiving things through this box, I am absolutely positive I did not have a key to it. Mail might have been brought to me from this box and from this union. I got my mail—let's see, my parents were writing to me at the time, and I don't know anyone else from whom I was receiving mail, and that all came to me personally and not through any intermediaries.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member of local 136?

Mr. REMINGTON. Local 136. Is that the number of that union?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. REMINGTON. I became a member of that TVA union within a week or so after I got to the TVA.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you became a member, did you give your name and address to the local?

Mr. REMINGTON. Of course.

Mr. TAVENNER. What address did you give?

Mr. REMINGTON. I assume that I gave my residence address, which was 920 Temple Street, although I may have given the TVA office address.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce in evidence that photostatic copy of mailing list, and ask that it be marked "Remington Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be admitted.

(The photostatic copy of document above referred to, marked "Remington Exhibit No. 3," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now an additional photostatic copy of a statement of new members, bearing date December 24, 1936, giving names and addresses, which shows your address as 920 Temple Avenue. Will you examine that?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is my address.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that is what you gave the union at the time of your joining?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you change that address by notice to the union?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have no recollection of it at all. I can understand the possibility that when I left Temple Street, or knew I was about to leave, that my address was changed with the union to this box number. Todd knew we were going to live together. He might have said, "I will handle your union mail for you." I have no recollection of it, 13 years ago when I was 19.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did not you and Bryan and Todd, whose names appear on there, agree that you were to receive your mail through that box?

Mr. REMINGTON. Whose names appear on where?

Mr. TAVENNER. On the application for a post-office box.

Mr. REMINGTON. My name does not appear on this application for a post-office box.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't ask you that. I asked if you agreed with Todd and with Bryan, whose names appear on that application, to use that box?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I believe if I had so agreed I would naturally have been one of the references for this box, but I was not. Incidentally, I think that is a very logical presumption, that if I had been using the box my name would appear there.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the second photostat in evidence and ask that it be marked "Remington Exhibit No. 4."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be admitted.

(The photostatic copy of document above referred to, marked "Remington Exhibit No. 4," is filed herewith.)

(Representative Velde enters hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. If there is anything else on those two documents you would like to point out to the committee, we will be glad to have you do so.

Mr. REMINGTON. I would like to check them and get an idea as to the dates of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice on the second sheet of Remington exhibit No. 3 that there appears the name of Merwin Todd, address 618 Henle, Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. REMINGTON. That means that these are not in alphabetical order if his name appears on page 2 and my name appears later. Therefore, it would seem to be a chronological list, the earlier names first and the later names second.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know when Merwin Todd lived at the address I have just mentioned?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, but I know when he didn't live there. He didn't live there when he was living with me, and that was in May and June.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in May and June, and in May and June your address was 933 Broad Street?

Mr. REMINGTON. Broadway. I know it was that in May. In June I was on Highland Avenue or Highland Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. And at that time you and Todd were living together?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. After seeing these records and thinking further on the subject, are you still willing to state that you did not advise the national office of the American Federation of Government Employees that your address would be post-office box 1692?

Mr. REMINGTON. The application for the box, sir, attests that I had nothing to do with taking it out. How I got on this mailing list in that connection, I don't know. I think it quite obvious that I did receive letters, if there were any, at this box number from this organization. I don't know that they mailed anything during the period of time after I left 920 Temple Street, addressed to me. If they did, I apparently received it at this box rather than at 920 Temple Street.

Mr. WOOD. I don't think that is responsive to the question, sir. The question is, Did you notify the office that that was your address?

Mr. REMINGTON. All I can say that is entirely responsive is that I do not recall, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You indicated a moment ago that perhaps Merwin Todd had given such an address for you, but if that had been true, wouldn't he have given the same address for himself on the second page of that exhibit 3, which was not the same address as yours when in fact the two of you were living together?

Mr. REMINGTON. As I pointed out before, the list is not alphabetical. If it is not alphabetical and my name appears after his, the presumption is it is chronological, which indicates I got on the list at a later date. There is a point here which occurs to me. This post-office box was applied for by Mr. Bryan. Is that true?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what the application shows, that he signed for it.

Mr. REMINGTON. If he signed for it, it clearly had something to do with the workers education committee. That was in the A. F. of L. union. I was a member of that union and of that committee. I became a teacher for that committee. It seems to me highly possible that the union sent literature having to do with the work of that committee to a man who was on the committee and employed by that committee at the address given by the director of education for that committee. I think the logicalness of that presumption is borne out by the fact that Merwin Todd, who is on the list at an earlier time, perhaps before the committee became active, perhaps before the committee took out its box, appears with his Henle Street address.

Mr. WALTER. Are the names of other members of that committee on that list?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have not checked it yet, sir. I can check it if you wish me to take the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to examine Remington exhibit No. 4 and see if Todd did not join the local union at the same time you did, and his name appears together with yours, so instead of joining ahead of you, you joined at the same time, so that your argument would not stand.

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't follow you at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you state to the committee that the address shown for Todd was different from yours because he was on the list longer, he was a member longer?

Mr. REMINGTON. You said Mr. Todd's name appears on page 2. What is the page on which my name appears?

Mr. TAVENNER. The first page, I believe.

Mr. REMINGTON. My name appears on page 1. So it is not a chronological list nor alphabetical.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you to examine the sheets again and see if it is not a fact that the names appear in their alphabetical order, but the sheets are assembled without regard to the alphabetical order?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. The sheets have been assembled with my name on the first sheet, so consequently we have no clue as to what the original order was.

Mr. WOOD. I think the whole discussion is purely argumentative. The question now being asked is whether Todd joined this organization at the same time you did.

(Representative McSweeney enters hearing room.)

Mr. REMINGTON. Mr. Todd had been a member of the union before I joined it.

Mr. WOOD. You have the paper before you. Is his name there with yours?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. It appears on the same list of new members dated December 24, 1936. However, Mr. Todd had been out of town for a considerable period, and this may involve a readmission to membership. He had been a member before I was, and he was a member when I joined the union, it is my understanding.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever receive any mail through this post-office box 1692?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not that I recall. I say if the union sent anything to me after my name was on their address list in that fashion, I may have. The box was taken out by the director of the workers education committee, and I assume that is the connection in which I appear on the union list.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Jess Reeves?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a meeting of any kind at a place called Reeves' Roost, located outside of the city limits of Knoxville, near Knoxville?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. From what I have heard of those meetings, they did not invite kids in their teens. My only knowledge of those meetings is from testimony before some committee which I read in the newspapers and in committee reports.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand you returned to Dartmouth College in the fall of 1937?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss your return to college with Merwin Todd or his wife, Betty Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. I certainly discussed it with Merwin Todd. He knew about it. We roomed together at the time I was packing, getting ready to go. I certainly discussed it with his wife after I was back there. I don't remember whether I discussed it with her before I returned, because I don't know if I saw her then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss it in the presence of Kenneth Malcolm?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't think I did, because I have said that I don't think I ever met him. It was well known among all my friends

that I had gone back to college, of course. I imagine after I left Knoxville they talked about it occasionally.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us about knowing Howard Allen Bridgman. When did you last see him?

Mr. REMINGTON. I last saw him at some professional association, I believe the American Economic Association or the Society for Public Administration, of which I am a member.

Mr. WOOD. He just asked you when, Mr. Remington.

Mr. REMINGTON. Two or three years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time did the two of you discuss Communist Party membership?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he not advise you at that time that he was no longer a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. He did not. He had never advised me that he was, if he ever was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make any statement to him with regard to your past Communist Party membership?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I never had any.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he tell you that he had changed his views toward communism?

Mr. REMINGTON. He told me that he had become an economist, I don't recall any discussion of political or economic philosophy except we both agreed that we had become fairly middle-of-the-road economists whereas we had been—we had not been economists, as a matter of fact, when we had seen each other previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't believe you have answered by question.

Mr. REMINGTON. I tried to, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask the reporter to read the question.

(The question referred to was read by the reporter, as follows: "Did he tell you that he had changed his views toward communism?")

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I don't believe he told me about his views toward communism.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have mentioned the fact that on the return from your marriage trip you stopped at Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Mr. REMINGTON. 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you then meet Muriel Borah and Henry C. Hart?

Mr. REMINGTON. I know I met Hart. I think I met Muriel Borah. I guess she would still have been Muriel Borah at that time. If she had married and gone to Chattanooga, then it was Mabel Abercrombie I saw. I saw one of the two. And I definitely saw Henry Hart.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you state whether you had a conversation with them, or they with you, concerning the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us what that was, please?

Mr. REMINGTON. There was a discussion particularly of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which we were all in agreement on. We all hated it. It had been announced just 2 or 3 weeks before. There was some remark to the effect "what a lot of suckers the Communists were about that; they certainly had their eyes opened;" something to that effect. And I was told that those who had been in the Communist Party in the

TVA prior to the pact had resigned immediately upon hearing of the pact. Some, of course, had resigned long before the pact. They had joined in late 1937 and gotten out in 1938 and early 1939. Others got out when the pact was signed and announced.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any of those three persons you spoke of say they had gotten out of the party?

Mr. REMINGTON. Mr. Hart definitely told me that. I heard, whether from her own lips or not I can't swear; I think it was; I heard that Muriel Speare, as I had known her, had been in that category. About the others, I do not know.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say you were uncertain as to whether it was Speare or Abercrombie who was present?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is what I said, sir. I said if she was present I heard it from her own lips, and if she was not, I heard it about her, presumably from Hart.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about Abercrombie? Had she resigned from the party, if you talked to her?

Mr. REMINGTON. She certainly was against the party at that time. As to whether she told me she had been a member of the party, she did not. I don't know whether she was a member or was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then Mabel Abercrombie was present at the time you had this conference, because she told you those things herself?

Mr. REMINGTON. I said I know one of those two girls was present. I am not sure which one. If Mabel Abercrombie was not the one present, I talked to her on the phone, I am sure. If she was in Norris I talked to her. I remember calling some people in Norris who were not in Knoxville, to say "hello" in passing.

Mr. TAVENNER. At any rate, that is what she told you?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is what she told me or someone told me in her behalf. I think she told me.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that at least in 1939 you knew that Hart had been a member of the Communist Party; that Mabel Abercrombie had been a member of the Communist Party—

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I knew about Mr. Hart.

Mr. TAVENNER. I thought that was the effect of your testimony with regard to Mabel Abercrombie.

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I said she was strongly opposed to the Communist Party when I passed through Knoxville. I know that. I said I did not know whether she had in fact been a member of the Communist Party prior to that or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us just how that matter came up in your conversation with her.

Mr. REMINGTON. We were talking in this group about the Hitler-Stalin pact. There was some mention of what suckers the Communists were, how ashamed they were of having been such, and how apparently all those few who had been Communists in TVA—how many there were I don't know—had resigned. That is the impression I gathered from this conversation. There was no discussion specifically of a roster of names or anything of the sort, obviously. This was a social gathering, during which we were talking about the pact for a part of the evening.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time you saw Mabel Abercrombie?

Mr. REMINGTON. I saw her in the last few days of August 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a discussion with her then on that subject?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; very briefly; very briefly, because her husband was there and I was interested in meeting him and discussing their future plans, which interested me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did this conversation take place?

Mr. REMINGTON. At the Hanover Inn, Hanover, N. H., where they were employed on a student basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Fix the date as best you can.

Mr. REMINGTON. The last week of August 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. State to the committee what the conversation was relating to communism?

Mr. REMINGTON. As I said, the discussion of communism in TVA was very cursory. We talked about other things. The conversation that took place, as I recall, was something like this: "Bill, did you read those stories in the Knoxville Journal? Did anybody ever send those to you about communism in TVA?"

I said: "No. What is it all about?" Or else I said: "I have heard something about it but have not read them. What is it all about?"

And she told me something about the articles in the newspaper; but we got off into why she and her husband were in New Hampshire, of all places, almost immediately.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mabel Abercrombie tell you that she had seen Bridgman?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not that I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she make any statement to you about her former membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I think if she had I would remember it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you communicated with her, or she with you, recently?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How recently?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have not communicated with her at all. She sent me a Christmas card last Christmas.

Mr. TAVENNER. This past Christmas?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the last and only communication you have had from her since the time you last saw her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; unless she sent me a Christmas card the Christmas of 1948. I am not sure of that. She may have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you an organizer for the textile workers in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; not formally as such on the payroll. My work with the Workers Education group of a few weeks, which I have mentioned, brought me in close contact with the textile workers union and its organizing drive.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in that work with Merwin Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you assist in that work?

Mr. REMINGTON. When I was a teacher of this Workers Education group for a few weeks I saw Todd probably every day that I was in Knoxville, which was half the time those weeks. I worked with him,

talked to several union meetings of textile workers that he organized, and went on some organizing trips with him to distribute leaflets of the textile workers union.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time, did you distribute any Communist Party literature or leaflets or pamphlets?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any Communist Party meetings?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I have asked you questions regarding Henry Hart, Pat Todd, Muriel Speare, Betty Malcolm, Mabel Abercrombie, Bernard Borah, and Howard Bridgman, all employees of TVA and persons as to whom you testified. Do you know whether or not there was a Communist Party cell among TVA workers at Knoxville while you were there?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have also asked you whether or not these persons whose names appear on the application for post-office box, namely, Bernard Borah, Merwin Todd, Howard Bridgman, and Horace Bryan, were all persons well known to you, and whether or not you knew that they were members of the Communist Party, and whether the address given was the same as the home address which you had.

Mr. REMINGTON. I lived at that address sometime after that application was made. I knew some of those men well; others not so well. I did not know any of them as members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it is right and proper that I should read to you certain excerpts from testimony taken by this committee over the past few weeks before you answer that question definitely, to give you the benefit of any possibility of your recollection being refreshed by this testimony, because I know you must realize the seriousness of testifying regarding matters of this character as to which there appears to be conflicting testimony. I think you understand, of course, the seriousness of an oath.

I would like to read the following excerpts from the testimony of Kenneth McConnell, taken in an executive session on April 20, 1950, with Mr. Wood, chairman of the committee, constituting the subcommittee:

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. McCONNELL. Kenneth McConnell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever used any other name?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was that other name?

Mr. McCONNELL. Kenneth Malcomb.

* * * * *

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

Mr. McCONNELL. I have.

Mr. RUSSELL. For how many years?

Mr. McCONNELL. I was a member of the Communist Party from the spring of 1935 until midsummer of 1939.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are not now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I am not now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever held any official positions in the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. Clarify the request.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you ever served as an organizer in the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I have.

Mr. RUSSELL. In what localities?

Mr. McCONNELL. Knoxville; Chapel Hill; Chattanooga; and Norfolk.

* * * * *

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Merwin Todd or Pat Todd to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I do.

Mr. APPELL. Was Merwin Todd an organizer for the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. He was.

* * * * *

Mr. APPELL. Another person who has been identified as connected with the organization known as Workers Education in Knoxville, Tenn., is William Remington. I show you two photographs and ask if you can identify the individual shown in these photographs as a person you knew in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. McCONNELL. Just a moment, Miss [speaking to court reporter].

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. McCONNELL. I can.

Mr. APPELL. That individual you knew as William Remington?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. I will ask you now if you, as an organizer for the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn., knew William Remington to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. I did.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever see William Remington's Communist Party card?

Mr. McCONNELL. To my knowledge I cannot answer that other than by saying "No."

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever discuss with William Remington the operations or actions which he should take as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. That is a leading question, and I can answer it in this wise, if this will satisfy you. I found it necessary, in the course of my operations in Knoxville, to call Remington's attention to the fact that his demeanor and behavior was uncommunistic; that is to say, that he did not conduct himself as befitted a member of the party, mainly because, at that time, of the rough manner in which he dressed.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WOOD. I understood from your statement a while ago that you did discuss with Remington Communist Party discipline and Communist Party activities.

Mr. McCONNELL. That is right. This is a psychic thing. Only a psychoanalyst can go into this for you. I will give you the facts.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you spoke to Mr. Remington about his manner of dressing, did you speak to him from your own personal observation or from complaints by other members of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCONNELL. Nobody had to make any complaints to me. I found him unkept. I am talking about the time when I was a convinced Communist, and if I was a convinced Communist then I am speaking out of my own mind.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McConnell, in addition to this conversation with Remington, did you ever attend any meetings of the Communist Party, meetings restricted solely to members of the Communist Party, at which meetings William Remington was present?

Mr. McCONNELL. I can only answer that question equivocally. I only remember one meeting of the Communist Party, at which I was the copresider, when Remington was present, and this may have been what is known in the parlance of the party as a fraction meeting, which would be a small number of party members meeting from a trade-union group, the purpose of the meeting being to discuss Communist Party tactics, discuss and decide upon direct courses of action for the members of the party in that particular trade-union group. This was shortly after I went to Knoxville from Chapel Hill.

* * * * *

Mr. APPELL. He returned to Dartmouth after being at Knoxville 1 year. Was his return to Dartmouth ever a question discussed within the party?

Mr. McCONNELL. Yes, this question was discussed in the party, and it was pointed out to him by party members that the Communist Party needed educated people as well as workers. This was one of the arguments used to induce him to return to college.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know who instructed or advised Remington to take this course of action?

Mr. McCONNELL. Nobody could so instruct him, because at that time he was under the minimum discipline of the party, but he could be advised, and it

would be a collective advice, mine, Todd's, Winston's, and whoever else might have been present at the meeting.

Mr. APPELL. You say Winston?

Mr. McCONNELL. I mean Mrs. Todd.

* * * * *

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you recall the circumstances under which you first met William Remington?

Mr. McCONNELL. I met him with Pat Todd at their joint rooming house.

Mr. Remington, having heard that testimony, I ask you again: Were you at any time a member of the Communist Party while you were working for the TVA or while you were in Knoxville, Tenn., between September 1936 and July or August of 1937?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I was engaged, as I have told you, in an extensive range of activities of the union there. I have since been told, partly through the testimony of Mr. Hart and Mrs. Williams, that there was a Communist group organized as such after I left Knoxville. It has been implied to me that there was a Communist group functioning when I was in Knoxville, by Government investigators. Certainly what you have just read would point in that direction, taking it at face value.

It has been implied to me that some of the people with whom I worked most closely, people who were among my closest friends, were Communists. I was not. I can understand that if there were secret Communists engaged in the activities in which I was engaged as the kid member of the party, kid member of the group, kid member of the parties working in the union's organization there, that they might have considered me as one of their own secret clique because I was associated with them or with others whom they knew to be members of their secret clique.

Mr. WOOD. The question asked you was very simple, whether or not during that period of time you were a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. REMINGTON. I said "No."

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

Mr. REMINGTON. There are a great many things which are obviously wrong about what you have just read. In the first place, when I left Dartmouth it was with a firm plan to return. During the early spring of 1937, or during the middle spring, that intention is proved by the fact that I went to talk with the dean of Dartmouth College, who was making a trip through the South, to complete my arrangements for returning to college. The notion that anyone discussed whether I should go back or not, and advised me to go back, is not borne out by the simple facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you state that you were not advised by any of the persons mentioned, that is, Mr. Kenneth Malcolm, Betty Todd, or Pat Todd, to go back to college because the Communist Party needed educated personnel as well as workers?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was not so advised, because my own plans and intentions had been firm from the outset, which is borne out by my talk with the dean.

Mr. WOOD. Just answer the question. You say you were not so advised?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was not so advised.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend the Communist Party meeting, or fraction meeting, which was referred to as having been held, at which Kenneth Malcolm was the copresider?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not recall attending any meeting at which Mr. Malcolm was present, because I don't remember Mr. Malcolm at all. I attended a great many meetings held at TVA.

Mr. TAVENNER. When I asked in regard to Kenneth Malcolm, Kenneth Malcolm is the same person as Kenneth Malcomb, and the same person as Kenneth McConnell.

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't know him under any of those names or any other name.

Mr. WALTER. What evidence is there to show that that was a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. TAVENNER. The statement by the witness said that it was a fraction meeting, which is the technical term used in describing a Communist Party meeting, and it was in response to a question in regard to Communist Party meetings restricted solely to members of the Communist Party.

Mr. RAUH. I would like to have the whole question and answer read, because I think Congressman Walter's question was well put. There was mention in there about trade-unionism. I would like to have the whole thing read.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will be glad to read it:

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McConnell, in addition to this conversation with Remington, did you ever attend any meetings of the Communist Party, meetings restricted solely to members of the Communist Party, at which meetings William Remington was present?

Mr. MCCONNELL. I can only answer that question equivocally. I only remember one meeting of the Communist Party, at which I was the copresider, when Remington was present, and this may have been what is known in the parlance of the party as a fraction meeting, which would be a small number of party members meeting from a trade-union group, the purpose of the meeting being to discuss Communist Party tactics, discuss and decide upon direct courses of action for the members of the party in that particular trade-union group. This was shortly after I went to Knoxville from Chapel Hill.

Mr. REMINGTON. That would mean that the discussion was about trade-union problems exclusively.

Mr. WOOD. That, of course, is your conclusion. Do you know anything about that meeting, whether it was for that purpose or not?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. Absolutely not.

Mr. WOOD. Then you are merely presuming. Let us stick to the facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire also to read excerpts from the testimony of Howard Allen Bridgman, taken in executive session on April 29, 1950, before a subcommittee composed of Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Morgan M. Moulder, and Bernard W. Kearney:

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bridgman, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I have; yes, sir.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you resign or sever your connections with the Communist Party in 1939?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I did, sir. I severed my connections at the outbreak of the Second World War.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee the circumstances under which you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I was approached by an organizer for the Communist Party in the city of Knoxville, Tenn., in the late fall of 1936. He urged me to join, and I did join that party in December of that year. The manner of joining was very informal. I was asked, I accepted, and then I started to attend party meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the party organizer who solicited your membership?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He was known to me as Pat Todd.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Going back to the time that you first became a member of the Communist Party at the time you were recruited by Pat Todd, how were you employed?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. How I was employed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. How were you employed at the time you were recruited by Pat Todd?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. At the time that I was recruited into the Communist Party I was an employee of the Tennessee Valley Authority. At that time I was becoming a file clerk within that organization, having just been a messenger. I remained as a file clerk during the rest of my employment with the Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you assigned to a cell or branch of the party when you united with it?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. I was assigned to what I understood was the local branch, Knoxville branch, of the Communist Party.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you then attend Communist Party meetings as a member of that branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the other members of that branch?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. The other members of that branch whose names I recall were: William Walter Remington; Pat Todd—

Mr. WOOD. When you speak of Pat Todd, do you refer to Merwin Todd?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do. A girl known to me as Betty Malcolm; Mabel Abercrombie; Muriel Speare, later Muriel Borah, later Muriel Williams.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. You have named five individuals. Can you recall others?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. There were two brothers, named Francis and David Martin, one of whom, I believe, was a member of this branch, although I am not positive.

Mr. MOULDER. As to which one, you mean?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. As to which one or as to whether he was a member.

Mr. MOULDER. Both?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Both.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any other persons?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I recall the name of Laurent Frantz. That is all I can immediately recall.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how these various persons were employed at that time? Were they all employed by the same employer? If they were not, I will ask you about each one individually.

Mr. BRIDGMAN. It is my recollection, with the exception of Laurent Frantz and one of the Martin boys, the persons whom I have just mentioned were all employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the name of Henry Hart?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir; I do. Henry Hart was a member of this branch and was an employee of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is a list of seven persons, four of whom are men and three of whom, I believe, are women. The first person you mentioned was William Remington. When did you first meet William Remington?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I met William Remington first in the fall of 1937, when he had come to be an employee of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. Bridgman later corrected that date, Mr. Chairman, to the fall of 1936, in these words:

I believe I said he came to Knoxville in 1937. I should like to state that William Remington came to Knoxville to work for the Tennessee Valley Authority in the fall of 1936.

Further questions and answers:

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his employment with the Tennessee Valley Authority, do you recall?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He was employed as a messenger.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn to know him before you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he ever speak to you on Communist Party matters before you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall that he did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you state to this committee whether Remington, to your knowledge, was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. William Remington was a member of the Communist Party and attended branch meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many meetings did you attend at which he was present?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the exact number. I should estimate five or six.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he hold any position of any character within the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Not to my recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee any Communist activity on the part of Remington which would further identify his membership in the party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall any specific party activity that he did outside of the branch meetings; that is, specific activity for the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part did he play in the holding of branch Communist Party meetings?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. He took an active part in the holding of the branch meetings. I do not recall anything that he said, but I remember his manner of speaking, which was forceful, and with head bowed and with hands this way [indicating], out front.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. These five or six meetings which you stated you attended at which Remington was present, will you state where those meetings were held and identify the time as nearly as you can?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. These meetings to which I refer were held at the home of Betty Malcolm in the evening.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was her home located?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Her home was located in the area of the city just north of the campus of the University of Tennessee. I believe it was on either Highland Avenue or Laurel Avenue.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Betty Malcolm's husband?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I know him slightly. As I recall his name, it was Kenneth Malcomb.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party, although he was not a member of this branch.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything else you can recall relating to William Remington's activity as a member of the Communist Party, or any incident, which would be further proof of his Communist Party membership?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. Yes, sir. I recall one incident in which he was explaining some point and the organizer for the Communist Party for the State, Ted Wellman, said to him words to this effect: "Bill, you are being too intellectual about this."

Further questions and answers:

Mr. KEARNEY. Over how long a period did you know William Remington?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I knew William Remington from the fall of 1936 until late spring or summer of 1937. I met him twice subsequently, the time I spoke of in 1942-43, and also I ran into him in New York when I was in New York in 1938.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know of your own knowledge whether Remington was a member of the Communist Party in 1942?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. At that time, when I indicated to him that I had changed my views, I have a general impression that he reciprocated in the same way.

Mr. KEARNEY. But there isn't any question of a doubt, insofar as William Remington is concerned, that this is the same Remington I called your attention to a few minutes ago as being an employee in the Department of Commerce of the United States Government, and that he was a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn., when you were a member there, and you attended Communist Party meetings with him and knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. There is no doubt in my mind that he was a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time that you saw William Walter Remington?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I last saw William Walter Remington during the late fall and winter of 1942-43 in Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at that time have any discussion with him on the subject of communism, or make any reference to Communist Party membership?

Mr. BRIDGMAN. I do not recall the language used, but in walking down a corridor I indicated to him that I had changed by views, and my impression is that he reciprocated the same feeling.

(Representative Velde leaves hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Remington, you have heard this testimony?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to ask you again, in the light of this testimony: Were you a member of the Communist Party or in any way affiliated with it while you were in Knoxville, Tenn., from September 1936 to July or August 1937?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was not. My views at that time would have made that utterly impossible, just as my views before that time and since that time make it utterly impossible. I have never had any attitude by abhorrence and even hatred toward the idea of dictatorship. I have never believed in the use of any kind of force and violence to accomplish any kind of political revolution. I have never knowingly subjected myself to any kind of Communist Party discipline. It is impossible for me ever to have been a Communist. I was a very active labor unionist. I met Bridgman in connection with these labor-union activities. If he was a secret Communist, if there were other secret Communists in that group of active labor unionists, he might have assumed from my association with the gang that I, too, was one of his ilk. I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the light of this testimony I will again ask you the question: Did you attend any Communist Party meetings at the home of Betty Malcolm or any other person while you were in Knoxville, Tenn.?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; and I want to point out something which I am sure is readily verifiable, that Betty Malcolm was not in the group of friends that I had in Tennessee. I know that she arrived there. I know from talking with her afterward that she arrived there in the summer of 1937. I know from hearings before congressional committees or from an article from the Knoxville Journal which I read 2 days ago, that this Betty Malcolm arrived in Knoxville in the summer of 1937, not at the time that Bridgman describes. I have not said categorically that I did not meet her in Knoxville, because there is that possibility. I can say categorically that I did not attend meetings in her place, over a period of time, especially, because she wasn't there.

Mr. TAVENNER. The chairman probably recalls that both Pat Todd and Betty Todd refused to testify when brought before the committee.

Mr. WOOD. On the ground that their testimony might incriminate them.

Mr. REMINGTON. On the other hand, there has been testimony about when the Malcolms arrived in Knoxville. I don't exclude the possibility that they arrived before I left. Apparently, though, it is impossible for us to have overlapped in Knoxville very much, if, indeed, we overlapped at all.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. We do have other questions.

Mr. REMINGTON. Before we close, may I read a brief statement?

Mr. WOOD. We will meet again tomorrow.

Mr. REMINGTON. You stated I could read it at the end of the session today.

Mr. WOOD. At the close of your testimony.

Mr. REMINGTON. I am very sorry you are denying me that privilege.

Mr. WOOD. The custom of the committee is for statements of this kind to be read at the conclusion of the witness' testimony. How long will it take?

Mr. REMINGTON. About 3 minutes.

Mr. WOOD. All right, go ahead.

Mr. REMINGTON. First I would like to read the affidavit of President Ernest Martin Hopkins of Dartmouth College, who knew me before I went to Tennessee and after I came back, and knew me very well:

I believe him [myself] to be a man of high integrity, as I know him to be highly capable intellectually. I believe him to be deeply devoted to democratic principles and practices—

Mr. WOOD. Just a moment, Mr. Remington. You are not on trial here. I thought you wanted to make a statement of your own, not what somebody else said.

Mr. REMINGTON. I thought you might be interested in what is known about me by people who knew me far better than some of those who were quoted here today.

Mr. WOOD. There is no suggestion here that the president of Dartmouth College was connected with communism in any sense, so he could not know if you were or not.

Mr. REMINGTON. He knew me quite well.

Mr. WOOD. His statement would be hearsay. I will be glad to give you an opportunity to read your own statement.

Mr. REMINGTON. When the Loyalty Review Board cleared me some 15 months ago, I had hoped that my beliefs in the democratic way of life would never again be challenged. I had particularly dared to entertain this hope because the Loyalty Review Board which confirmed my loyalty after a most thorough investigation and hearing consisted of three eminent Americans, all completely devoted to the democratic principles upon which our Nation was founded. That Board, as the committee may know, consisted of Seth W. Richardson, Assistant Attorney General under former President Hoover; Harry Colmery, past commander of the American Legion; and George Alger, distinguished Republican lawyer of New York City.

I was further encouraged in the hope that my loyalty had been established beyond further question by the settlement—for a substantial

sum—of a libel suit which I had brought when my loyalty was impugned in public.

I find now that the question of my loyalty is to be reopened once again. I cannot but feel that this is unjust. The right to be free from continued harassment is fundamental under our laws. In my case it is not merely double jeopardy; it is triple jeopardy.

Yet, I have no hesitancy in reaffirming before this committee, as I have done today, the statement that I have made over and over again—I am not now, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. And when I say “never,” I mean never, whether at the age of 3 or 18 or 32, which I am today.

It is my understanding that this committee is chiefly interested in the 9-month period when I served as a messenger with the Tennessee Valley Authority at the age of 18 or 19, and that is borne out by the questioning today. I repeat again I was not then or at any other time a member of the Communist Party.

I didn't know the sources of the information which prompted your committee to ask for the reopening of my loyalty case before the questioning this afternoon. But I am willing to state unequivocally and for the third time, that any person who charges that I was a Communist during the period of my employment with TVA or at any other time is either quite ignorant of the facts of 13 years ago or is, I regret to say, engaged in deliberate falsehood.

The winter and spring of 1936-37 was still the period of widespread depression. I was certainly not unique in my concern about this problem and in sensing that the ravages of depression and unemployment would weaken the moral and economic fabric of this great country.

I saw in TVA a great hope for rehabilitating idle resources and idle human beings. I saw labor unions as a means by which the underprivileged and unemployed could help to work out their salvation. I regarded WPA as a major factor in this effort to make this Nation whole and healthy again.

I do not think my reactions were peculiar. They were shared by thousands if not millions of young people my age. I was eager and enthusiastic about the work that was going on in the Tennessee Valley and incidentally I saved \$300 there to help me with my next year at college.

During my 9 months at TVA I joined the Government Employees Union of the American Federation of Labor, called the AFGE. It was the center of extra curricular and social activities. I understand now, from questioning by Government agencies and questioning by this committee that some with whom I worked there were not as idealistic as I was, and that some of them may have actually been Communists and fellow travelers. Perhaps I can assume that. I certainly didn't know it then.

I do not regret that I went down to TVA. I learned a lot of things in that period. It deepened the intensity of my belief in freedom, the Bill of Rights, and in democratic government.

I have answered unreservedly every question put to me by the FBI, by the loyalty boards, by the newspapers, and by everyone else, including this committee. I am prepared to keep on answering them. I ask only that some day soon, when at long last I have answered all the questions that could possibly be put to me, that my loyalty may

again be treated like that of other Americans and that I may be left in peace and dignity to work for the welfare of this great country.

I would like to have the opportunity to present to you the evidence concerning my beliefs and activities by men who know me better than any other people knew me, probably, the President at Dartmouth College, the dean at Dartmouth College, and others. With your permission, sir, I would like to proceed with that.

Mr. WOOD. I don't want to take the committee's time now, but we will be glad to have you submit your information from other sources.

Mr. RAUH. I would like to file a copy of the entire brief filed before the Loyalty Board which cleared Mr. Remington, which contains the testimony of prominent people who knew Mr. Remington throughout his life, including the TVA period, and shows he was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you also have a copy of the finding of the agency which was overruled by the Loyalty Review Board?

Mr. RAUH. You will have to get that from the Loyalty Review Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think, if part of the record is going to be produced here, it should all be produced.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any objection to receiving this document for reference?

There being no objection, it will be received.

The committee will stand at recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 4:45 p. m. on Thursday, May 4, 1950, a recess was taken until Friday, May 5, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1950

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:30 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, Harold H. Velde (arriving as indicated), and Bernard W. Kearney (arriving as indicated).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, William A. Wheeler, Courtney Owens, and William Jackson Jones, investigators; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

For the purposes of the hearing this morning the chairman has designated a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Walter, Harrison, and Wood. All are present. You may proceed.

Mr. RAUH (Joseph L., Jr.). Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Yes?

Mr. RAUH. At this time I would like to ask the committee that we be allowed to examine at this time a copy of the complete transcript of the testimony of McConnell or Malcolm or Malcomb and of Bridgman, from which Mr. Tavenner read yesterday.

The committee must realize how difficult it is for anyone to meet an oral charge that one was a Communist at the age of 18 or 19 some 13 years ago. We should certainly have an opportunity to see exactly what the witnesses said so that we can answer and endeavor to point out aspects of their testimony which would show, as we are sure, that they are either mistaken or that their recollection is faulty or that for some other reason they are not telling the truth.

It is bad enough to read into the record the testimony of two men who were not subject to cross-examination. It is bad enough to read only a part of what they said. But it would compound the unfairness to refuse us the right now to examine the entire testimony.

We respectfully urge, in the interest of elemental fairness and justice, that we be allowed to examine the two transcripts at this time.

Mr. WOOD. As the chairman understands, the pertinent portions of

the testimony given by the witnesses whose names have been indicated by counsel have been read to the witness. The entire testimony has not been made public. It was taken in executive session. The chairman cannot appreciate how what somebody else may have said about this witness can possibly have any effect on the truthfulness of what he may testify, and for that reason the request will be denied at this time.

Mr. RAUH. I am not asking for what other people said about this witness. I am asking for the complete transcript of the testimony that was read, in order to answer it. Only a part was read. It is unfair.

Mr. WOOD. You mean, if he reads that testimony, he may want to change his own?

Mr. RAUH. On the contrary, if we could read it, we could show that it is faulty or false. Only a part was read. We want to see all of it. (Representative Kearney enters hearing room.)

Mr. WOOD. May I remind you this investigation is not for argumentative purposes, but in an effort to elicit the truth, and that is all we want this witness to testify to.

Mr. RAUH. That is all he has testified to.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

I will also include Mr. Kearney in the subcommittee; and, in order that the record may be kept straight, will you stand and be sworn again, please. You solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM W. REMINGTON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Remington, do you know Paul Crouch?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph, purportedly the photograph of Paul Crouch, and ask you if you can identify that person as a person heretofore known by you?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, yesterday we presented an application for post-office box made by Horace Bryan, in which the residence address was given as 933 North Broadway, Knoxville, Tenn., and as a result of which there was assigned to that individual box No. 1692.

I desire to introduce into the record at this time an application for post-office box bearing date December 5, 1939, by Paul Crouch, giving as references Francis Martin and William Haney, and the address of Francis Martin, and possibly of William Haney, is shown as post-office box 1692. In other words, the address given by Mr. Francis Martin, a reference cited in the application, was post-office box 1692.

Mr. WOOD. The same as the box assigned to Mr. Bryan?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I desire to introduce this application in the record, and ask that it be marked "Remington Exhibit No. 5."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection, let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Remington Exhibit No. 5," is filed herewith.)

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Remington, according to the committee's information, the date of your severance from TVA was April 30, 1937. Is that correct?

MR. REMINGTON. The date which was given to me on a personnel record which I requested in connection with calculating my Federal Government retirement a few months ago was, I believe, May 17, 1937.

MR. TAVENNER. When did you actually sever your connections?

MR. REMINGTON. I indicated that I probably had some annual leave, and consequently I actually carried mail on some day prior to May 17, which I understand to be the official date of my resignation from the TVA.

MR. TAVENNER. When did you enter the fall term of school at Dartmouth, what time?

MR. REMINGTON. In September 1937.

MR. TAVENNER. What time in September?

MR. REMINGTON. Approximately the middle of September.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what your activities were and where you were between the 17th day of May 1937 and the middle of September 1937?

MR. REMINGTON. When I left the TVA, I became a teacher for the Workers Education Committee, which had been established by the A. F. of L. union at the TVA, as I testified yesterday. My employment with that committee was sporadic. I got paid expenses and an hourly rate for the time which I worked. During that period of a few weeks between my resignation from the TVA and my return to New Jersey to spend the summer with my parents about the last week of June, I spent a great deal of time learning about the TVA. One of my purposes in resigning from the TVA at that time was to learn more about the Authority than I had been able to learn in Knoxville. I traveled extensively through the valley on recreation, learning about TVA. I visited Norris Dam; I visited Hiawassee Dam; I visited Chickamauga Dam; and I visited some of the agricultural industries which were being established by the TVA.

MR. TAVENNER. When was it you traveled through the Tennessee Valley for those purposes?

MR. REMINGTON. During those few weeks which elapsed following my resignation from TVA in the middle of May and the last week of June, when I returned North. Also during that time, in addition to this traveling around, and in addition to my sporadic teaching for this committee, I spent time working with the Textile Workers Union. I received expense money for gasoline and for meals through that organization. I distributed leaflets—Textile Workers Union leaflets—at a few factories in the vicinity where the Textile Workers organizers were working.

That completes the list of my activities during that period—the labor unions, the Workers Education Committee, and recreation combined with learning about the Authority by visiting those various installations.

MR. TAVENNER. You stated you returned to your home. Your wife's home, did you say?

MR. REMINGTON. No; my parents' home. I was 19 years old at the time and returning to my junior year at college.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you return to Knoxville, Tenn., again before entering college again in the fall of 1937?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did not; not after I left about the last week of June 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of traveling to Norris Dam and various other places. What was your means of transportation?

Mr. REMINGTON. I had a motorcycle on which I rode.

Mr. TAVENNER. What disposition did you make of the motorcycle?

Mr. REMINGTON. When I left the TVA, I sold the motorcycle which I owned—it was an Indian 75—to Mr. Todd, who had a Harley-Davidson 45, in return for his Harley-Davidson. It was an exchange. Then I sold that Harley-Davidson to Mr. Horace Bryan, with the understanding that I was to receive money for that. In other words, I sold my motorcycle. Mr. Bryan was to pay me for the motorcycle, and in effect Mr. Todd and Mr. Bryan exchanged, so that Mr. Bryan was driving the Harley-Davidson and Mr. Todd took the Indian.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did that transaction take place?

Mr. REMINGTON. That took place as I was leaving Knoxville, within a day or two prior to my departure. I would like to amend that. It might have been several days prior to my departure, but I think it was just as I was leaving.

Mr. TAVENNER. At any rate, it was during the week of your departure?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. This is well documented by my letters and discussions with the Internal Revenue Bureau in later years, because Mr. Bryan never paid me for that motorcycle in any way, and so I had to take it as a bad-debt deduction, finally.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first become employed by the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. In February of 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you remained in the employment of the War Production Board until what date?

Mr. REMINGTON. My last day of duty was, I believe, March 31 of 1944, when I left to enter a Navy school.

(Representative Velde enters hearing room.)

Mr. REMINGTON (continuing). My annual leave carried me, I believe, up until June of 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of your employment with the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was, during 1942 and during the first part of 1943, a member of the staff of the so-called planning committee of the War Production Board. I then went to the Orders and Regulations Bureau, where I was an assistant to the director of that Bureau.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the title of that division or branch?

Mr. REMINGTON. The Orders and Regulations Bureau.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the general function of the planning committee or commission of the War Production Board of which you were a staff member?

Mr. REMINGTON. The general function of that committee was to propose ways and means of stepping up the war-production program to reach a reasonable maximum war effort in the production field.

Mr. TAVENNER. And who was your immediate superior while you served on that planning committee, and what was his title?

Mr. REMINGTON. My formal superior was Mr. Edward Dickinson, the director of the staff. I think his title was Director of the Plan-

ning Committee. I was assigned for some purposes to a unit headed by Mr. Thomas Wilson.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of that assignment?

Mr. REMINGTON. I worked on raw-materials control and production scheduling during almost all of my time with the planning committee, and Mr. Wilson was responsible for that type of work in the planning committee staff.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was Mr. Wilson's title; do you recall?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am sorry. I don't recall the name of the section or unit or division which he headed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall his full name, or his first name?

Mr. REMINGTON. Tom Wilson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you engaged in that particular assignment during the entire time you were with the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I have said that I transferred to the Orders and Regulations Bureau.

Mr. TAVENNER. But from February 1942 until the middle of 1943, when you were transferred to the Orders and Regulations Bureau, you worked under Mr. Tom Wilson?

Mr. REMINGTON. For the most part, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us what was the character of your duties while engaged in that particular work under Mr. Tom Wilson.

Mr. REMINGTON. I prepared a plan—I should say I assisted in the preparation of a plan—for raw-materials control.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain to the committee what you mean by raw-materials control?

Mr. REMINGTON. During the war raw materials were scarce. There were requirements for most raw materials which, in the aggregate, exceeded supply. It was the responsibility of the War Production Board to find ways and means of getting materials to the factories for the purposes which the military agencies considered important, and which the Civilian Requirements Division considered important to maintain essential civilian services. I worked on ways and means of getting the materials to the place they were needed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that committee likewise make recommendations or enter into the planning of what materials should be controlled?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. There was another committee to do that. I imagine the Planning Committee, being in very close touch with the other parts of the War Production Board, were not uninformed about the problem that you raised. However, I never attended a meeting of the Planning Committee. I do know there was another committee with the responsibility which you have just described.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was necessary, however, to carry out the functions of the committee with regard to raw materials acting under Mr. Tom Wilson, for it to have knowledge and be informed of what raw materials were under control?

Mr. REMINGTON. I certainly knew what raw materials were under control.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had to deal with those subjects daily, I assume?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. So did every businessman who wanted to produce anything, anything at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. That control was extended, was it not, to all sorts of raw materials which were used in the manufacture and production of such weapons as airplanes?

MR. REMINGTON. The controls which I worked on and helped to plan were limited to a few materials.

MR. TAVENNER. Materials that were used in what fields, for instance?

MR. REMINGTON. Materials that were used in everything from dishpans to razor blades to the eyelets in your shoes, and including military products, of course.

MR. TAVENNER. And also including airplane production?

MR. REMINGTON. Of course.

MR. TAVENNER. Was that group ever consulted or have anything to do with the licensing of any materials which were under control for export to foreign countries?

MR. REMINGTON. No. I know of no such consultation or activity.

MR. TAVENNER. A person in the position which you occupied with that particular group, working on raw materials, was in position to have special knowledge regarding control of materials. That is true, isn't it?

MR. REMINGTON. I had knowledge of the control techniques. I helped to write them.

MR. TAVENNER. As well as the particular identity of the items under control?

MR. REMINGTON. If I knew which materials were under control, I knew their particular identity. They were steel, copper, and aluminum. I certainly knew their identity. I know that steel is used in a variety of products. I did not know, I had no connection with, the problem of deciding how much steel to put into individual end products. That was handled by the so-called Requirements Committee and Program Adjustment Committee, for which I did not work.

MR. TAVENNER. If I understand your testimony correctly, your job was to see that those materials got to the defense plants where the controlled materials were used?

MR. REMINGTON. The Materials Branches had the responsibility for getting the materials, getting them produced, getting them flowing. I worked as a technician on control techniques, scheduling techniques.

MR. TAVENNER. What information did you have in 1943 regarding the existence of the Manhattan project?

MR. REMINGTON. In 1943 I believe I knew nothing about the Manhattan project. Early in 1944 I knew that a Manhattan project existed. I knew that the priorities issued for the Manhattan project were overriding priorities. They gave us certain problems with respect to our priorities regulations which the Orders and Regulations Bureau enforced, or rather wrote and reviewed. I also knew that these overriding priorities were giving particular problems in the field of certain components which were used in the high octane gasoline program. I drew the inference from that—an inference which I never mentioned to anyone, not even my associates, that I recall—I drew the inference that the Manhattan project was a project dealing with high octane gasoline.

MR. TAVENNER. These overriding priorities to which you refer as related to the Manhattan project, did they designate the Manhattan project in any manner? How did you know they related to the Manhattan project?

Mr. REMINGTON. As I recall it, we had an inquiry or two or three about overriding priorities for some components which took those components away from some use which would have been appropriate under the priorities regulations, particularly what was known as Priorities Regulation 1, and awarded them to a destination known as the Manhattan project. I assumed it was an installation in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall some of the materials which were given an overriding priority for the use of the Manhattan project, for instance?

Mr. REMINGTON. I recall that these priorities affected certain components, certain fabricated items, which are used in refineries.

Mr. TAVENNER. A person occupying the position you occupied at that time would have the same general information and knowledge regarding airplane production and military and naval weapons generally, would he not?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am not sure what you mean by the same knowledge. If you mean that I knew airplanes required certain components like landing gear and engines; yes, I knew that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course that is quite obvious, but I meant, a person working with the group to which you were assigned, in dealing with raw materials, would necessarily have knowledge of overriding priorities of raw materials destined to go into the production of airplanes and weapons, on the same principle that you have given us as to your knowledge of such materials destined to go to the Manhattan engineering project?

Mr. REMINGTON. May I answer your question, sir, by telling you briefly how the priority system worked and what I did about it?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would be very glad for you to do that, but would you answer the question, please?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would appreciate your restating the question, please, because as it was asked there is no answer that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will try to reframe it. You have told us that a person working in the capacity in which you were working would have occasion to know of the overriding priorities which came down to that committee directing the use of certain raw materials by the Manhattan engineering project. Now I am asking you if a person working in that capacity wouldn't have the same knowledge, or the same means of knowing, about overriding priorities regarding materials which were expected to go into the manufacture of arms, ammunition, and airplanes?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I am going to speak in precise technical terms as used by the War Production Board. I had no knowledge of overriding priorities coming down to the committee from the Manhattan project. As far as I know, there were no overriding priorities that came down to any committee I had anything to do with. Does that answer the question directly, sir, or would you like me to describe what happened?

Mr. WOOD. The committee will have to suspend for 20 minutes so that the members may have an opportunity to answer the roll call. We will then resume the hearing at a quarter to 12.

In the meantime, sir (addressing Mr. Rauh), in view of your request, and in order that we may not break into the time of the testimony, while the committee is in recess I will direct the counsel to make available to you the testimony you requested, so that you may have an opportunity to look at it in the hearing room.

Mr. WALTER. That is the testimony of Bridgman and McConnell?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. RAUH. Thank you.

(Short recess.)

(The hearing is resumed at 11:45 a. m., Messrs. Wood, Walter, and Harrison being present.)

Mr. WOOD. The subcommittee will be in order.

Mr. RAUH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say one thing. Even a cursory glance at these two transcripts in the 20 minutes I have had shows gaps and holes you could drive a truck through. I would like to keep these for the remainder of the day, working in your office and under your control. I am convinced that these documents carry the seeds of their own destruction.

Mr. WOOD. The committee is not interested in argument.

Mr. RAUH. May I keep them?

Mr. WOOD. You may continue to examine them, when we are through with this hearing, for any time you desire, in the committee room.

Mr. RAUH. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will the reporter read the answer to the last question, please?

(The answer referred to was read by the reporter, as follows:)

Sir, I am going to speak in precise technical terms as used by the War Production Board. I had no knowledge of overriding priorities coming down to the committee from the Manhattan project. As far as I know, there were no overriding priorities that came down to any committee I had anything to do with. Does that answer the question directly, sir, or would you like me to describe what happened?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Remington, I have had written the answer to the first question asked you along this line, which I think makes plain what I was attempting to inquire about:

Question. What information did you have in 1943 regarding the existence of the Manhattan project?

Mr. REMINGTON. In 1943 I believe I knew nothing about the Manhattan project. Early in 1944 I knew that a Manhattan project existed. I knew that the priorities issued for the Manhattan project were overriding priorities. They gave us certain problems with respect to our priorities regulations which the Orders and Regulations Bureau enforced, or rather wrote and reviewed. I also knew that these overriding priorities were giving particular problems in the field of certain components which were used in the high-octane gasoline program. I drew the inference from that—an inference which I never mentioned to anyone, not even my associates, that I recall—I drew the inference that the Manhattan project was a project dealing with high-octane gasoline.

And the further question:

These overriding priorities to which you refer as related to the Manhattan project, did they designate the Manhattan project in any manner? How did you know they related to the Manhattan project?

Mr. REMINGTON. As I recall it, we had an inquiry or two or three about overriding priorities for some components which took those components away from some use which would have been appropriate under the priorities regulations, particularly what was known as Priorities Regulation 1, and awarded them to a destination known as the Manhattan project. I assumed it was an installation in New York.

Does that not mean that you did have knowledge, and there did come to your attention overriding priorities relating to raw materials with which you were dealing?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you had that knowledge and acquired such information in regard to a matter as secret as the Manhattan engineering project, you had it also in the fields of defense weapons generally and airplanes, did you not?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir. I knew that priorities were issued for many military uses; that these priorities were served on manufacturers, who made the shipments in accordance with priorities.

Mr. TAVENNER. And having that information, you were acquainted with the general volume of raw materials which were being diverted to these particular enterprises, were you not?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did not know the volume of raw materials which were given to, allocated to, the specific end products in any fashion except what I read generally about the war production program. I was not in the part of the war production program which divided up the materials as between one use and another.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you only knew about the general uses to which those raw materials were being diverted?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; and I also would add that I was a specialist on the control techniques, the priorities regulations, and other public orders of the War Production Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you continue to function with that Committee, acting under Mr. Tom Wilson, until 1944, when you withdrew from the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I believe Mr. Wilson left the War Production Board when the Planning Committee was in process of termination in 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. I can understand your answer in view of the language of my question, but I meant, did you continue to engage in that same work during your entire employment with the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. I moved from the Planning Committee to the Orders and Regulations Bureau in 1943, but in both jobs I was specializing in these control techniques and procedures.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the general nature of your duties after you were transferred to the Orders and Regulations Bureau?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was a general assistant to the Director of the Bureau. In that capacity I was partly responsible, largely responsible, I should say, for the supervision of the staff economists. The nature of our work was to circulate proposed orders and regulations to the interested agencies, to review their comments, to decide what changes would be necessary before approval of a proposed order or regulation or change in order or regulation, and to decide whether or not the order or regulation should be issued as proposed, with changes, or not at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore the opportunities for knowledge of the workings of the War Production Board by a person serving in that capacity were very large, were they not, with reference to how raw materials were being used in the war effort?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was well acquainted with the War Production Board, sir; yes. I knew, I believe, a great deal about the material-control procedures, the priorities regulations, and the other public orders and regulations of the War Production Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the problems that arose in the furnishing of particular raw materials for particular purposes; is that not true?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe so.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us in your earlier testimony that at the home of your mother-in-law in New York you met a person by the name of Joseph North?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first meet him?

Mr. REMINGTON. I met him at the home of my ex-mother-in-law—I want to make it clear that there is no longer any legal relationship or personal relationship or any other relationship—sometime in the winter of 1939–40, when I was living in New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet him frequently at the home of your mother-in-law?

Mr. REMINGTON. I went to the home of my mother-in-law almost every week end from New York. I believe he was in her house for anywhere from a few minutes to a few hours half of those week ends, or certainly a great many of those week ends; I couldn't say how many. He was a frequent visitor, in other words.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did he live?

Mr. REMINGTON. He lived in what had been the garage of the house of my former mother-in-law, which was perhaps 50 feet from my ex-mother-in-law's house.

Mr. TAVENNER. And on the same property?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become very well acquainted with Mr. North during the period you knew him there?

Mr. REMINGTON. I became acquainted with him as a frequent visitor, as a person with whom I had many social conversations.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not certain whether you have told us over how long a period of time you associated with Mr. North there at the property of your mother-in-law?

Mr. REMINGTON. During the academic year 1939–40, when I was at Columbia, I believe I saw him many of the week ends that I was in Croton. I was there, as I have indicated, almost every week end. In May of 1940 I accepted employment in Washington. I was in Croton perhaps once during the summer, when I may have seen him.

During the winter of 1940–41 I was in Croton on a few occasions, although I was residing in Washington. During the summer of 1941 I was in Croton at least once. During the winter of 1941–42 I believe I was in Croton once or twice.

On most of these occasions I believe that I would have seen Mr. North, because, as I indicated, he was a frequent visitor at my ex-mother-in-law's house. Both houses were in the same yard, and there was constant running back and forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you testified earlier that you knew Joseph North to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. I knew him to be editor of the New Masses, and I certainly assumed that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your conversations with him over the course of approximately 2 or 2½ years, did he argue with you or state in your presence many times views indicating to you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. I so interpreted what he said.

Mr. TAVENNER. There is no question about it, that you recognized him as a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. No question in my mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you became employed by the War Production Board, did he show any interest in your work with the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of that interest?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was interested in whether or not the administration in Washington was making a sincere and determined effort to produce war matériel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that all?

Mr. REMINGTON. That was the nature of his interest, the only nature of his interest which became apparent to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did not he desire to know, or did he desire to know, anything about the character of your work or the nature of the organization of the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. He was, as I recall, certainly interested in the nature of the organization of the War Production Board. I am sure I described to him the nature of that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean by that, how it was organized and how it functioned?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And was he also interested in the personnel of the Board, as to who they were?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he interested in learning facts relating to the personalities of different members of the Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other matters, if any, did he indicate an interest in, in regard to the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. I recall he indicated an interest in knowing whether any high-ranking member of the Board would write an article for his magazine. He did secure such an article.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you assist in any way in procuring such an article?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not arrangement was made by Mr. Joseph North to invite you to dinner to meet a friend of his?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did that occur?

Mr. REMINGTON. That occurred in the winter of 1941-42. I believe it was during the period of time when I was up in Croton (around Christmas. I could not place it more definitely than that. I know that I was in Croton for a week end early in that winter.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Mr. REMINGTON. The winter of 1941-42.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then where did you go for dinner, do you recall?

Mr. REMINGTON. I recall having lunch with Mr. North and a friend of his, to whom he introduced me, at a restaurant in midtown Manhattan. That restaurant has been identified in previous hearings, as you know.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is the name of it?

Mr. REMINGTON. It is a restaurant, Child's or Schrafft's, it slips my mind at the moment, in the vicinity of Lexington Avenue and Thirty-second Street, thereabouts, within a block or two.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the person whom you met at that dinner Jacob Golos?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. North state to you why he wanted you to meet Mr. Golos?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, he did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What statement did he make?

Mr. REMINGTON. He said that what I had been telling him about the sincerity of the administration in pushing for a high level of war production was very interesting; he thought a friend of his, a writer, would like to learn or should learn about it, perhaps.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mr. Golos was a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it or with any Communist-front organization at that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the records of the committee show that Mr. Golos is now deceased; that he was identified by Manning Johnson, in his testimony before this committee, as the head of World Tourists, which has been cited as a Communist-front organization; and that he was named in a letter by the office of the Attorney General to the District of Columbia Federal Court, asking that a special grand jury investigate his alleged misrepresentations and omissions in connection with filing registration statements with the State Department as agent of a foreign government. I have no information as to the result of that investigation, if one was conducted.

Mr. Remington, did you at any time prior to the end of 1944 learn that Mr. Golos was in any way affiliated with the Communist Party or any Communist-front organization?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; as I have testified before the Senate investigating subcommittee, as is shown by the record; and as I have testified before the loyalty boards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Golos state to you on that occasion when you met him—and was that the first time you had met him?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That he was looking for information on various things for books and articles which he proposed to write, and included among those things, facts about the organization of the war production program; facts about the progress of the war production program; production data; and matters of that kind?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he also state to you and emphasize to you that he was most strongly interested in knowing about the personalities in the war production program, their backgrounds, opinions, and attitudes?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he at that time make an appointment to meet you again?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how soon was it after that that you met him?

Mr. REMINGTON. Very soon thereafter I met him for supper.

Mr. TAVENNER. On that occasion did he bring another person with him to meet you?

Mr. REMINGTON. He did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And who was that person?

Mr. REMINGTON. Miss Helen Johnson, subsequently known to me as Elizabeth T. Bentley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he indicate to you at the time that she was working for him?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, and for others.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of the work that he told you she was doing?

Mr. REMINGTON. He said that she did miscellaneous research for writers such as himself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he reiterate the character of the information that he was interested in obtaining from you, similar to what you have testified before?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he make arrangement with you at that time that the person known to you at that time as Helen Johnson would call upon you in Washington and obtain that information from you?

Mr. REMINGTON. He made no formal arrangement. He did say that he would appreciate it if I chatted with her about this kind of problem if she called me in Washington. I had the clear impression she probably would call, but there was no formal arrangement.

Mr. TAVENNER. How soon after that was it that you saw her again?

Mr. REMINGTON. A few weeks, several weeks, after our discussion in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you meet her?

Mr. REMINGTON. In Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where in Washington?

Mr. REMINGTON. She called me on the telephone. I believe she called me at the number in the phone book, but reached me at my office. We met the first time, I believe, on the corner of Pennsylvania and Fourteenth Street for a luncheon appointment.

Mr. TAVENNER. For a luncheon appointment? Who made the appointment for lunch, you or she?

Mr. REMINGTON. She called me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she suggest lunch?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet for another purpose on that occasion?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, this was purely a social meeting between the two of you?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then when did you meet the next time? Before I ask you that question, did you furnish her with any information of any character on that occasion relating to the functioning of the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did, in the sense that we discussed the War Production Board in general terms.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you also discuss the nature of your duties and your position?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would assume so. I have no clear recollection of describing my duties.

Mr. TAVENNER. In fact, didn't you advise her of the type of work that you were in and the type of matters of which you would have knowledge?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would assume we discussed what I did in the War Production Board, of course.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the next occasion on which you met her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Several weeks after that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us about that? Where did you meet?

Mr. REMINGTON. We met at two or three different places in the course of half a dozen meetings. I do not recall precisely where we met the second time as opposed to the third or fourth, so I could not give an accurate answer to that question of where we met the second time. I do know that on more than one occasion she called up and asked me if I would be free for lunch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she ever meet you in your office, or did she ever come to your office?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not to my recollection. I don't think she did. I asked her to come over to the office on one occasion when I could not make a luncheon appointment. I believe she refused on grounds that it was too far away, or for some other reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then did you meet her on the occasion when you say she refused to come to your office?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't know if that was an occasion on which we did make an appointment or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any occasions that you are now certain of on which she called you in order to talk to you when you didn't meet her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have no recollection of that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the committee your best judgment on it?

Mr. REMINGTON. I know that during the latter part of our brief acquaintance—or our casual acquaintance, I should say, because it stretched out over a period of somewhat less than 2 years—during the latter part of that period I was increasingly skeptical of the point of trying to get across to her the things that we wanted to get into the newspapers. When one wants to get something into the newspapers one prefers to talk to reporters and analysts who obviously know what they are doing. I was becoming increasingly skeptical of Miss Bentley's professional ability, and so I was increasingly reluctant to spend the time for a purpose which it seemed would not bear fruit for the organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it seems it was you who were anxious to get in touch with her in order to get over some point for the War Production Board? Is that what you mean to tell us?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. I mean when she called me I was ready and willing to talk to her, as I would be ready and willing to discuss public information with any citizen, particularly a person who said he was working for the press.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it is not correct that the War Production Board had a point that it was trying to get over with the person you knew as Helen Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. The War Production Board had a great deal that it was trying to make clear to the public, to the press.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you representing the War Production Board in trying to make anything clear to Helen Johnson for publication? Was that your purpose?

Mr. REMINGTON. I talked to Helen Johnson believing that it was helpful from the point of view of my office in the War Production Board to put her straight on the facts about the public activities of the War Production Board, as is made clear, I believe, by the record of the Senate investigating subcommittee, and this is also made clear, of course, in the discussions before the loyalty boards.

Mr. WALTER. Did the War Production Board have a public relations section?

Mr. REMINGTON. It did, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Why didn't you refer this lady to that section, whose job it was to explain the operations of the WPB and to furnish information?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe that is best answered, sir, if I may read to you an excerpt from the affidavit of the Chairman of the Planning Committee at that time. It is one short paragraph. The Chairman of the Planning Committee was Mr. Robert R. Nathan. He said as follows, under oath, of course:

At WPB and other places I have always been willing to talk with reporters and columnists. Others associated with me tended to do likewise. I tried to use discretion in handling material so as to benefit the agency and the Government and the country. I never objected to my associates or subordinates talking with reporters, and we often discussed the value of getting accurate unclassified material into the hands of the press, always stressing the use of intelligent discretion. Many people on the Planning Commission staff had excellent press contacts and used them to the benefit of the WPB and the national interest. I saw the press representatives in and out of the office. Many were and are social acquaintances and friends.

Does that answer your question, sir?

Mr. WALTER. No, it doesn't answer my question. The thing that concerned me was this, Why you would be willing to give so much of your time to a casual acquaintance rather than have her go to the office where, if you were unable to give the information sought, somebody else could?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, you said "so much" of my time. I spent in my life, I suppose, somewhat slightly over 6 hours with Miss Bentley, meeting her half a dozen times. We might have gone over an hour occasionally. On the other hand, we ate quickly and saw each other less than an hour on other occasions.

Mr. WALTER. Didn't you feel that meeting somebody who was introduced to you by a Communist, there might have been something unusual about her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I didn't know at the time that Mr. Golos was a Communist.

Mr. WOOD. But you knew the man who introduced you to Mr. Golos was a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. I knew Mr. North was a Communist, but I knew an Assistant Vice Chairman of the War Production Board had written for Mr. North's magazine during that period.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. North introduced you to Mr. Golos, and as I understand, he told you the information Mr. Golos wanted was information he himself wanted for his writings?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, and I understood from him Miss Bentley was being used by PM.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Golos was introduced to you by Mr. North, who was known to you to be a Communist, and Mr. Golos in turn introduced you to Miss Bentley. All those facts didn't register in your mind as making Miss Bentley a bad risk to give confidential information to?

Mr. REMINGTON. They did not.

(Representative Walter leaves hearing room.)

Mr. REMINGTON (continuing). I would like to emphasize that I of course never discussed with Miss Bentley or anyone else any information that was not available to the public.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter has had to leave the room, and that reduces our membership to less than a quorum. How long will this interrogation continue?

Mr. TAVENNER. Probably an hour.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record disclose that from here on, since Mr. Walter has absented himself, that a subcommittee is being set up composed of Mr. Harrison and Mr. Wood for the purpose of further conducting this hearing, and in order to conform to legal procedure I shall have to ask you to be sworn again. You solemnly swear the evidence you give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do.

Mr. HARRISON. I think the record should show Mr. Walter left the room during the course of his last answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Remington, you read an affidavit from which I understood the affiant made the statement that some of the members of the staff had good press contacts or relationships. Did he know of your press relationship with the person known as Helen Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not know. I certainly made no secret of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you tell him?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not recall specifically discussing it with Mr. Nathan. I do recall mentioning it to one other associate, at least.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom?

Mr. REMINGTON. I recall mentioning it one day, in passing, to Mr. Wilson, as I have previously testified.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did either you or Mr. Wilson undertake to investigate the press representation of Helen Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I have never made such a check on any person who has said he was a reporter. I have talked to literally hundreds, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said you were interested in giving information that might be of some advantage to the War Production Board. What articles, over this 2-year period, did the news reporter, Helen Johnson, show you that she had written?

Mr. REMINGTON. She showed me several articles in PM which I understood were based in part upon information which she had collected.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she also show you articles from the Daily Worker?

MR. REMINGTON. She also showed me a few articles in the Daily Worker, but I did not draw the inference that they were based upon information that she had collected.

MR. TAVENNER. Then what was her purpose in exhibiting these articles from the Daily Worker to you?

MR. REMINGTON. She wanted to ask whether viewpoints expressed there, and things described there as facts were in fact true. Generally they were not.

MR. TAVENNER. And that is the limit of your knowledge of the result of these 2 years of reporting?

MR. REMINGTON. That is the limit of my knowledge concerning these half dozen brief conversations with Miss Bentley, during which I discussed with her only public information.

MR. TAVENNER. How many times did you meet her?

MR. REMINGTON. I believe it was six. She indicated a range of 10 or 15 meetings or so.

MR. TAVENNER. Ten to twenty, wasn't it?

MR. REMINGTON. Ten, fifteen or twenty. I think it was six. It could be 10, I said, but I believe it was six.

MR. TAVENNER. And all of these 10 meetings you held with a so-called representative of the press were out of your office and were on street corners and other places?

MR. REMINGTON. They were out of my office in restaurants and other places, including a street corner.

MR. TAVENNER. What were the other places?

MR. REMINGTON. I met her once at the National Art Museum, where I had made it a practice of eating lunch occasionally. I met her once near my building when she had said that she was on her way to a train. I met her there and we sat and talked briefly while she was on her way to the train, presumably.

MR. TAVENNER. When you met—did you say at an art gallery?

MR. REMINGTON. National Art Museum or National Art Gallery; I am not sure which title is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you meet on the outside and then go in and sit down and confer there regarding information that she desired to obtain from you?

MR. REMINGTON. No.

MR. TAVENNER. You did not go inside?

MR. REMINGTON. We met inside and we on that occasion, I believe, discussed very little about the War Production Board, because it was, as I recall it, the last time I talked with her.

MR. TAVENNER. When Miss Bentley first talked to you about information, did you tell her there was information that the War Production Board desired to give her for publication, or did she tell you that she was interested in obtaining information from you?

MR. REMINGTON. She said that she was interested in learning from me about the War Production Board and its problems, its activities.

MR. TAVENNER. Did she also tell you she wanted airplane production data?

MR. REMINGTON. I recall her inquiring of me about airplane production. I don't think that she—I know that she never made any such statement as, "I want airplane production data." That would have

been an improper question, in my judgment, and I would have reacted negatively to any such conversation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't this question asked you and answer made by you in your testimony before the Senate committee, I believe on or about August 3, 1948:

Question. What information did you give her?

Answer. The problems that Miss Bentley said she was interested in are as follows: I believe she said, and I am just recalling. I have no notes on this with me. She said she wanted airplane production data, War Production Board internal policies—

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing reading).

—she said formulas.

Mr. REMINGTON. She did not ask me any such question, sir, as you suggested earlier.

Mr. WOOD. Just a moment. The question now is, Is that in substance what you answered?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was your answer?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, and my previous answer to your previous question, sir, was that she did not say, "Give me airplane production data." She indicated that she was interested in knowing about airplane production information insofar as that information was public, and that is what I discussed with her. She asked me no improper question which would have put me on my guard, is the point I am making.

Mr. TAVENNER. So then, after all, she did state to you that she was interested in airplane production data, War Production Board internal policies, and formulas?

(Mr. Remington nods head in affirmative.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You are nodding your head in approval, but that cannot be recorded.

Mr. REMINGTON. I am sorry, sir. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall discussing with her, that is, with Helen Johnson, internal policies of the War Production Board regarding materials which would likely be allocated to Russia?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, I discussed with her the policies of the War Production Board regarding the control of materials, and I assume that many of these materials were allocated to Russia; about that I have no knowledge.

I want to emphasize that I discussed this material control problem with her because I was one of the two men in the War Production Board who first originated the proposals for "vertical" control of materials. We developed the controlled materials plan in the War Production Board on the basis of the recommendations and the work of another man and myself. This controlled materials plan was bitterly attacked by the Communists. I claim considerable credit for having originated and developed the materials control plan which was anathema to the Communist Party. This is borne out by affidavits from Mr. Charles J. Hitch, with whom I worked, and by numerous other evidence.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. REMINGTON. That was during 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period when that work was being done by you, were you asked by Helen Johnson about those internal policies of the War Production Board with regard to allocating materials to Russia?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; not about allocating materials to Russia. I knew nothing about that whatsoever.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not discuss that with her?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; unless we discussed some article that had appeared in the newspapers about lend-lease to Russia or something of that sort. I had no information from my work on that subject. But I want to emphasize that at these lunches with Miss Bentley, which were social in their character, we discussed the range of current events which are in the newspapers and which everyone discusses at lunch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she discuss with you and ask you for information on the ranking people in the War Production Board who were in a position to help Russia get more than she was getting?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about that.

Mr. REMINGTON. She asked me about several individuals in the War Production Board who were in the news, men responsible for policy. She asked particularly if these men were sincerely interested in fighting an all-out-war, or if they were what she described as "business-as-usual" in their attitudes.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was this, and your answer was in the affirmative; whether she asked you for information on ranking people in the War Production Board who were in a position to help Russia get more than she was getting. What information did you give her regarding persons on the Board who were in a position to help Russia get more than she was getting?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't know who specifically was in such a position. I assume Mr. Nelson and Mr. Batt, the Chairman and Mr. Batt at one time was Vice Chairman of the War Production Board, were in a position such as you describe. I don't know that from personal knowledge, but I assume it. She asked me what kind of reputation Mr. Nelson had, and what kind of reputation Mr. Batt had. I indicated to her the very high opinion in which their subordinates held those two gentlemen and also others.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you report to your superior that Helen Johnson, who had been introduced to you as a result of the action of Joseph North, had been inquiring about the personal integrity of officers and employees in the War Production Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I don't believe she ever inquired about the personal integrity of anyone; certainly not to my recollection. She inquired as to their effectiveness as leaders of the War Production Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did not the nature of the inquiries she made of you create suspicion in your mind as to the objects and purposes and aims of Helen Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. Perhaps half a dozen reporters every day were asking similar questions of the planning committee staff members, and probably dozens of reporters a day were asking similar questions

of War Production Board personnel outside of the Information Division.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take documentary evidence of any character, or notes, for delivery to Helen Johnson on any of these 6 to 10 occasions that you met her at various places?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. I took her copies of War Production Board forms and news releases which described the materials control techniques that I discussed with her. I also recall distinctly on one occasion when she had telephoned me and said that she was interested in chatting with me about some problem which I do not now recall, that I picked up a copy of the Kiplinger newsletter which had happened to include an item on that subject, made some notes, and rushed off to keep an appointment with her.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your purpose in getting her excerpts from the newsletter?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, when I am going to chat with someone I try to give the illusion of being as well informed as I can.

Mr. TAVENNER. So your furnishing of information was just an effort on your part to impress Helen Johnson. Is that what you would have the committee understand?

Mr. REMINGTON. I doubt if I had any incentive to impress Helen Johnson, as I remember her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then why did you take the course you have just described you took?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have a certain, perhaps misplaced, desire to learn. I saw nothing unusual in picking up a Kiplinger newsletter to read. A lot of people do.

Mr. TAVENNER. But this was information you were giving to her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Information I was going to discuss with her. If the Kiplinger newsletter said that there were X billion dollars appropriations pending before Congress, I didn't want to talk to a reporter and research worker and give a figure that was 10 billion off or 1 billion off or even 30 cents off.

Mr. TAVENNER. This statement which I am now going to read you is a statement in the possession of the committee of testimony of Miss Bentley before the Senate committee on August 3, 1948:

Question. The information, how did he give it to you?

Answer. Well, in common with all the aircraft figures that he brought, he informed me that he could not bring out original things because he might be detected and that he had carefully taken down these little formulas and figures on scraps of paper because they were easier to put in his pocket, you see, and no one would suspect it and he was very nervous, very jittery, and obviously scared to death that anybody would find out what he was doing.

Now, you have spoken of taking notes. Did you take notes to her on any other occasion than the one you mentioned, which you took from the newsletter?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe I did. I don't recall specifically.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write formulas and figures on scraps of paper and give them to her?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I wrote nothing for her except that on the copies of material control forms I made explanatory notes for her. I was trying to teach her—apparently unsuccessfully—something about facts of public materials control procedures. I never made notes on any figures for her. I did, when she told me over the phone

what she wanted to talk about at lunch, what subject she hoped to gather information on for her newspaper superiors, I made some rough notes for my own information so that I would not misinform her. Reporters do not like to be misinformed, and Government men and private citizens, I think, have a public duty not to misinform reporters.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you had those memoranda with you at the time you talked to her; is that correct?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; I had notes on some of those occasions, as I have said many times in public. This was the subject of an investigation before a Senate committee, and I have gone over it in great detail in loyalty hearings, and I received a substantial settlement in a libel suit on the basis of this same incident.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who paid that substantial amount of damages to you?

Mr. RAUH. That is not a matter that Mr. Remington could properly answer. There was an agreement between counsel that that would not be made public.

Mr. WOOD. The question was asked of the witness, not counsel.

Mr. RAUH. You said at the beginning of the hearing the witness could consult with counsel.

Mr. WOOD. The witness can confer with counsel. The witness will answer the questions.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. REMINGTON. At the time of the settlement counsel for the parties agreed that the details of the settlement would be kept confidential.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have seen fit to mention it two or three times during the course of this hearing.

Mr. REMINGTON. I mentioned it once, sir, and I did not give any details. The agreement was to keep it confidential. If you desire me to break that agreement, I, of course, have no alternative, but I want to make it clear that I consider myself bound by it unless you require me to break it.

Mr. WOOD. This committee is not requiring you to do anything except answer questions if you desire to answer them. If you desire to answer it, all right; if not, say so, and we will get along a lot faster.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. REMINGTON. I would prefer, sir, to keep the agreement. The other side could give you full information.

Mr. WOOD. I just asked if you want to answer it or not.

Mr. REMINGTON. I would prefer to keep the agreement, sir, unless—

Mr. WOOD. That is not responsive yet. Do you prefer not to answer the question?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. REMINGTON. I prefer to keep the agreement.

Mr. WOOD. I didn't ask you that. I asked if you prefer not to answer the question?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time furnish Helen Johnson with a formula or data relating to a formula pertaining to some quack anal-

ysis or any other kind of analysis for the production of synthetic rubber or gasoline?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir. I discussed that with her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you present her with such a formula?

Mr. REMINGTON. I discussed with her a quack proposal which had wasted a lot of our time. I could not present her a formula, because that is a matter of chemistry, which I know nothing about. I could describe a formula to her, which I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was some of the information which the War Production Board was anxious to have publicized?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not as far as I know, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have apparently tried to leave with the committee the impression that you were giving her exact information relating to operations of the War Production Board.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that you didn't want to fool the press.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yet you furnished to this member of the press that information?

Mr. REMINGTON. There was nothing secret, confidential, or restricted about the facts of the formula at the time when I mentioned it to her. I didn't mean to mislead her, goodness knows. I meant her to understand that we—not I, but some friends of mine—had wasted a lot of time following up some quack proposals, and I mentioned it to her in passing as an illustration of why we couldn't do everything at once, because we had to spend time on that kind of nonsense.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you furnish her information on any other process or formula?

Mr. REMINGTON. I described to her the two which you mention. One had to do with high octane gasoline, and the other was a proposal for making some kind of synthetic rubber out of garbage, and that is just what it was, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the fact that she presented articles from the Daily Worker to you on occasions. Did you purchase the Daily Worker from her?

Mr. REMINGTON. She passed me her personal copy of the Daily Worker at least once; because she wanted me to think about some things that had been written there. I asked her about some things that had been written there. I asked her if she was going to get another one, and she said she supposed so, and I gave her a nickel.

Mr. TAVENNER. How frequently did it occur that you purchased a Daily Worker from her, or acquired it in the method that you described?

Mr. REMINGTON. I understand one Daily Worker and two or three PM's.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you pay Communist Party dues, or dues of any other character, to the person known to you as Helen Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You paid no sums of money to her other than for the Daily Worker under the circumstances you have described?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did give her other money than that.

Mr. TAVENNER. For what purposes?

Mr. REMINGTON. I gave her money as a donation for refugees from Hitler, as I understood it.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did that occur?

Mr. REMINGTON. That occurred during the time that I knew Miss Bentley. That would be 1942 and 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over the period of 2 years?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. I gave her such a donation on a couple of occasions when she said these refugees needed help. This is on my income-tax returns.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you refreshing your recollection from testimony given in a previous hearing? You have a right to do that. Are you?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think you will find I answered your question first, and then looked down to see what Mr. Rauh had underlined, and he had underlined "income-tax returns" and I added that to my answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. So over the period 1942 and 1943 you made donations to Helen Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. To these refugees, as I understood it, through Helen Johnson.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you make your last donation to her for that purpose?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sometime in 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you state that it was reflected in your income tax return?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. For what year?

Mr. REMINGTON. For 1942 and 1943, as I recall it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the amount of the contributions?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe that the sum total of them was in the vicinity of \$30.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean \$30 each year, or \$15 a year?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe it was in the vicinity of about \$30 total, but that is a recollection. I haven't seen my income tax returns since I turned them over to a previous investigation of this same subject.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you made these donations?

Mr. REMINGTON. Mr. Golos, in New York, when I met him there on the occasions we have discussed, told me that he had friends who had escaped from Hitler in Germany. He said that they were much in need of help, and that there was an organization named the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, with which he had some connection, that was helping these men. I was touched by the plight that he described them to be in. He asked if I would be willing to make some kind of contribution for their relief. At that time I had no money with me and I was a little embarrassed; I wanted to give him something for these men; but this was after he had said that his assistant would be probably coming to Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that occurred along about Christmas time in the year 1940; is that correct?

Mr. REMINGTON. Or shortly thereafter. Pardon me; 1941, or shortly thereafter. This was, as I testified before, around about Christmas of 1941 or some week end, some trip, I made to New York after that time but close after it.

Mr. TAVENNER. So as late as 1943 you were making contributions as a result of a conversation you had with Mr. Golos along about the first of 1941?

Mr. REMINGTON. As late as 1943 I acceded to a request from Helen Johnson for some money for her friend's friends.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it was at the request of Helen Johnson, and not at the request of Golos? Is that what I understand?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir, not exactly. Mr. Golos made the request in somewhat these terms: If I didn't have money with me, which was understandable, maybe his assistant would ask me, if she saw me in Washington. I said, yes, I would be glad to make a contribution, and in Washington she said to me something to this effect—I think this is exact—she said: "Mr. Golos told me that you had indicated you would be willing to help out with a donation." And I did. I remember her asking that in 1942. In 1943, at least on this one occasion, she asked again: "Can you spare something again for the refugees?" She didn't ask it often, but I do recall giving at least two such donations, which, as I have said, appear in my income tax returns.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is my recollection that the requirements of the income tax law required you to designate an organization legally established.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which had been, as far as I know, established as you described. If I am wrong, the Internal Revenue Bureau can disallow those deductions and I will be glad to pay up, but they never did. I felt it was a legitimate organization at that time.

Mr. WOOD. Did you know that organization had been cited by the Attorney General as subversive?

Mr. REMINGTON. I know that now, and I want to make it clear that I have made no donations to it since that time, and I have no sympathy for any organization which is on that list, and have never associated with one after learning about its status.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this contribution that you state was made, made by you or in your own name or in the name of your wife, or how was it made?

Mr. REMINGTON. I took full responsibility for it myself. At the time my wife handled the family finances, and so I secured the money from her, of course with her consent, but I assume full responsibility for it, and I did it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you not previously testified that the contribution was your wife's contribution?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe I started to say my wife made it because my wife handled the finances, as some wives do, and I discussed it with her, got the money from her, and contributed it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your former wife a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not to my knowledge. I thank you for referring to her as my former wife. I was erroneously referring to her as my wife. She is my ex-wife.

Mr. TAVENNER. Haven't you previously testified that she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; and, sir, there are some things that I hope you, as a gentleman, will recognize. I don't want to be in a position of talking about my former wife if it is all right with you.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry. I didn't hear what you said.

Mr. REMINGTON. I did answer your question that I have never testified that she was a member at any time of the Communist Party. To my knowledge she is not and has not been. As I know you, as a gentleman, will appreciate my reluctance to discuss a woman with whom I spent many years as man and wife.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever paid Communist Party dues?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or made contributions other than the contributions which you say you made to the organization of which you testified?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through Miss Bentley or Helen Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not through Miss Bentley, Helen Johnson, or anyone else.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many times did you pay money to her which constituted the contribution which you state was made?

Mr. REMINGTON. I remember two at this moment. My income tax returns would be the authoritative information regarding that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not necessarily so. It would show the gross amount. It wouldn't necessarily show each separate contribution.

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe on my income tax returns I used to report the date on which I made various contributions.

Mr. WOOD. Are two all you remember now?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; I remember two now.

Mr. WOOD. And that is all you do remember?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison, any questions?

Mr. HARRISON. When the Bentley woman showed you these quotations from the Daily Worker about which you testified, did you understand she had written those, or inspired those?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I understood only that she had supplied material for the PM stories.

Mr. HARRISON. You did not understand she had supplied information to the Daily Worker?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do not recall any article she showed me in the Daily Worker about which she implied she had furnished research material.

Mr. HARRISON. You had no reason to believe she was an employee of or supplied material to the Daily Worker?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. Just PM.

Mr. HARRISON. In the course of your life you have been acquainted on more or less terms of friendship with six people—Elizabeth Bentley, Bridgman, McConnell, Pat Todd, Mrs. Todd, and North—all of whom turned out to be Communists.

Mr. REMINGTON. I am not sure I could accept that from my personal knowledge, sir. I know that Mr. Todd refused to testify before this committee, as you told me yesterday, but when I saw him he did not do anything or say anything that gave me that impression.

Mr. HARRISON. But in each instance your acquaintance with them and their membership in the Communist Party was entirely coincidental. In other words, in no case did your acquaintanceship result from Communist Party activity on your part or on their part?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir, because I have always been in a position really of hating the concept of a dictatorship, of force and violence, which underlies Communist ideology.

Mr. HARRISON. In each of these instances of these six people, at some time you were on more or less friendly terms with them?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was not on friendly terms with Mr. McConnell. I don't recall knowing him at all. The others, I was.

Mr. HARRISON. Is there anything that has happened in your personal relationship with any of those persons, that you know of, that would cause them to bear false witness against you under oath?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. HARRISON. You know of no reason that would induce any of those persons to take the witness stand and falsely testify to your membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. REMINGTON. May I confer with my attorney?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I am sorry for the delay. I know from this committee that Mr. Bridgman and Mr. McConnell have said things against me. I do not know of any reason they might have to feel a personal animosity. As far as Miss Bentley is concerned, I think that she was a headline hunter, and there are others of that category?

Mr. HARRISON. Can you suggest any reason why all three of these persons should single you out to bear false witness against you?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. REMINGTON. You asked if I knew of any reason why they would select me. Miss Bentley did not select me particularly. She testified about, as I recall, a large number of people. As far as Mr. Bridgman and Mr. McConnell are concerned, I do not know whether they selected me or not. In the transcripts, of course, they were mentioning other people, too. They weren't singling me out.

Mr. HARRISON. But they included you?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. Why would they want to bear false witness against you?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe, sir, that they included me, perhaps, on these grounds: I can't speak about McConnell in this connection, of course.

Mr. WOOD. Have you any facts upon which you are going to base this conclusion?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir. I was active, very active, in the A. F. of L. union in Knoxville on the things they would let the kid in that group of people do. I apparently was associated in those activities with a secret Communist, Howard Bridgman. If there were other secret Communists in my group of close friends, I do not know. From Mr. Bridgman's testimony there perhaps were. I was working with them, talking about the same problems, using the same language. I think it possible that Mr. Bridgman, knowing that this, that and the other friend of mine were secret Communists, if they were, I think he might assume that I was too. Certainly I was active in those labor union activities, which I thought were aboveboard. I can understand, from my work, my associates, my language, that he thought that I was one of this group. I have changed, as I think my entire record shows. I no longer believe in the type of government initiative on the scale that I believed in in that period of time. I have not been active in labor

unions since then, although of course we all believe in the principles of collective bargaining and labor organization, but I have not felt any personal inclination to engage in those activities since.

I have done, in the last 10 years of my life, 11 years of my life, I think as much as any economist of my age in Federal Government to combat the things which are dear to the Communists. My record in that respect is, I think, a striking one. Before I became an economist here in the Federal Government, I had no opportunity to engage in such dramatic anti-Communist activities as I have had here in Washington, but my convictions and views were incompatible with the idea of my having been a Communist, subject to Communist Party discipline, and believing in force and violence and dictatorship at that time.

Mr. WOOD. I have permitted, Mr. Remington, your dissertation on this subject, although it is not responsive to the question I asked you. I desire to ask you a question or two myself, and in doing so I shall not infringe on your relationship with your former wife more than necessary, and certainly not more than was done when you were before the Senate committee in July of 1948. You were before the Senate committee in July 1948, were you not?

Mr. REMINGTON. I may have appeared July 31.

Mr. WOOD. Friday, July 30, 1948.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. Miss Bentley testified then and I testified during the immediately following days.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. And in the course of your testimony you were asked certain questions by Senator Thye?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. And I repeat the question asked and the manner that was given, as appeared in the transcript?

Senator THYE. And then the mother's influence on the daughter—
having reference to your mother-in-law and your wife—
brought about her convictions of the communistic philosophy?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

What did you mean by that if you didn't know your wife was a Communist, as you have testified here today?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I may have misinterpreted his question somewhat. I don't recall it specifically.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. I will read another one. You have two children, have you not?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have two children, which are a compelling cause why I am reluctant—

Mr. WOOD. You have two children?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. You were asked the question:

Senator THYE. Are there any children?

Mr. REMINGTON. Two children.

Senator THYE. Who has the children?

Mr. REMINGTON. My wife has them. I have no arrangements to take care of them. She has them, and she feeds them and clothes them * * * and I have to stand aside and see those children brought up in a creed that I hate more than I hate anything in the world.

What did you mean by that "creed"?

Mr. REMINGTON. By that "creed," sir, I mean a kind of materialistic philosophy based on the principle of so-called progressive education

that a child's inclinations and desires are more important things to express than some of the values and principles in which I was raised. I did not mean a Communist Party philosophy, because, as I have said, my wife is not a Communist Party member to the best of my knowledge, and has not been one.

Mr. WOOD. Then you were in error when you stated to the Senate committee in July or August 1948—and I quote again:

The mother's influence on the daughter brought about her convictions of the communistic philosophy.

Mr. REMINGTON. I remember certain specific instances which I had in mind there, where a husband and wife disagreed on matters of political philosophy.

Mr. WOOD. What did you mean by "communistic philosophy"? That was the question asked you, and the answer was "Yes," and you went on to say, in answering the third question after that, that the children were being brought up in a creed that was anathema to you.

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I have two children to whom I am devoted, and I think these questions are going to make it more difficult for me to influence the way my children grow up.

Mr. WOOD. Is that all the explanation you want to give to those two questions I asked you?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir, because I value my relation with my children.

Mr. WOOD. I won't press it any further.

Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Mr. Remington, when did you last see or communicate with Pat Todd and Betty Todd?

Mr. REMINGTON. I recall seeing them here in Washington in the late fall of 1938, as I testified yesterday. I recall going through Knoxville in the late summer—

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was, When did you last see or communicate with them? It is not necessary to go too much into detail.

Mr. REMINGTON. I know I communicated with them and saw them in the fall of 1938. I don't think I have seen or communicated with them since. However, I know that I tried to see or communicate with them coming through Knoxville in September 1939. I do not specifically recall succeeding. In any event, I have not seen or communicated with them since that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WOOD. The committee stands adjourned until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 1:55 p. m. on Friday, May 5, 1950, a recess was taken until Saturday, May 6, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1950

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice at 11:15 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Harold H. Velde, and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

For purposes of this hearing there has been set up a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Velde, Kearney, and Wood. They are all present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Bentley, will you be sworn, please.

Mr. WOOD. You solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your residence, please?

Miss BENTLEY. I have no permanent residence at the present time. I am living at the Hotel Commodore until I find a place to live in New York.

Mr. WOOD. You are living at the Hotel Commodore where?

Miss BENTLEY. In New York City. I am looking for a permanent place, but it is rather difficult.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now employed?

Miss BENTLEY. No. I was employed as a political science teacher at Mundelein College in Chicago until about February 10, at which time I came to New York to fight the libel suit brought against me by Mr. William Remington. I am, however, at the present time, doing lecturing and writing. That would come under that category.

Mr. TAVENNER. There has been some testimony before this committee that the libel suit to which you refer was settled. Did you have any part in the settlement of that libel suit?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I didn't, and I am rather glad to bring it out, because there is a great deal of misinformation getting out about it.

Mr. WOOD. In order that the record may be clear, we are now referring to the libel suit brought against you by Mr. William Remington as a result of a statement made by you in a radio broadcast concerning his affiliation with the Communist Party.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I made a television broadcast on September 12, 1948, on Mr. Lawrence Spivak's program Meet the Press, and I was asked on that program, or rather dared, to come out of my immunity and say that Mr. Remington had been a Communist, which I did. Subsequently, about a month or two later, Mr. Remington sued me for libel. That suit has been going through the motions of a libel suit. There was a pretrial hearing last September. The end of January I spoke to Mr. Spivak, and he said under no circumstances would it be settled.

Mr. WOOD. Who is Spivak?

Miss BENTLEY. One of the two owners of Meet the Press. That is the production on which the libel occurred.

Mr. WOOD. Was he a party to the suit?

Miss BENTLEY. No. Mr. Remington sued myself, NBC, and General Foods Corp., the sponsor of Mr. Spivak's program. Mr. Spivak said he was willing to fight to the end, and I said I was, too, even if it meant giving up my job.

My attorney said the suit would come up right away, and I couldn't teach in Chicago and fight a lawsuit in New York. I asked Mundelein to release me from my contract, and they reluctantly agreed that since such was the case I would be released.

I have a letter from my lawyer explaining that neither of us were parties to the settlement. After I severed my connection with the college I waited 2 weeks until they got a successor. Later I heard that the whole thing had been settled by Coudert Bros., attorneys for the Massachusetts Bonding & Insurance Co., the libel insurance carrier for both National Broadcasting Corp. and General Foods Corp.

My attorney was against the settlement. I was against it. The letter from my lawyer will show it was done on the basis of very practical economic reasons. I understand Mr. Spivak objected violently, but it is like automobile insurance, I guess, and once you are insured you can't step in and say how a claim should be disposed of.

I have the letter from Mr. Godfrey P. Schmidt, my lawyer.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any objection to receiving the letter as a part of the record?

Mr. KEARNEY. I think the letter should be admitted at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the letter in evidence as a part of the record, with the suggestion that it be copied and the original letter returned to Miss Bentley.

Mr. WOOD. Without objection, let that be done. Would you like to hear it read?

Mr. KEARNEY. I would like to hear it.

Miss BENTLEY. It is addressed to me by my attorney, Godfrey P. Schmidt.

Mr. WOOD. Where is he located?

Miss BENTLEY. 12 East Forty-first Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is the date of the letter?

MISS BENTLEY. That was dated yesterday, May 5.

MR. WOOD. Very well.

MISS BENTLEY (reading):

DEAR MISS BENTLEY: You will recall that on March 1, 1950, the Times (that is the New York Times) carried an article which seemed to suggest, by its direction, that settlement of your case had been made upon the basis of some sort of private retraction. At the time, I wrote to the city editor of the New York Times a letter, copy of which is herewith enclosed for your files.

In that connection, you asked me to explain how it could come about that the above-titled action could be settled without our consent, and indeed against our wishes.

The parties defendant in Remington's libel action included, as you know, not only yourself but also the National Broadcasting Corp. and General Foods Corp. Both of these codefendants were protected by a libel insurance policy issued by the Massachusetts Bonding & Insurance Co. whose attorneys are Coudert Bros., for whom Mr. Walter Barry acted.

Coudert Bros., by the way, are in New York City. (Continuing reading:)

As you well know, no insurance carrier insured you against liability for libel. That is why I represented you as your attorney. Truth is a defense in a libel action; and my own investigation of your account convinces me that you have been telling the truth and that we would have had a good defense against Remington's libel complaint.

When I first came into the case, certain motions addressed to the complaint were pending before the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York. These applications had been instituted by Coudert Bros.

I might explain here that Mr. Schmidt was not my original attorney. I had another one who had to give the case up because he accepted a position with the United States Government and was not able to carry on legal practice. After a few months I found another attorney, Mr. Schmidt.

MR. WOOD. Back to the letter now.

MISS BENTLEY (continuing reading):

Their purpose was to dismiss the complaint for certain technical reasons. Eventually Judge Congers denied these applications.

Up to that time (and indeed to date) no answer was filed by any defendant in this action. Coudert Bros. had repeatedly requested and obtained stipulations adjourning the time to answer.

Meanwhile, the attorneys for Mr. Remington made overtures to examine you before trial. You will recall that I consented to this examination and that on two different occasions you were, in fact, examined by Mr. Remington's attorneys. Although the latter had promised to submit to us stenographic minutes of these examinations, this promise was not fulfilled.

Some time prior to your examination before trial, I had discussed with Mr. Barry the possibility of investigating certain leads provided by the inconsistent testimony of Mr. Remington before a congressional committee. Also, I sent my associate, Mr. Egan, to Tennessee to consult certain persons who asserted that they had evidence of Mr. Remington's membership in the Communist Party at one time. I was particularly pleased with the results of Mr. Egan's investigation. I felt sure Mr. Barry, too, was pleased.

Some weeks afterward, however, Mr. Barry, for the first time, suggested that the insurance carrier he represented seemed to think that a settlement of the case would be advisable if it could be accomplished by a nominal payment. I protested volubly. I know that Mr. Larry Spivak wrote a long and vehement letter to one of the officials of the Massachusetts Bonding & Insurance Co. begging them not to settle but to force Remington to trial.

I told both Mr. Spivak and Mr. Barry that under no circumstances would I participate in any negotiations for a settlement on your behalf. Indeed, I emphasized that you would issue no retraction in the event of a settlement negotiated by Coudert Bros. and Mr. Remington's attorneys. All along I have had complete confidence that if the matter were put to trial you would be vindicated.

I was never informed as to the terms of the proposed settlement nor of the dates of settlement negotiations.

When, in the end, Mr. Barry telephoned me and told me he thought the matter would be settled, I told him that I could not, of course, control him or his client but that we would not participate in any settlement.

On February 17, 1950, I received from Coudert Bros. a letter advising me that settlement had been arranged. I am enclosing herewith a copy of this letter.

Some days later, on February 27, 1950, I received from Mr. Barry a copy of a letter he had addressed to the Massachusetts Bonding and Insurance Co. For your information I am enclosing copy of this letter, too. With it came a photostatic copy of a release signed by William W. Remington on February 10, 1950, in favor of yourself, the National Broadcasting Corp., General Foods Corp., Lawrence W. Spivak, Martha Roundtree, and Press Products, Inc. I do not even know who some of the released persons and organizations are.

Thus without any payment made by you to him, Mr. Remington released you. He must have had his doubts about the advisability of continuing the actions against you alone.

Mr. WOOD. Have you, up to this moment, had any information as to the terms of this settlement?

Miss BENTLEY. No, and neither has Mr. Schmidt, from what he told me yesterday afternoon.

Mr. WOOD. That is your attorney?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I don't know how much money was involved.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know how much money was paid?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. WOOD. Have you paid any part of it?

Miss BENTLEY. Mercy, no. In the first place, I don't have it; and in the second place, if I had it I would not pay it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the attorneys for National Broadcasting Corp. and General Foods Corp., or any other person associated with those two organizations, in connection with this libel suit, attempt to obtain any leads from you and investigate those leads before they made this settlement?

Miss BENTLEY. I remember Mr. Barry, who represented Coudert Bros., talking it over with Mr. Schmidt and myself, and I had given Mr. Schmidt what information I had, and I believe he said at the time—I think this was back in September of last year—that he would attempt to develop some of these, but I was in Chicago from then on and therefore I don't know too much about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Bentley, while this suit was pending, and up until the present time, did you turn over any leads for investigation, or any investigative leads, to this committee or any members of its staff?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't believe so. I don't believe this committee asked me for them. As I recall it, when I testified here in August 1948 the Senate was investigating Mr. Remington, and wasn't it decided that in view of that this committee would not go into it? I don't believe you asked me for them. I don't think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to the fact that you were examined in a proceeding in the Federal court on two different occasions, that you were questioned?

Miss BENTLEY. I am not a lawyer. It was not in a Federal court. It was in private law offices. In the morning I don't know whose office it was, but the afternoon session was held in the office of—

Mr. TAVENNER. I was referring to the proceeding that was pending in the Federal court. I didn't mean you were actually in the Federal court when you were questioned.

MISS BENTLEY. I wasn't questioned on that. As I understand, it was a routine motion to dismiss on the ground it was not libelous. I am not a lawyer. The first motion that was put before the court is what I understand is routinely done in libel cases, that you make a motion to dismiss on the ground it is not libelous. When Judge Congers ruled against that motion, then a pretrial hearing was held.

MR. TAVENNER. That is what I am referring to.

MISS BENTLEY. It was held in two private law offices.

MR. TAVENNER. What attorneys represented Mr. Remington in questioning you?

MISS BENTLEY. In the morning session we had Mr. Rauh, as I recall, and Mr. Green. The afternoon session was held in the office of Allen Hays, who, I understand, is a brother or cousin of Arthur Garfield Hays, and Mr. Hays was present with Mr. Rauh and Mr. Green and occasionally asked questions of me. I got the impression from what Mr. Barry said that Mr. Garfield was interested in the case. Anyhow, he asked some questions.

MR. KEARNEY. Can you tell counsel for the committee whether Arthur Garfield Hays was one of the attorneys of record in this case?

MISS BENTLEY. I am sorry. I wouldn't know. I am sure my lawyer would know.

MR. KEARNEY. He did ask you some questions?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes, he did. My lawyers were sitting on one side of the table with me, Mr. Barry representing Coudert Bros. and Mr. Schmidt myself, and Mr. Hays was sitting behind Mr. Green and Mr. Rauh and asking questions occasionally.

MR. KEARNEY. The attorneys you just mentioned were Remington's attorneys?

MISS BENTLEY. Rauh and Green, yes. I understood Green was the New York attorney and Rauh the Washington attorney. Mr. Hays was giving them suggestions and asking questions occasionally.

MR. KEARNEY. Giving suggestions to Remington's attorneys?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you know Joseph North?

MISS BENTLEY. Not personally; no. I knew of his activities through Mr. Golos. He was one of the editors of the *New Masses*, and in addition was a lookout man for Russian intelligence. By lookout I mean he was always on the lookout for good Communists who could be used on Russian intelligence work. That is why he was in touch with Mr. Golos, who was a Russian intelligence agent.

MR. TAVENNER. Did I understand you to say Mr. Golos was a representative of the Russian intelligence agency?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes. Perhaps I had better give a little background on that. The Russian intelligence in this country operates out of the Embassy, and when there were consulates it also operated out of the consulates, under the general supervision of what was the old OGPU. There was a foreign desk of OGPU in Moscow that supervised these activities. Mr. Golos was head of one of the branches of Russian intelligence, and was my superior.

Russian intelligence made it a point to look for good espionage people. That means that they were very much interested in this Government, and that meant also they could not use their own nationals,

because you can't put a Russian national in a sensitive job in the Government in this country. Therefore they had to get Americans. They knew if they bought a man somebody else could outbuy them, but they knew if they could get an ideologist they could use him better than they could an adventurer.

The type of American they wanted was a person who absolutely impeccable. They wanted a person whose background was so sound from every point of view, morally and every other way, that nobody would ever suspect him of being a spy; the type of person who any day could get a recommendation from his Sunday school teacher or college professor or, if it was a woman, from her Girl Scout leader.

Every person they picked up came from the Communist Party via these lookouts. Joe North was one; Grace Granich was one; Inter-Continent News was another lookout; the American League Against War and Fascism was another; people like Earl Browder, and so on.

Nevertheless, what you had to work on was whether or not these people, in addition to being highly respectable, were good Communists. Therefore, their dossiers were checked over and over again before they were taken. That was easy in the case of Mr. Golos, because he was one of the three men on the discipline committee, which keeps dossiers on every single Communist in this country, and Communists every 6 months have to turn in information on themselves which is checked and rechecked. So Mr. Golos checked and rechecked every dossier before even considering a person for espionage work.

Mr. KEARNEY. Where were these files kept?

Miss BENTLEY. Originally they were kept around headquarters. Afterward they were transferred to an individual's house.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did the Communist Party have open offices?

Miss BENTLEY. They had open offices in the midthirties. After that the files were transferred to the house of an individual on the central committee.

In other words, what we were doing was not what you ordinarily think of as Communist Party work, that is, waving flags and spreading propaganda. It was definitely Russian intelligence work. I was a member of one branch of Russian intelligence, and Mr. Golos was my superior.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything about the contact between Mr. Golos and Mr. Joseph North relating to Mr. Remington?

Miss BENTLEY. Very definitely. At the time that I met Mr. Remington, which must have been early 1942, I was already in contact with other Communists who were planted in the American Government to get information for Soviet intelligence. Mr. Golos at that time had a bad heart and was turning over more and more of these people to me. He came to me and said: "We have one more for Washington." He told me all about Mr. Remington. He said: "He has been in the party quite some years, and I have checked him and he is O. K. He was referred to me by Joe North, and he is O. K. In addition to that, he is a highly respectable person."

Mr. VELDE. Let's fix the date.

Miss BENTLEY. It might have been January or February of 1942, but it was early in 1942.

Mr. VELDE. And where was the conversation?

Miss BENTLEY. In Mr. Golos' office in World Tourists, Inc., at 1123 Broadway.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of this information, what action was taken?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Golos told me that since I was going to Washington anyway to pick up information, I would just add Mr. Remington to the agents I was to take over. He said he had already had a meeting with him, and he was told he had to go underground. Going underground is practically synonymous with joining Russian intelligence. The person may not know that, but that is what happens. He cuts off every connection with open Communist groups. He is completely cut off because he becomes an espionage agent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet Remington with Golos in New York before meeting him in Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. I most certainly did. Mr. Golos told me that the Remingtons were up in New York and that we would meet them for dinner. That was at a Schraffits about Thirty-first Street around the corner from where the New Masses had offices. Mr. Golos said he had to give instructions to Bill, and he didn't want Mrs. Remington to listen to it, because the policy of Russian intelligence was that no matter how much you trusted people, you didn't bring in other people if you could avoid it. Therefore, he wanted me to talk to Mrs. Remington so she wouldn't hear what he was saying to Bill.

At that time it was arranged that when I went to Washington I would call him and go over things with him. Because of a number of circumstances, I didn't call him for possibly a month or two.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us where you first met Remington in Washington.

Miss BENTLEY. I have been trying to think where that was, and I can't remember. I think it was possibly at Whelan's Drug Store across from the Willard. I know I did meet there, but I can't remember if the first meeting was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us just how the meeting was arranged and what took place.

Miss BENTLEY. In Bill's case—we had different set-ups, you see. When a person was in a very sensitive spot we didn't phone him at his office. Bill was one of our least important people, actually. He was not like people in OSS and Air Corps. Therefore, it was safe to call him at home or at his office.

It was arranged at our first meeting that he would bring the information Mr. Golos had asked for, and I was to bring him Communist literature when it came out and collect his dues and that sort of thing.

Mr. VELDE. The meeting you are talking about is the first meeting you had with Remington in Washington, D. C.?

Miss BENTLEY. I have had so many meetings with so many people I cannot remember precisely where the first meeting was. They were all of the same tenor, and I did meet him at that particular spot.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever meet him at his office?

Miss BENTLEY. Mercy, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why not?

Miss BENTLEY. The one thing we didn't want was for me to have any contact with him openly. That is why he always had to meet me on park benches, in drug stores, at street corners, and so on. The nearest I went to his office was Fourth and Constitution. I don't know to this day where his office was located, but I think it was around the corner from there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us the location of other places where you met him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. For a long period I met him at the drug store opposite the Willard. Then we took to meeting at the corner of Pennsylvania and Fourth, not in front of the Museum, but on the corner by the tennis courts; I think that is the southeast corner. I would sometimes meet him in front of the tennis courts, and sometimes at Constituion and Fourth, and sometimes in front of the Mellon Art Gallery. Those are the most frequent places I met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many times do you consider that you met him in this manner?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say between 10 and 20, roughly; probably nearer 15 than anything else. I have been trying to figure it out since.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you be more specific as to the date when you met him the first time in Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. I am afraid I can't. The reason is, he was a minor figure and I didn't pay as much attention to him as I did to some of my more important ones.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you be specific as to the last time that you met him in Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. The last time, I remember very definitely, was in front of the Mellon Art Gallery. We went inside and sat in that semicircle where there is a bench and fountain. We sat there and talked.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you be more specific as to the date?

Miss BENTLEY. No, except that it was in the spring of 1944, and I believe about a month after that he went in the Navy. I know he told me he had been worrying for some months that he would be drafted into the Navy, in spite of the fact he had a wife. He didn't like the prospect. He said he was going to pull strings and see if he could get a commission in the Navy.

The next time I came to Washington I could not reach him at his office or at his home, and another Soviet agent to whom he had introduced me told me Bill had gone into the Navy.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned that Remington introduced you to another person?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. As another Soviet agent?

Miss BENTLEY. He became one. He was a young man, [name deleted], who came from Brooklyn. My impression is that his wife and Remington's wife had known each other in school. Both Mr. and Mrs. [name deleted] were Communists. She had been originally in YCL and then transferred to the party. I think the same is true of him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know where the wives of [name deleted] and Remington had attended school?

Miss BENTLEY. No. This was roughly 6 months after I met Bill. He said he had an old friend named [name deleted], and he said: "I will vouch for him and I think you should take him over. He is here without any unit. He is running loose." Golos checked and found [name deleted] was genuine. He was in the press section of CIAA; that is Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, I believe. It was run by Mr. Rockefeller. He did have some material; I don't

know that it was secret or confidential, but it was kept from the general public, and we decided to take him on.

The Russian intelligence is very thorough. They won't take just one man's report. They check one against the other. So it was arranged that [name deleted] would come to New York and meet me in front of the Forty-second Street entrance to the New York Public Library, and I remember very distinctly it was in the fall of that year. I remember it distinctly because we had an elaborate program under which he was to wear a brown suit, and it rained cats and dogs and he had a slicker on and I couldn't see the brown suit under the slicker.

That was the first time I met [name deleted]. Then Mr. Remington, [name deleted], and I used to meet for lunch in a tiny restaurant two or three doors down the street from that Whelan's drug store across from the Willard. I don't think it exists any more. It was a restaurant that had an upstairs and downstairs, and you could eat real cheap, so for a while the three of us ate there together.

Then Mr. Golos decided that was poor tactics; that it was better to meet them separately. So for a while I would meet [name deleted] there, and I shifted to Fourth and Constitution to meet Mr. Remington. What I know about Mr. Remington subsequent to his going in the Navy came from [name deleted], because I lost contact with Mr. Remington completely at that time.

MR. KEARNEY. I understood you to say that one of your missions was to collect dues from members of the Communist Party?

MISS BENTLEY. Communist Party dues, yes.

MR. KEARNEY. Did you ever collect dues from Remington?

MISS BENTLEY. Under great reluctance. He always claimed he was hard up.

MR. KEARNEY. How much dues did you collect from him?

MISS BENTLEY. I don't know. They changed our scale of dues every 6 months. I brought it back to Mr. Golos and let him check it against the schedule.

MR. KEARNEY. In the collection of those dues, did you ever issue party cards?

MISS BENTLEY. No. We didn't issue party cards. We had little white forms about like this (indicating). That is about 1 by 1½, I guess, or a little larger. They were routine forms you could fill in.

MR. KEARNEY. Did the receipts have the name of the Communist Party on them?

MISS BENTLEY. No. They were the kind of receipts anybody could have bought anywhere.

MR. KEARNEY. Ordinary blank receipts?

MISS BENTLEY. Ordinary blank receipts. They were never made out in the name of the agent. They simply said, "Received so much from a friend," and the initials of the man receiving it. That was all.

MR. KEARNEY. Can you tell the committee approximately how many times you collected dues from Remington?

MISS BENTLEY. No, I can't. It was less times than I met him, because he let them pile up.

MR. KEARNEY. How often does the Communist Party collect dues?

MISS BENTLEY. Normally every week, but I came down only about every 2 weeks.

Mr. KEARNEY. Communist Party members pay every week?

Miss BENTLEY. They are supposed to.

Mr. KEARNEY. But you did collect Communist Party dues from Remington on several occasions?

Miss BENTLEY. Six or seven occasions. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were introduced to Mr. Remington in the first instance, what was the name used by you and by Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Golos called himself John, and I called myself Helen. With one or two exceptions those are the names we always used in the Russian intelligence. One of the principles of Russian intelligence is that each person never knows anything about his superior except his first name. It was unusual in my case about Mr. Golos. You never knew their last names, their real names. You never knew where they lived or worked or one stitch of information about them. You never used last names unless somebody came by that you knew, and to make it appear casual you invented a last name. When I called a man's office and his secretary answered, I would think of some last name and add it on so that she wouldn't think a girl named Helen was calling and that he was two-timing his wife.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did I understand you to say you never called Mr. Remington at his office?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I called him at his office several times. I also called him at his home.

Mr. VELDE. You called him by telephone?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You testified you had never appeared in person at his office?

Miss BENTLEY. That is right, but I telephoned several times at his office and also at his home.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you use the last name "Johnson" at any time with Mr. Remington?

Miss BENTLEY. Again I couldn't be sure that that wasn't one of the names I hitched on to my name when I called him. I used Jones, Brown, and Smith. I don't remember using Johnson, but I might have used it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what last name Golos gave for you, if he gave any, at the time you were introduced to Remington?

Miss BENTLEY. He didn't give any. He said either, "Helen, this is Bill Remington," or "Bill Remington, this is Helen." That is standard Communist procedure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee more of the character of these conferences which you held with Remington in restaurants, drug stores, street corners, museums, and so forth?

Miss BENTLEY. Also park benches in the dead of winter.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of the business conducted there?

Miss BENTLEY. In general they were very brief, because Bill was one of the people I saw during working hours. That means he would dash out during working hours or during a very short lunch period. Other people I met in the evenings, but that was not true of Bill. He would bring me information and I would ask all sorts of questions about what type of material was coming over his desk. A lot of the information he brought it was not his job to handle, but it went

via his desk or he would get it from somebody else's desk. I would tell Mr. Golos what it was, and Mr. Golos would tell me to go back and tell Bill whether or not it was useful.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee as accurately as you can the type of information obtained from Mr. Remington, from the very beginning?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say the most valuable information we got was on War Production Board statistics on airplanes and so on. It was valuable because, although it was duplicated by a number of other people we had, nevertheless, Russian intelligence people don't trust each other, and he was an added check.

The second most valuable data was the fact we were very much interested in WPB because it was the agency that was giving allocations to Russia, and we were interested in the personal opinions of people like Mr. Batt, and we were interested in any personal feuds, because that was being used by Soviet agents; were these people friendly, and so on. That, I would say, was the most valuable information he gave us.

He also gave us the by-now famous formula of making synthetic rubber out of garbage. I know the Russians were tremendously interested in getting such a process. Mr. Golos told me they were so hard pressed by the war that they were needing substitutes, for things they could not get. Mr. Remington gave me that along with the rest of the little scraps of paper. He would bring out some documents, but that was rare. He would usually bring down 3 by 3 scraps of paper on which he had jotted down figures and little notes. When discussing personalities he would give it to me and I would memorize it and then go to the nearest place and write it down in shorthand, but most of it was brought on small scraps of paper.

I am convinced Bill did not like what he was doing. At the beginning he was all right, but whether he finally learned he was attached to Russian intelligence, I don't know. He thought the information was going to the American Communist Party, and it might have baffled him why the American Communist Party wanted that sort of information.

Increasingly he was nervous and didn't want to come out. He would say he had a conference, or he couldn't be reached. Finally he came to me, I think maybe 6 months before I last saw him, and told me that he had been moved to a division where they reviewed applications for any type of material, let's say material for typewriters or for brass bolts, and that he was on the reviewing board. He sounded rather gleeful.

I took that back to Golos, and he said: "That is no earthly use to us at all. I don't know what we will do with Bill. Let's coddle him along."

Contrary to popular belief, the Russian intelligence don't always crack the whip over people. They coax and cajole, or give them what they call the "candy and whip" treatment, which means you alternately are nice to them and then crack the whip. It began to get increasingly hopeless, so when he announced that he hoped to go into the Navy it wasn't too great a loss to us, because we had come to the conclusion that he was a hard man to deal with. That is my impression of him. I don't know if it was because he was disillusioned with com-

munism, but he didn't like it. Of the two, his wife was a much better Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know his wife was a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Because I was told that by Mr. Golos before I met the two Remingtons. I saw her, I think, roughly, four times, at most. It was during gas rationing, and it was hard for her to get in. They had a child. But I brought her Communist Party literature. I remember one time she said she didn't like what I brought, why didn't I bring her some decent stuff. But her comprehension and feeling for communism was much better than his. She was a much better developed Communist than he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you collect any Communist Party dues from her?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. He handed hers in with his. I remember hers distinctly because she fell in the unemployed housewife category, which started at 10 cents a week and then got to be a dollar a month.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if it would be permissible for me to ask Miss Bentley at the present time if she would describe to the committee the appearance of Mr. Remington.

Miss BENTLEY. I am not very good at descriptions, and haven't seen him since the summer of 1948. Quite tall, I would say, well over 6 feet; sort of sandy-haired, that straight hair that doesn't stay in place; long and lanky; a rather intent-looking young man. I don't know what else to add to that description.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was he blond or brunet?

Miss BENTLEY. Definitely on the blond side.

Mr. KEARNEY. What would you say concerning the features of his face?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say his eyes were blue or green. I am just not good at describing people.

Mr. KEARNEY. Round-faced?

Miss BENTLEY. No, it was more angular than round. I met him at the Senate hearing before I testified there. That is the last time I saw him. He identified me, too, because he came up and said "hello" and shook hand with me and admitted he knew me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you when Mr. Remington identified you and came up and shook hands with you?

Miss BENTLEY. I had been called in to testify that morning, and had just walked into the anteroom just outside Mr. Rogers' office, and suddenly, when I was halfway in, Bill looked over toward me. I didn't know how to behave, but he immediately rushed over and took hold of my hands and said he was glad to see me, I was doing a magnificent job. And then he said something that confused me. He said his story would be a little different from mine. Then Mr. Rogers came out and tried to separate us. That was the last time I saw him.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of his testimony before the Senate committee, were you asked to identify him?

Miss BENTLEY. I was not present during any of his testimony. I don't know if he was present during my testimony. Oh, yes, it seems to me I recall that one of the Senators asked me during the course of my testimony if I had recognized the young man who had shaken hands with me outside of Mr. Rogers' office. I think it was brought out somehow. But we were not confronted, or whatever the word is for it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Going back again to the conferences that you held with Remington at the various places that you named, do you recall any documents of any character which he turned over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. I recall there were some, and I believe they were statistics on airplane production, but I couldn't be sure with the amount of material I was handling then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not he turned over to you information regarding any secret processes other than the one you have testified to?

Miss BENTLEY. No, I don't believe there were any other secret processes involved or I would have remembered it. It was largely aircraft-production data, the same type of thing we were getting from other sources. As I said, we always double checked.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are any of those other sources, as far as you know, still in Government?

Miss BENTLEY. No. As far as I know Mr. Remington is the only one still connected in Government. I believe somebody in FBI told me they were all out except Mr. Remington.

Mr. VELDE. Did you always meet Mr. Remington alone, or was there anyone else present?

Miss BENTLEY. During a period of months, 5 or 6 months, I met him with [name deleted], until Mr. Golos decided it was safer to meet them separately. The policy was, as far as possible, not to have two contacts know each other or be together, but there was a period when we were meeting at this double-decker restaurant just down the street from Whelan's, where I did meet the two of them together. [Name deleted] was in CIAA, and that wasn't too far away.

Mr. VELDE. Was any information ever exchanged at those meetings at which [name deleted] was present?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. On airplane production?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I think so. I am not sure. That is why Mr. Golos wanted me to meet them separately. No matter how much you trust a person, in intelligence work you never use extra people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any documentary evidence of any character regarding any information that Mr. Remington gave to you, or regarding his Communist Party membership?

Miss BENTLEY. No. I wish I had documentary evidence. I can suggest one other person who knew him. Back in 1935 when I was connected with unit 1 of the Harlem section of the Communist Party—which was Columbia University, by the way—I signed the party cards. In the old days each party card was signed by two people. I signed as one. Incidentally, underground people never carried any identification whatsoever under any circumstances. Even people near to the top in the party in hard times like now wouldn't carry one around or have one issued.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is the Communist Party issuing cards now?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't believe they issue them any more. I am a little out of date.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were talking about the cell or section at Columbia University.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I at that time signed as one of the two people who signed the party cards. William Hinckley was for some time

executive secretary, which means the head, of the American Youth Congress. His wife, Margaret Cummings Hinckley, was in units around Columbia University for some time. I signed Bill Hinckley's party card, and he immediately went underground. He was attached to Gilbert Green, who had been indicted.

The Hinckleys, incidentally, were quite respectable-looking people. Mrs. Hinckley was one of the 400 of Boston, and so on. The Hinckleys, I understand, spent one or two nights at the White House. They were friends of Mrs. Roosevelt, as I understand it.

I lost track of the Hinckleys, but one day Remington brought them up and asked if I knew them, and said he was in a fraction with them in the American Youth Congress. A fraction is a steering committee to see that the organization does the things they should.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know the name of the fraction?

Miss BENTLEY. Fractions don't have names. They are just small groups. The members of that fraction might have belonged to different cells, but they got together in the fraction to formulate policy. You might have a cell that was also a fraction, or you might have a fraction that was made up of people of different cells.

Mr. Remington asked if I knew the Hinckleys, or rather it was the other way around. He mentioned he had been in the American Youth Congress and I asked if he knew Hinckley and he said very well, he had been in a fraction with him. I asked what had happened to him, and Remington said he was in Virginia; that he had a post in the State Department at one time, but was kicked out because he was slightly "Red." As is customary in the Communist Party when you haven't heard of a party member for a long time, I asked how Hinckley stood then, and Remington said: "I saw him very recently and he is still a very good Communist and so is his wife. That is why they have suffered so."

I am bringing that up to show there are two other people who had known him.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are the Hinckleys Communists now, do you know?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know.

Mr. WOOD. We will recess for 1 hour.

(Thereupon, at 12:30 p. m. a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was reconvened at 1:30 p. m., Messrs. Wood and Kearney being present.)

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order. You may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Bentley, did you ever receive from Mr. Remington or from his wife a contribution to the joint anti-Fascist refugee committee?

Miss BENTLEY. No, I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive any money from Mr. Remington or his wife for any organization or for any purpose other than the payment of Communist Party dues?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever ask Mr. Remington to make a contribution to any cause other than the payment of Communist Party dues?

Miss BENTLEY. No. We never did that with anybody. What we collected in the way of money from all our agents in Washington were solely Communist Party dues, nothing else.

Mr. TAVENNER. What disposition did you make of any of the data turned over to you, or any documents turned over to you, by Mr. Remington?

Miss BENTLEY. During Mr. Golos' lifetime—which was up until the end of November 1943—I turned them over to him and he in turn turned them over to his superior officer in Russian Intelligence. After Mr. Golos died I continued turning any material over to his successor, an individual known only as Bill.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you keep copies of any of your reports or any information turned over to Mr. Golos?

Miss BENTLEY. No, not for long. We made copies of some of that material to show to Earl Browder if it concerned a subject he was interested in, but they were destroyed after Earl had looked at them, maybe a week or so later.

Mr. TAVENNER. We want to confine this inquiry to matters relating to Mr. Remington. Do you have any further information that would throw any light upon the question of the Communist Party membership of Mr. Remington?

Miss BENTLEY. No. There was never any question in my mind. Once he had been certified to me by Mr. Golos as being a Communist Party member, I took it for granted. This is part of the underground pattern. You are not introduced by documents. You are introduced by a person who is your superior. Also, in the way he talked to [name deleted] it was obvious they had both been Communists.

Mr. WOOD. Where is [name deleted] now?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know. The last I heard he was in Argentina representing an American publication down there. All I hear is very indirect.

Mr. WOOD. During any of the time that you were associated with Mr. Remington, having meetings with him or otherwise, did he ever discuss with you his Communist activities while he was working for the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Miss BENTLEY. No, he didn't mention it to me. The reason, I think, is because he had already mentioned that background to Mr. Golos. Where I took over fresh people myself, I took their biographies, but evidently Mr. Golos had done that with Remington before I was introduced to him, so I never did. I think the most he spoke of his past to me was his connection with the American Youth Congress and knowing the Hinckleys.

Mr. TAVENNER. What statement did he make to you regarding Hinckley?

Miss BENTLEY. He said he had known Hinckley in the American Youth Congress, that they had been in a fraction together. Then I recall asking, as you always ask when you haven't seen a Communist for a long time, if Hinckley was still a good Communist, and Remington said definitely, that he lived just across the river from him in Virginia some place, and he was sure he was still a good Communist.

The only other light I have on Remington is that I recall at one stage—I don't recall when—he had neighbors who were either pro-Communists or Communists, and he wanted to get into an organization with them in Washington. He was tired of this undercover work. I had to restrain him forcibly from doing it. I told him the work he was doing would prevent him from getting into any front organizations or anything that was liberal, because that would destroy his usefulness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any further information, other than what you have given us, regarding his wife's position as a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. No, except that I know she and [name deleted] had known each other when they were Communists. That was my understanding.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was something told you by another person?

Miss BENTLEY. That was told me by [name deleted] [name deleted] wife.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all on this subject.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. Mr. Tavenner, do you have some questions to ask this witness on a subject other than is involved in this hearing?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, on an entirely separate and distinct matter. We would like to ask the witness questions which have no relation to the Remington matter.

Mr. WOOD. The hearing, as far as this matter is concerned, is closed.

(Thereupon, at 1:40 p. m. on Saturday, May 6, 1950, the hearing was closed.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

(NOTE.—The following testimony is being printed as a part of this volume with the permission of the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments of the United States Senate.)

FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1948

UNITED STATES SENATE,
INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE,
COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met at 10:10 a. m., pursuant to recess, in executive session, in room 101, Senate Office Building, Senator Homer Ferguson, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, Michigan; Senator Edward J. Thye, Republican, Minnesota; Senator Irving M. Ives, Republican, New York; Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; Senator Herbert R. O'Connor, Democrat, Maryland.

Also present: William P. Rogers, chief counsel; Jerome S. Allerman, assistant counsel.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the matter now pending before this committee you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM W. REMINGTON

Senator FERGUSON. Will you state your full name and your address?

Mr. REMINGTON. William W. Remington, 1717 Riggs Place NW., Washington.

Senator FERGUSON. What is your business, Mr. Remington; what is your position with the Government?

Mr. REMINGTON. Director of the Export Program Staff, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce.

Senator FERGUSON. And you are also chairman of the so-called Ad Hoc Committee?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have been acting chairman of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you become acting chairman of that committee?

Mr. REMINGTON. A few days after I joined the Department of Commerce, which was, I believe, March 16 of this year.

Senator FERGUSON. And prior to that what was your position with the Government?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was a staff member at the Council of Economic Advisers.

Senator FERGUSON. And when did you take that job as a staff member?

Mr. REMINGTON. Approximately the end of March 1947.

Senator FERGUSON. You mean about December?

Mr. REMINGTON. Approximately the end of March of 1947.

Senator FERGUSON. Pardon me, I didn't get that. That was just about a year prior to that?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you tell us what your duties were as a staff member?

Mr. REMINGTON. To collect economic statistics and write about them. The statistics were primarily concerned with the problems of Federal finances, State and local finances; and I was also supposed to spend most of my time on the question of stabilization measures to combat too much inflation or not enough. But actually I did very little of that, and spent most of my time on general problems of Government, the economic effects of Government activities.

Senator FERGUSON. Was your job there a policy matter?

Mr. REMINGTON. Oh, no.

Senator FERGUSON. You were not a member of the Board itself?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. You were working on the staff?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. When the ERP was in, were you with that Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was Assistant Executive Secretary of the Harri-man committee, which was called the President's Committee on Foreign Aid.

Senator FERGUSON. You were not a member of that committee?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. You were the Executive—

Mr. REMINGTON. Assistant Executive Secretary.

Senator FERGUSON. Was that part of the same job that you had?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was on loan from the Economic Council.

Senator FERGUSON. What period were you on loan there?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe, sir, it was about August 1 to November 15 of 1947, approximately.

Senator FERGUSON. Were there other people out of your department on loan?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; not to the President's Committee on Foreign Aid.

Senator FERGUSON. How many people worked in the department where you worked, in the Executive Office?

Mr. REMINGTON. You mean the Council of Economic Advisers?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. REMINGTON. There is a professional staff of 12 or 15, I believe; probably 15, now.

Senator FERGUSON. Would you be classed on the professional staff?

Mr. REMINGTON. Oh, yes; anyone with a professional rating would be on the professional staff.

Senator FERGUSON. What is your civil-service rating?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe that I don't have a professional rating now; I believe that I have a clerical, administrative, and fiscal rating, CAF rating, grade 15.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, when you said you do not have a professional rating, what do you mean by that?

Mr. REMINGTON. The Government classifications for Government personnel are divided into several different groups, just for purposes of identification. There is the CAF classification of people; they are in administrative jobs and clerical jobs. And there is a professional group.

Senator FERGUSON. Had you ever had a professional group rating?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. I have had a rating of P-8, and CAF 15. One is the professional side and the other on is the administrative side.

Mr. ROGERS. What is the salary of that rating, the one that you presently have?

Mr. REMINGTON. \$9,975.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that with all of the percentages added to it, that is your actual salary, your take-home salary?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe it has been—that is salary before taxes. Since July 1, I have heard rumors of Federal pay increases, but having been on leave and having been quite sick, I have not followed the details.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you go on leave?

Mr. REMINGTON. I can answer it exactly by checking my sick leave slip I have here. I believe that I went—that doesn't answer the question—approximately the end of June. I came down with a bad case of chickenpox the day after I stopped working at the Department of Commerce, which was very much to the good of my staff that I was not there that next day. My last day of duty at the Department of Commerce was June 28.

Senator FERGUSON. That is June 28?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you tell us what you worked at prior to going, in March, down to the Council.

Mr. REMINGTON. Prior to going to the Council in March of 1947, I was Chief of the so-called Production Division of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. The name "Production Division" is something of a misnomer. I was concerned primarily with the rate of Federal construction. I had instructions from my boss to do what was possible to conserve on Federal expenditures.

Senator McCLELLAN. Who was your boss?

Mr. REMINGTON. The Deputy Director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

Senator McCLELLAN. Who was he?

Mr. REMINGTON. His name was Harold Stein.

Senator McCLELLAN. Is that under John Steelman?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. Go ahead.

Mr. REMINGTON. I was also concerned with the housing program.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you tell us, now, how you were transferred from that job to your job in the Economic Council, whether it was on your initiative or somebody else's, or who it was?

Mr. REMINGTON. In about December of 1946, all members, all staff members of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion were told that the organization was liquidating, and there would be reduction in force, and it was suggested to everyone that we seek another job. I called up probably 20 or 30 of my friends in Washington, and very indirectly indicated my availability. I had several job offers, and I decided to accept one with the Council of Economic Advisers.

Senator FERGUSON. Whom did you call there?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't believe that I called anyone there. I believe that I had talked to just probably 20 people, and the word went around Washington very fast that I was available.

Senator FERGUSON. Who got in touch with you?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe it was Don Wallace.

Senator FERGUSON. Who is Don Wallace?

Mr. REMINGTON. He is a staff member, or he was a staff member, and he is now at Princeton as a faculty member.

Senator FERGUSON. He called you and asked you to come over?

Mr. REMINGTON. To be interviewed.

Senator FERGUSON. And who interviewed you?

Mr. REMINGTON. I recall now. I saw him at the meeting of the economic association in Atlantic City, and I talked to him first about it there. And then he talked to me in Washington, and then several members of the staff talked to me. Gerhard Kolm called me, and Mr. Clark and Mr. Keyserling and Mr. Nourse called me, the other members of the Council. I happened to know personally I believe 90 percent of the staff members of the Council before I went over there, practically all members of the staff.

Senator FERGUSON. Had you met the members of the Council themselves?

Mr. REMINGTON. I knew none of them, except I had met Mr. Keyserling, I thought I knew him, but when I walked into his office he apparently thought that we had never met, so I think that I could say that none of the Council members knew me; but 90 percent of the staff members knew me, and some of them knew me well, professionally.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, when you go with the ERP Board, how do you get there?

Mr. ROGERS. Could I ask a question there?

At the time that you got the job that you have just described, did you then know there was some question about your loyalty which had been raised by the Department of Justice?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe I did. I can't recall exactly when the FBI interviewed me the first time about this matter, but I have a very distinct impression that I turned down the job over at the Atomic Energy Commission before I went to the Council, a week or two before, rather than—

Mr. ROGERS. Would you explain the circumstances of that offer, and what you did in connection with it?

Senator FERGUSON. About what month was that?

Mr. REMINGTON. In about February of 1947 I received a call from one of the personnel people down at the Atomic Energy Commission. He—

Senator FERGUSON. That is when you were really looking for another job?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. And the word had gotten around Washington that I was available, and I am rather well known among economists, among young economists, and so I received a call.

I went down there and I talked with them, and in many respects it was a job which attracted me more than any job I have ever been offered, but I turned it down because the FBI had been talking with me, and I realized there was a question about my loyalty. I was recommended for that job, I subsequently found out, by Arthur MacMahon, with the President's Loyalty Board, and he happens to know my problems with my mother-in-law, and my relatives, as well as anybody.

Senator FERGUSON. You mean he knew that at the time that he had recommended you?

Mr. REMINGTON. He did not know that there was a Miss Bentley, but he knew that my mother-in-law was a Communist, and he knew that I had visited my mother-in-law a great deal, and——

Senator FERGUSON. Could we suspend for just a moment, now, please.

(A short recess was taken.)

Senator THYE. Where did your mother-in-law reside?

Mr. REMINGTON. In Westchester County, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Senator THYE. What does your father-in-law do?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am kind of at a loss to answer that question, sir. I have never met my father-in-law, and——

Senator THYE. Were they separated before your marriage to their daughter?

Mr. REMINGTON. My mother-in-law left my wife's father, her first husband, when my wife was about 4 or 5 years old.

Senator THYE. What is the nationality of your mother-in-law?

Mr. REMINGTON. American.

Senator THYE. I beg pardon?

Mr. REMINGTON. American, United States.

Senator THYE. Yes; I know; but that, of course, could be just one generation; but previous to that?

Mr. REMINGTON. Her father, I believe, was born in this country, and I am not sure of that. His parents came from Germany, and he may have been born in Germany, but I don't think so. I think that he was born here. Her mother was born in this country, and she is a second- or third-generation American, and on her mother's side a fourth- or fifth-generation American.

I say my mother-in-law is a Communist. I can state quite definitely that she was not a Communist when I first met the daughter and became engaged to the daughter; she was anti-Communist at that time; and I believe that Arthur MacMahon can testify to that.

Senator THYE. What do you think influenced her to become a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think the factor was (a) loneliness and (b) a young man in the house who was a Communist and who introduced her to a lot of his friends and brought them to live near her, and so on.

Senator THYE. And then the mother's influence on the daughter brought about her convictions of the communistic philosophy?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator THYE. Are you living with your wife now?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Senator THYE. How long have you been separated?

Mr. REMINGTON. I gave up, sir, a year and a half ago; over a year and a half ago.

Senator THYE. Are there any children?

Mr. REMINGTON. Two children.

Senator THYE. Who has the children?

Mr. REMINGTON. My wife has them. I have no arrangements to take care of them. She has them, and she feeds them and clothes them; and so a court, particularly a Virginia court, would award them to her, and I have to stand aside and see those children brought up in a creed that I hate more than I hate anything in the world.

Senator THYE. Do you give aid to their support?

Mr. REMINGTON. I support them up until now, and I don't know whether I will be able to or not in the future.

You were asking me about Arthur MacMahon. He knows my mother-in-law well, and he took the lead in forcing her out of a position she held as director of the school in Croton after she became a Communist, and he knows that she was not a Communist when I first met the family and became engaged to the daughter, and he knows when she became a Communist subsequently, and he knows me and he knew me back several years ago very well, and we kept in touch with each other since somewhat, and he recommended me to the Atomic Energy Commission because he had full confidence in me. He did not know about Miss Bentley, and I believe——

Senator FERGUSON. When you went to the FBI who did you see there about that atomic-energy matter?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was interviewed by three gentleman. I recall the name of only one, Mr. Cornelson, and I——

Senator FERGUSON. You were asking advice there, really, as to whether or not they thought you should take that position?

Mr. REMINGTON. When they were interviewing me?

Senator FERGUSON. When you went to them about taking this job?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was asking their advice, and they said they were sorry, they could not advise me on that question; to use my own judgment. And I said, "Well, then, gentlemen, in view of the questions that have been raised about me, I think that I should decide not to take the job." And they said, "Fine," but don't ask them.

Senator FERGUSON. Naturally the FBI questions previous to that indicated to you as to what they had in mind?

Mr. REMINGTON. Oh, surely.

Senator FERGUSON. The Bentley woman and all.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. So that you knew.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Then, when you took the job over in the Council, the Economic Council, at least the FBI agents knew about the Bentley woman?

Mr. REMINGTON. Oh, yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And Mr. MacMahon knew that there was some question being raised about your loyalty?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. He didn't.

MR. REMINGTON. He knew about the mother-in-law, and he knew about my association with my mother-in-law, and I used to visit her every week end when I lived in New York because I was in a small apartment and she had a home.

Senator FERGUSON. What is her name?

MR. REMINGTON. Her name is Elizabeth Moos.

Senator FERGUSON. Is she a widow?

MR. REMINGTON. She has been divorced; she is now divorced; and she was divorced for the second time about 1940.

Senator FERGUSON. What does she work at?

MR. REMINGTON. I don't know what she works at now.

Senator FERGUSON. What did she then?

MR. REMINGTON. At that time she was director of the Hession Hills School, and she was forced out of that position when she became a Communist.

Senator FERGUSON. How long did she remain in there after she was a Communist?

MR. REMINGTON. Not more than 6 months.

Senator FERGUSON. Of course, you can be a Communist sympathizer and not actually be a Communist.

MR. REMINGTON. When I first met the lady, she used to be really rather bitter against Communists, not very bitter, just a little bitter, but it was more than a mildly negative attitude. She did not approve of Communists at that time.

Then a gentleman named Alvin Warren came to live with her. He had fought in Spain in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade or battalion, and he came to live with her because she was interested in Spanish relief, and she has some money, and she was touched by some friend of hers who appealed to her womanliness, or whatever it was, and Alvin Warren came to live with her. He completed the conversion process fairly rapidly, between 6 months and a year, and he brought Joseph North, the editor of *New Masses*, to live in Elizabeth Moos' garage; she rented it to the Norths, and North put the finishing touches on the conversion.

There are also several other Communists in Croton with whom she came in contact through Warren, and she used to see them and no one else.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you first meet Elizabeth Bentley?

MR. REMINGTON. I have been racking my brains now for a year and a half since this thing first came up to try and place exact dates, and I am not sure of exact dates. I can give you approximate ones. I was introduced by Elizabeth Moos to Joseph North, and Joseph North was in Elizabeth Moos' house half of every day and most evenings in 1941—pardon me, in 1940. I knew him, and I talked with him, and I used to disagree with him, but I would see him around the house a great deal, and I am easy to get along with, and I don't pick fights. Joseph North in 1941—pardon me, in 1942, sometime in the spring, summer, or fall of 1942, he introduced me to a man whom the FBI tells me is named John Golos. North introduced me to Golos, as I knew North, and Golos was a friend of North's, and North told me Golos was writing a book about war mobilization, and he thought that I could help keep him going on the right track.

Golos and North had lunch together, and I was with them, and my wife was with us, sometime in the spring or summer of 1942.

Then at a subsequent meeting with Golos, I believe about a week later, I was introduced to Miss Bentley, and I was told her name was Helen Johnson, and she was a free-lance research worker or writer associated with Golos, helping Golos, and also primarily working for newspaper reporters, particularly the reporter for PM.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know Golos was a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did not. If I had stopped to think about it, I probably would have guessed it.

Senator FERGUSON. You knew North was?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; I knew North was a Communist; and, if I had stopped to think about it, I probably would have guessed that Golos was; but North has many friends, including many who are not Communists, in Croton, or at least he did when I used to know him; and I just didn't think whether Golos was a Communist or whether he was not a Communist. And, if I had stopped to think of it, I probably would have concluded he was a Communist.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know Miss Johnson was a Communist under that name?

Mr. REMINGTON. After I had talked to Miss Johnson several times, and along about the end of 1943, it began to dawn on me that she was probably a Communist, and at that time I began to shy off.

Senator FERGUSON. How many times would you meet her?

Mr. REMINGTON. My recollection is about half a dozen times, and the FBI tells me that I saw her more than that, but I have a very distinct recollection of three places that I have met her, and I recall meeting her at two of those places more than once, and so I place it at about half a dozen times.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever pay her any money?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Give her any money?

Mr. REMINGTON. I once gave her some money for my wife, which was a contribution to what turns out to be a Communist organization, this Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Senator FERGUSON. How much did you give her?

Mr. REMINGTON. It was a good many dollars, I expect. I checked back over my income-tax returns, and I took a deduction, I think, of about \$25 or \$35 for that contribution.

Senator FERGUSON. That you had given to her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did she ever collect any dues from you?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. So much a week?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Was your wife a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have been wondering about that. What used to be a firm conviction was that my wife has never been a party member, and that conviction is not as firm now as it was, and I have discovered that my wife has done an awful lot of things that I never heard about, an awful lot of things, and I know absolutely that my wife has what I would call a Communist mentality, a Communist orientation.

She says, for example, "U. S. S. R. is powerful, and U. S. S. R. will dominate the world, and if it is inevitable, well, let us accept it," and

that is her position. I think that she wants to see the U. S. S. R. dominate the world, and I am sure of that.

When Tito shot down the United States planes over Yugoslavia, she defended the Yugoslav action. I am sure that she is a Communist in her orientation. I used to be sure she had never been a party member, and I would not swear now that she had not been a party member, because I don't know.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, now, as to Miss Bentley, did she ever deliver to you any money?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Any papers?

Mr. REMINGTON. She used to bring various publications, particularly PM and the Daily Worker.

Senator FERGUSON. Why would she bring you those? Could you not get those in the regular way?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. Just showing me things for illustration, and she would show me an article in PM and say, "Now, look what we said, and read it over and tell me what you think of it."

And then I would finish reading it over and tell her what I thought of it, and she would say, "Keep it; it will do you good."

When she did that a few times with the Daily Worker, telling me it would do me good, I began to get quite concerned.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever give her any information?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. What information?

Mr. REMINGTON. I gave her public information, a great deal of it. I gave her a great deal of information which the War Production Board wanted to make available to the public.

Now, in addition to that, in addition to thoroughly public information, I used to give her a certain amount of background information of the kind that is normally given to reporters.

Senator FERGUSON. What, for instance?

Mr. REMINGTON. The big problem was that at that time PM and several other leftist publications were saying that the United States war effort was not all-out. The War Production Board was accused of selling out United States war goals to big business, and I am sure that you will recall that campaign in the leftist press, and it was a campaign for the second front, and there was a campaign for all-out war production, for aid to Russia, and they accused the War Production Board of "business as usual."

I tried to convince her that she should be writing articles and helping PM write articles that would show that the United States was really doing a job, and she would come with an article which says, "United States plane production falters," and I would tell her, "United States plane production is not faltering; we are doing a magnificent job," and I didn't know what plane output figures were, and I did not have access to those detailed production figures, but I knew what was in the press, and I would tell her the best information that I had from the press in specific terms, and I would give her background information, my own convictions about how well we were doing.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever give her any information in relation to a process on rubber?

Mr. REMINGTON. I told her about a process on rubber as an example of the kind of thing, the kind of little silly things that happened in government.

Senator FERGUSON. But didn't you give her, on various scraps of paper, the formula?

Mr. REMINGTON. I will have to give you a little history on that. I did not give her, on various scraps of paper, any formula. I told her about the formula which had been played with by some Government people, after I discovered that the whole thing was sheer and utter nonsense and poppycock, and I tried to show her how difficult it is to run a rubber program by telling her: "Look, here is the problem we face. An inventor comes in and he says that he can make rubber out of garbage, and he gives us the formula, and it looks like nonsense, but he said it will work. So we spend 3 months, or the people who worked on it spent 3 months, trying to find out whether this thing will really work.

"Now, if it will work, if you can make rubber out of garbage with a bucket and a Bunsen burner, then clearly the War Production Board should not put billions of dollars of equipment into a rubber program. So you have got to delay a little bit on your billion dollar program while you make sure that this crackpot hasn't got something that is really good."

Well, when it was all over, I told her, "Now, you know what that fellow claimed he could do? He claimed that he could take some kind of petroleum of some kind and put it in a bucket, and heat it just right, and pour in a chemical"—and I have forgotten what the chemical was—"and then put in a piece of natural rubber, and the whole thing would turn into a mass of absolutely chemically pure natural rubber."

I said, "That is what was explored, and it turned out to be nonsense."

Senator FERGUSON. Did she ever print that in the Daily Worker or anywhere?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't think so.

Senator FERGUSON. What other information, or how many times did you give her information, or where would you meet her to give her the information?

Mr. REMINGTON. Well, sir, I met her at a drug store at the corner of Fourteenth Street and Pennsylvania.

Senator FERGUSON. That is the Whelan Drug Co., there?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. All right.

Mr. REMINGTON. And following, once, we walked from there down to a restaurant there, it is a kind of a cafeteria, and I have forgotten the name of it; and then I met her at the corner of Indiana and Fourth Street, and I think that I met her there twice.

Senator FERGUSON. How would you make those appointments?

Mr. REMINGTON. She would call up on the phone.

Senator FERGUSON. At your office?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; and she would say, "This is Helen Johnson. I am in town. Can you spare some time? Could you meet me at Fourteenth Street? Or, I am in kind of a hurry, could you walk out to the corner and meet me, and we can talk for a few minutes before I go to my next appointment, before I catch my train."

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know she was meeting other people? -

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; she told me she came down on these trips from New York to see as many people as she could in order to get as much information as she could about the problems she was writing about, and she told me that she was here for several days.

Senator FERGUSON. Did she meet any of your friends?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; she talked several times, apparently, with a friend of mine, ex-friend of mine, named [name deleted], and the FBI was very concerned as to whether I had taken the initiative in introducing [name deleted] to Bentley or Johnson, or whether she had come to me and said, "Do you know [name deleted]? I would like to meet him." And I was never able to clarify in my mind which it was. It was one or the other.

Senator FERGUSON. But she did meet him?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And she got information from him?

Mr. REMINGTON. She talked with him at very great length about South American problems, and I assume that he told her whatever she says he told her. Now, if [name deleted] is a Communist, he probably told her things he was not supposed to, and if [name deleted] is not a Communist, he probably confined himself to the things which would be proper.

As to whether [name deleted] is a Communist or not, I have only an opinion, I don't know. I think he is.

Senator FERGUSON. With any other of your friends or acquaintances?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; I never introduced her to any.

Senator FERGUSON. That is the only person that you actually knew she was meeting?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is right, the only person.

Senator FERGUSON. Did your wife ever give her any information?

Mr. REMINGTON. That I am not sure of. The FBI asked me whether Miss Johnson or Miss Bentley ever came out to my home, and I don't know whether she did or not. I think that it is quite possible. I have a vague recollection of inviting her out, and I don't know whether she accepted it or whether she did not accept it, and this is just one of those things that didn't make much difference at the time.

Senator FERGUSON. What date did you go to New York?

Mr. REMINGTON. I appeared before the grand jury on about September 3 or 4 or 5, the first week of September 1947.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, after that, you went from the Council in the Executive Offices, over to the Commerce Department?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you tell us how you got that job?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir. I was working at the Council, and I had kind of a feeling that—and maybe I am talking out of school now—

Senator FERGUSON. We want everything, and you are sworn, and tell everything. You are not talking out of school, and don't feel that it is talking out of school. Give us the whole story.

Mr. REMINGTON. I had kind of a feeling that the Council was writing reports, and I didn't believe everything was in the reports.

Senator FERGUSON. What do you mean when you say they were writing reports?

Mr. REMINGTON. They were not accomplishing much more than writing reports.

Senator FERGUSON. Political?

Mr. REMINGTON. I thought the organization was—well, sir, I don't think that I should say much about my opinion of the Council. I think that they are a bunch of good, sincere, honest men, and I think that they are very competent professional economists; and I felt that some of the things that had been recommended by them were not things that I personally would stand behind, and I didn't want to stay around.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you think it was merely just political reports?

Mr. REMINGTON. I thought that some of the things the President put into reports were political, and the Council, in the eyes of the public, bore the responsibility for these reports.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, you tell us now that some of these reports were just approved by the Council, and they were from the President?

Mr. REMINGTON. They were drafted by the Council, that is, drafted by the Council, and then the reports go to the President, and then the reports are rewritten by the President, and they come to Congress as the Economic Report of the President. But everyone knows that the Council has made the first draft, and in the eyes of the public it is a Council report, and really it is the President's report.

Senator FERGUSON. The President rewrites it and they finally do approve it?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; the Council doesn't approve it, the President makes the final decision and writes the final draft and sends it to Congress as the President's report. And the Council does not approve the final draft.

Senator FERGUSON. They don't even approve the final draft?

Mr. REMINGTON. They do not have the veto power on the final draft.

Senator FERGUSON. Then, you mean to say that this report is so changed by the President and became a report that you would not stand by?

Mr. REMINGTON. There were one or two things in the report that I personally disagreed with.

Senator THYE. What, for instance, if I may ask that question?

Senator FERGUSON. That is a good question.

Mr. REMINGTON. I think it is asinine to propose a tax on profits to combat inflation, and I just don't think that that combats inflation.

Senator FERGUSON. You think the company tries to make more profits to get a little money, and thereby inflates?

Mr. REMINGTON. They will raise prices again, and there is no way to get away from it.

Senator FERGUSON. That is your judgment?

Mr. REMINGTON. It is just a question of my personal judgment.

Senator FERGUSON. The Council, then, really never recommended that? That was part of the President's idea?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't know, I am not sure. The Council was very close about what the President does.

Senator FERGUSON. Anyway, you were dissatisfied there?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. What did you do?

Mr. REMINGTON. Just slightly.

Senator FERGUSON. What did you do?

Mr. REMINGTON. So I don't suppose that I told more than two people that, "Well, the Council itself is fine, and I have learned a lot, but there are certain things here that I think are a little too New Dealish, and I don't want to stay here very long, because I am afraid that I will get tarred with the brush." I suppose that I told two people, in December or January, two or three people. And in February, the first part of February, I got a call from a fellow down at the Department of Commerce, whom I had known slightly.

Senator FERGUSON. What was his name?

Mr. REMINGTON. His name was Lawrence Keagan, and he said, "Bill, there is a job here that has got to be filled," and he said, "Various members of the export program staff have suggested that you be asked to come in and head that staff," and he said, "I will propose it to Fred McIntyre if there is any possibility that you will accept."

So I went down to see Keagan, and asked him about the job, and I told him that I thought that I would accept if the job were offered to me. That was a very delicate situation in the Office of International Trade. There had been an export-program staff in the Office of International Trade, and there were several divisions about this level, and the export-program staff was at this level, and they were going to raise the program staff up to division level.

Well, the man they had in charge of it is a good man, but he is not very mature in dealing with people, and he had a lot of enemies. The problem was to find a new face to bring in, someone who had been at higher levels of responsibility in the past, as I had been, and someone who was a new face and didn't have a history of disagreement with other members of the organization.

So they consulted around as to what outsider might be available, and my name was thrown into the pot by some of the staff members who had had indirect contact with me when I was at OWMR, apparently. So Keagan called me and McIntyre called me up after I talked with Keagan, and I saw, McIntyre, the first time that I had ever met him. I indicated an interest, and they began to check around town. They checked around town by direct phone call and chatting informally with a great many people. They checked with David Bruce, the Assistant Secretary, and William Foster, the Under Secretary, both of whom knew me; and the general consensus was that I was the best man available, the best man they could get for the job. And among all of the people in Washington who know me well and worked with me very closely over these last years, every one is absolutely completely convinced of my loyalty to the United States; and more than that, I cannot tell you gentlemen how much I hate U. S. S. R. communism, and what it stands for. I don't believe many men lose two children to it the way I have.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, you say Bruce knew you, and McIntyre you had met once?

Mr. REMINGTON. I met him when he called me up for an interview.

Senator FERGUSON. And Blaisdell?

Mr. REMINGTON. Blaisdell, I had known for some time.

Senator FERGUSON. You had known for some time?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you talk to him?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you tell us your conversation with him, and when it was, before you took the job or after?

Mr. REMINGTON. Before I took the job, when I had decided that I thought that I would like it, but before I took it, I went to see Blaisdell, and I told him about the question that had been raised with me by the FBI, and I said it was over a year ago that the FBI talked to me about my contact with Miss Helen Johnson.

Senator FERGUSON. Up to that time, you didn't know her name was Bentley?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; I didn't know it was Bentley until I saw it in the New England newspapers yesterday on my way down in the train. The New England papers were full of her picture yesterday.

Senator FERGUSON. All right.

Mr. REMINGTON. I said "I met this Bentley woman through Joseph North, who is a friend of my mother-in-law, and I talked with her several times, and the FBI considers that I was indiscreet or implied they thought I was indiscreet in talking with her, and I don't think that I was." I said, "I got called before the grand jury in September to answer questions there, and the FBI talked to me over a year ago, and the grand jury talked to me 6 months ago, and nothing has happened, and I assume that I answered all of the questions satisfactorily, and I want you to know this before I accepted the job."

Senator FERGUSON. What did he say?

Mr. REMINGTON. "Well, if there is still any question, they will catch it during the appointment process, the Civil Service Commission will know about it," and he said: "Nobody has said anything to me which would indicate your disloyalty, and if they do during the appointment process, we will stop it."

Senator FERGUSON. And then you went in, and who hired you? He does, doesn't he?

Mr. REMINGTON. Well, the matter was cleared with Bruce and Foster, because—

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever mention to Bruce or Foster that you had been before the grand jury?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; because I didn't know them as well as I do Blaisdell.

Senator FERGUSON. But you did tell Blaisdell?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And that was how many days before you actually took the job on the 16th of March?

Mr. REMINGTON. That was before I accepted it. I accepted it about February 15, and I was appointed a month later.

Senator FERGUSON. You really accepted it in February?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And it was before that, before you accepted it?

Mr. REMINGTON. Before I accepted it. And then there was four solid weeks, I guess it was, perhaps even 5 weeks, while the appointment was going through, and I must confess I sat on the edge of my chair, I didn't know whether there were still questions about my loyalty or not, and I told one or two friends or I told several people at the council, I said, "I am due to leave here to go to the Department of

Commerce," and I said, "There are plenty of opportunities for things to develop which would make the appointment inappropriate, and I don't know whether it will come through or not until I sign the oath of office." And I didn't know whether there were questions about any loyalty or not until I signed the oath of office, and then I assumed that all questions had been resolved.

Senator FERGUSON. Where did you have this conversation with Blaisdell?

Mr. REMINGTON. I had it in his office one day. We were both in a very great hurry, and the conversation occupied 10 minutes, of which we spent not more than 2 minutes on this loyalty question.

Senator FERGUSON. He kind of passed this off about you being before the grand jury?

Mr. REMINGTON. I rather passed it off with him.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you tell him what this grand jury was interested in? You must have found that out. How long did they examine you? I am not going to ask you what they asked you.

Mr. REMINGTON. I would be perfectly willing to tell you what I told them.

Senator FERGUSON. Oh, no.

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't believe that I could tell you the questions that they asked.

Senator FERGUSON. I am not putting it that way, but how many hours or minutes.

Mr. REMINGTON. I guess about 3 hours, 1 hour one day and about 2 hours another, and perhaps not quite that much.

Senator FERGUSON. You knew that the Attorney General's office—who did you talk with in the Attorney General's office?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have forgotten the man's name. I have it in correspondence.

Senator FERGUSON. Is it Mr. Quinn?

Mr. REMINGTON. That sounds familiar. It was an assistant to Donegan, if he is an assistant.

Mr. ADLERMAN. He is working with Quinn on the case.

Mr. REMINGTON. Donegan sounds like it.

Senator FERGUSON. You talked with him up in New York?

Mr. REMINGTON. When I talked to Blaisdell, I told him that I had been in contact with this person, and the FBI had been to see me a year ago, and I said, "Of course, you know about that grand jury in New York. I appeared there, too, and I believe that I answered their questions satisfactorily."

That is pretty close to word for word what I said to him about the grand jury.

Senator FERGUSON. This Harriman committee, now; who did you have to interview on that before you got that job as assistant executive secretary?

Mr. REMINGTON. Richard Bissel, the executive secretary. Richard Bissel was executive secretary of the Harriman committee and I had worked for him at the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, and he had been my supervisor there before Harold Stein, and he knew me well enough to have no question about me at all, and more than that, in March of 1947, that is 3 months before Marshall's speech at Harvard, announcing the Marshall plan, I had written a memorandum to Secretary Harriman and I had come down with him on his plane from

New York. I talked with him about ways and means of moving against communism in Europe, and he asked me to write him a memorandum following that conversation. At the end of March I wrote him a memorandum in which I outlined the need for a reconstruction program in Western Europe to fight communism.

I did not blueprint the Marshall plan or anything like that. My concept of it was quite different. My idea was to put American business in there, not Government money, but to get American business in there to fight communism. I was proposing a system of private investment.

But Bissel knew about that memorandum, and he knew how keenly I felt about stopping communism in Europe, and that was one of the reasons that he turned to me for help on the Harriman committee, because he said that he knew that I had been thinking about this thing and writing about it for some time.

Senator FERGUSON. That was in March of 1947?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. You went with the Harriman committee in 1947, about August?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that right?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. About the 1st of August?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. While you were on the Harriman committee, you were called before the New York grand jury?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. You had to take time off to go up before the grand jury?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was asked to keep it confidential.

Senator FERGUSON. But you had to do that?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And you remained on the Harriman committee as assistant executive secretary after you had testified up at New York?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sure.

Senator FERGUSON. But the Attorney General's office asked you to keep it secret?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And they knew that you were on the Harriman committee?

Mr. REMINGTON. Oh, yes. I made a very great point of that, and I said, "I am working for this Harriman committee and if it comes out in headlines that an employee of the Harriman committee is being indicted for espionage or goodness knows what, it won't make any difference in the votes on the Marshall plan in the Senate, but it might influence a vote or two in the House, and in the interest of the agency I would like to resign before I am indicted if I am going to be indicted."

And I said, "I am confident that I won't be indicted, and if I am I know I won't be convicted because I am innocent; but if there is going to be any indictment, give me a chance to resign so that I can protect the agency as best I can."

Senator FERGUSON. Did they agree that they would notify you?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Senator FERGUSON. They would not agree to that?

Mr. REMINGTON. They said, "Well, it will be a month or two before anything happens, anyway, and perhaps you will be finished," and then by the end of September I began to pick up rumors in the paper that the whole thing had been washed out and nobody was going to be indicted.

I thought, sir, that there was nothing to the whole Bentley proposition by that time because I thought if there had been there would have been indictments.

Senator FERGUSON. But the FBI had questioned you about it and Mr. Quinn had thought well enough of it to take you at least before the grand jury.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. What purpose did you think that you were serving when you were giving information to the Bentley woman?

Mr. REMINGTON. Well, sir, the kind of information that I was giving here would be perfectly proper to give to any reporter that you trusted. Now, the purpose of it, sir, to answer your question directly, was to try and convince this supposed reporter that the United States was in there pitching in the production effort.

Senator McCLELLAN. Is that in 1943?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; at the end of 1942 and all of 1943. At that time, as you will recall, sir, the Russians were accusing the United States of delaying the second front, and there were rumors in the press constantly about the Russians seeking a separate peace because the United States wasn't in there all-out, and the leftist press in this country, particularly PM, was writing about "business as usual" in Washington, and "big business doesn't want to fight," and "big business doesn't want to convert to war."

It was important and we were told that it was important in the War Production Board, and it was important to get across the idea that the United States was in that war to fight, and that the United States was not playing business as usual, that big business was converting to war production, and American corporations were doing a job.

Senator McCLELLAN. Now, let me ask you this: You speak of the importance of the dissemination of this particular information, trying to get it across to this particular reporter. Did you have any assignment to do that from your superiors?

Mr. REMINGTON. This matter was discussed, this question of public relations was discussed informally in the staff meetings of the Planning Committee.

Senator McCLELLAN. Did your superiors know that you were in contact with her and disseminating this information through her?

Mr. REMINGTON. My superiors knew that I talked to reporters occasionally, and they did not know, or I did not check with them each time I saw them.

Senator McCLELLAN. By that time did you not know that her boss, John Golos, whom you had previously known, was a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. That had never occurred to me, because I did not see John Golos again after the interview in New York, after the second time.

Senator McCLELLAN. You had no knowledge at that time that he was a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. If I had stopped to think about it, I would have reasoned that Golos was a friend of North and North is a Communist, and Golos may or may not be a Communist and probably is, but I didn't think that through because it just didn't seem relevant.

Senator McCLELLAN. Now, let me get this straight. You had no instructions from any superior or the consent of any superior with respect to your relations and your associations with Miss Bentley, a reporter, or any specific authority or instructions from them, to give her such information as you felt was proper?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir—

Senator McCLELLAN. What I am trying to determine was whether you were acting on orders, or with their knowledge and consent or if you simply did it on your own initiative and upon your own judgment and in your own discretion.

Mr. REMINGTON. I thought that I was acting within the general instructions of my superiors with respect to press relations. I have never in any job received specific instructions from a superior what to say to a reporter or whether or not to see any specific reporter.

Senator McCLELLAN. Did any of your duties in that employment pertain to public relations with the press?

Mr. REMINGTON. As much so as in any job I ever had, I suppose.

Senator McCLELLAN. You know whether you had any duty or responsibility in connection with the press for releases to it and for the dissemination of information through it. Do you know whether that was any part of your duties or not?

Mr. REMINGTON. You want a simple answer, and the simple answer is "yes." Now, may I qualify that. Mr. Rogers told me to speak up when I thought a question was not fair.

Senator FERGUSON. That is perfectly proper, and the Senator agrees to that.

Senator McCLELLAN. I am trying to nail this down, and that is all right. You can explain any answer you want, and I want an explanation. I may have the greatest sympathy on earth for you when I find out the facts, but I want the facts.

Mr. REMINGTON. You are entitled to the facts. Now, bureaucracy is an awfully complicated thing. I have always been a very hard-driving youngster in the Government and I have always had an awful lot of responsibility, more responsibility than my classification showed. That was because I will take responsibility, sometimes unwisely.

At the planning committee, we had general guidance from our chief as to what he was doing with respect to the press, and we were told that, "Sure, if the reporter asks you questions, keep on the right track." We were told if a reporter asks you questions, don't be dumb, tell them what they should know.

Senator FERGUSON. Was everybody in that department a press agent under that theory, that anyone could be questioned by a reporter, particularly a reporter of the Daily Worker?

Mr. REMINGTON. I didn't know she was a reporter for the Daily Worker. I thought that she was a reporter for PM.

Senator FERGUSON. She brought you Daily Worker articles with things in them that you had given her?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, PM; things that she wanted me to comment on, and not things that I had given her, and she had given me articles

in PM, and she would also show me the Daily Worker and ask me to comment on things that were in there.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever get copies of the Daily Worker from her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Didn't you regularly get copies of the Daily Worker from her?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not regularly.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, how many times did you get copies of the Daily Worker?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would guess three or four times.

Senator McCLELLAN. Let me ask you, in that connection, was not that fact alone—that she would bring you the Daily Worker and comment favorably on articles in it—was that not sufficient in time of war to arouse your suspicions as to her loyalty?

Mr. REMINGTON. At that time Russia was an ally.

Senator McCLELLAN. That doesn't matter, but the fact that the Daily Worker was criticizing the United States, and she was apparently trying to indoctrinate you with the same opinion that the Daily Worker was expressing.

Mr. REMINGTON. Ultimately it did, sir; she aroused my awareness. At the outset she did not. Now, the Wall Street Journal and the Journal of Commerce were being critical of the United States Government, too, at that time, and any good newspaper is critical of the Government; and I believe, sir, that I personally have been critical of Government agencies many times, and I believe some members of the majority party in Congress have been critical of the Government.

Senator McCLELLAN. I am not questioning that, but she apparently did not bring you the Wall Street Journal or bring you the regular press of the country, but kept bringing you the Daily Worker.

Mr. REMINGTON. She didn't think that I needed exposure to the Wall Street Journal. She thought I had enough.

Senator McCLELLAN. She thought that she should expose you to the Daily Worker.

Mr. REMINGTON. That is right.

Senator THYE. Might I ask this question: Did Miss Bentley—or, as you knew her then, Miss Johnson—press you for further information than that you gave her at the time?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; she did.

Senator THYE. In what manner would she press you?

Mr. REMINGTON. She pressed for information on all subjects, particularly production.

Senator FERGUSON. Plane production?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, and tank production, and she pressed for information of all kinds which I did not have, and which I would not have given her if I had had it.

Senator THYE. For instance, on plane production, what information did you give her on plane production?

Mr. REMINGTON. I told her on one occasion exactly how many planes had been produced in the previous month, because that exact information had been released by the War Production Board in the newspapers.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you tell her to whom the planes were going, the production that had been produced?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; I didn't know.

Senator FERGUSON. Didn't she ask that?

Mr. REMINGTON. She asked that, but I didn't know that.

Senator THYE. Did she press for information on new designs and new proposed production plans?

Mr. REMINGTON. She asked me about that, and found out very rapidly that I knew nothing whatsoever about it, and I couldn't even give her background information on that kind of thing.

Senator O'CONNOR. There is just a question as to the system that was in vogue at the office. Are we to understand that the employees were able to give out, without any supervision from the top authority, information to any reporter that might ask? Were things on that basis: that the individual was able to put his own judgment into effect as to what might or might not be given out.

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, perhaps the best answer to that would be to tell you how I run my staff now, or how I did.

Senator FERGUSON. If you would keep to the question back in the War Production Board, it would be better for the Senator.

Senator O'CONNOR. I was asking really what the existing situation was under the then existing circumstances.

Mr. REMINGTON. The situation at that time was that the Planning Committee Staff was told in staff meetings how the Director of the Staff, how the members of the Planning Committee themselves were talking to reporters.

One of the men who was not my direct superior, not de jure but de facto my top superior, Tom Wilson, he used to see reporters, several a day, constantly, and in the staff meetings of his little section be used to talk to us about what he would tell the reporters, and he would say, "Now, look here, boys, when these reporters start asking you questions, for God's sake tell them what I just told so and so."

He would say, "We cannot afford to give them the impression that we are holding out on them. They will smell a rat, and they will crucify us if we play dumb; so do not tell them so and so, but tell them we are doing a good job and we are in here fighting," and that is the way the instructions came to us.

Senator McCLELLAN. That seems to me like a far looser situation than I thought existed, but do you mean all of you on the staff were free to talk to reporters without the information clearing through some centralized authority, someone to censor or someone to authorize its release?

Mr. REMINGTON. I trust my staff, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. If everybody is going to talk in an agency to reporters, just promiscuously, I don't see how you would ever keep a secret.

Mr. REMINGTON. At the Export Program Staff there has never been a leak, and I think the reason that there has never been a leak is because those people know what they are not supposed to talk about.

Senator THYE. How many of you were on that staff?

Mr. REMINGTON. At the Planning Committee, the War Production Board, I guess 30 or maybe 40.

Senator THYE. There were 30 of you, of which your immediate superior permitted to speak on the question of what the Board, the War Production Board, was doing?

Mr. REMINGTON. Permitted us to speak when asked by reporters who came around.

Senator McCLELLAN. Let me ask you another question at this point: During that time that you were in contact with the Bentley woman, and giving her such information as you may have given her, did you hold any press conference?

Mr. REMINGTON. Oh, no, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. You held no press conference?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; I never held a press conference.

Senator McCLELLAN. Did you see any reporters at your office?

Mr. REMINGTON. I never saw a reporter at my own office—yes, I did see a reporter at my office once or twice.

Senator McCLELLAN. I mean in the relation of giving out press information.

Mr. REMINGTON. In the relation of giving out background information, but not press releases.

Senator McCLELLAN. How many did you see during that time, different reporters?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think that I saw two in my office, and probably two or three or four more socially.

Senator McCLELLAN. Did you ever ask Miss Bentley to come to your office to get information?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did.

Senator McCLELLAN. Did she come?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir; she said that she was uptown and she would not have time, and she was on her way to the train and it would not be convenient, or it was a beautiful day or why not walk outside.

Senator McCLELLAN. Would that be during office hours?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. You would leave your place of business and your office and your duties to go downtown and meet her and give her information?

Mr. REMINGTON. When I was working 12 hours a day—

Senator McCLELLAN. Just answer that "Yes" or "No." Did you do it or did you not do it?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, but may I explain that, sir, that I think that the question is a clear one and straightforward one—

Senator McCLELLAN. That is what I want. I don't want any equivocation here, I want to get the truth.

Mr. REMINGTON. But I was not neglecting my duties.

Senator McCLELLAN. I did not say that you were neglecting your duties, but you were going outside of the regular routine of your duties?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. Was it then a part of your duties to go downtown and meet press reporters?

Mr. REMINGTON. It was part of my duties to go downtown to meet anybody that I thought would help the job that I was supposed to do.

Senator McCLELLAN. Well, is that not a bit unusual that a businessman occupying a position you had, instead of telling them if they wanted information to come to the office and get it, that you were willing and did on different occasions leave your office during office hours and go down to places where you didn't expect to be seen and observed to give out information?

Mr. REMINGTON. If someone came to me now at my present age, with my present experience, I would say that it was definitely suspicious.

Senator THYE. How old were you at the time that you met Miss Bentley or Miss Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. In 1942 I guess that I was 24 years old.

Senator FERGUSON. How did you come to break off relationship with Miss Johnson?

Mr. REMINGTON. During 1943 she called me, I guess three or four times in the beginning of the year, and once or twice at the end of the year, and it was kind of dying of its own weight, and then I recall seeing her the last time, only I am not so sure I recall it. The FBI tells me that I saw her for the last time at the National Gallery, and they told me it was early in 1944.

Senator FERGUSON. Why would you meet her at the National Gallery, instead of meeting at your office?

Mr. REMINGTON. A senior member of the staff of any organization has people come to his office, and a junior staff member is in the habit of going to other people's office.

Senator FERGUSON. Her office was not at the Gallery.

Mr. REMINGTON. No; but it seemed natural to me, and it was around lunchtime, and she said, "I am over this way; come on over if you can."

Senator McCLELLAN. Where was your office at that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. At the Social Security Building, and I often went to the Gallery for lunch.

Senator McCLELLAN. I want to pursue this just a little further. What other reporters did you meet by appointment during that same period of time downtown somewhere and give information to?

Mr. REMINGTON. Well—

Senator McCLELLAN. By appointment. I mean, they would call you.

Mr. REMINGTON. I never met any other reporters by appointment.

Senator McCLELLAN. This was the only one?

Mr. REMINGTON. The only one by appointment. I met several other reporters, however.

Senator McCLELLAN. And you did not even know that she was a reporter at the time, to tell you the truth about it?

Mr. REMINGTON. I never asked a reporter for his credentials, and I am going to start from now on, if I am ever in a job again.

Senator THYE. You were 24 years old, and your immediate superior permitted you, along with your other fellow associates, about 30, to give information relative to production of planes and other productions in war plants to the reporters?

Mr. REMINGTON. They permitted us to give out public information.

Senator O'CONNOR. Right on that point, if I could ask you to clarify that, because I was certainly quite shocked at the revelations of the system, and that is what I have in mind.

Was there no check-up or reporting by you to superiors as to what was being disclosed?—because under that system anything which was in the opinion of the individual, of the minor employee, let us say, public information, could be disclosed, and you may very well have been in position of possessing vital information; information vital to a potential enemy.

Mr. REMINGTON. I think that I said to my superior a couple of times something to the effect that "Well, I got in a good lick yesterday, and I think I convinced a reporter that Charles Wilson is a good egg, and I think—"

Senator FERGUSON. Was she doubtful of Wilson?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; Wilson came in with a business-as-usual reputation.

Senator FERGUSON. Did that not indicate that she was a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, because Ferdinand Eberstadt was doubtful of Wilson.

Senator FERGUSON. As much as she was?

Mr. REMINGTON. More so; Eberstadt and Wilson fought a battle to the death and Eberstadt went back to New York.

Senator FERGUSON. So that did not—

Mr. REMINGTON. I personally was more of an Eberstadt man, myself, but because I had worked on vertical controlled materials; but I was convinced that Wilson was honest and meant to do a job; but I didn't think that he had the experience that Eberstadt had.

Senator O'CONNOR. Was any information disclosed with you to the fact that the Daily Worker was so much in evidence at the time of the visit?

Mr. REMINGTON. That didn't seem too strange to me, at the time, because the problem was—or the problem that I was thinking about was how do you convince people who don't believe it that the production effort is all-out; that the appeasement is no more.

Senator O'CONNOR. That is the point that I had in mind, whether or not you were always thinking of your side, trying to sell the thing, or whether there wasn't on the part of yourself or any others down there any suspicion that maybe the people coming in were ill-disposed or were possibly looking for information for other reasons.

Mr. REMINGTON. Well, sir, I have been, up until I began to learn some lessons a few years ago, I am afraid a little naive. The problem didn't occur to me, and I will tell you why. I am not hopelessly naive, or at least, I hope I wasn't.

Senator FERGUSON. You had held some very responsible positions, and you were taken to London prior to this time, and if you were so naive, why did they take you to London as really an expert?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am not in a position to evaluate my own qualifications exactly, but I am an economist who knows a good deal about economies, and also I get along with people very well, at least, I get along with my office associates, and when I am in an office there are no internal jealousies developing, and the office doesn't split apart like Eberstadt and Wilson split apart at the War Production Board, and when I am dealing with another office relations are friendly, and they are not unfriendly, and that is why I am valuable.

Senator O'CONNOR. That leaves unanswered, and certainly unexplained, my question.

Mr. REMINGTON. I think that I can explain that a little bit.

There at the time you will recall we were operating under instructions from the White House, and the instructions were called the Russian protocol, and the Russian protocol was a commitment on the part of the United States Government to supply quite a lot of stuff to the U. S. S. R.

The Russian protocol also provided—I don't know whether it is written in there or whether it is just provided by inference—that the stuff for Russia would get the highest priority that the War Production Board had to give. It was triple A. Now, when you are giving triple A priority as an organization to planes and guns and tanks for the Russians, and when you get your primary attention to get the stuff to the Russians, and when that is the order that comes down from the White House to get it to the Russians—you don't stop to question a reporter who is obviously interested in getting stuff to Russia.

You are trying to convince the reporter that “God, yes, we are carrying out the instructions, and we are not sabotaging the President's instructions.” We are trying to carry it out, and so when she showed me an article in the Daily Worker and when she obviously was interested in getting stuff to Russia it didn't arouse my suspicions, because that is what Harry Hopkins was doing more than she was.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever give her any memorandum, anything in writing?

Mr. REMINGTON. I gave her in writing press releases, forms, War Production Board public forms.

Senator FERGUSON. Could she not get those press releases from the regular press if she was a reporter? Why did you have to take to her press releases?

Mr. REMINGTON. If a reporter came to you, sir, or if a reporter came to the Senate press room and said, “I would like a copy of a speech that was something about flood control, and somebody was in favor of flood control and the speech was some time last year,” what would the press room do? She would just shove a lot of stuff around.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that the only thing that you ever gave her; press releases and public forms?

Mr. REMINGTON. I gave her press releases, I recall distinctly, and I gave her public forms that I recall distinctly, and I showed her and I believe gave her, copies of memoranda which contained no confidential information or classified information.

Senator FERGUSON. But you did give her memoranda from the office?

Mr. REMINGTON. Mostly memoranda that I had done myself.

Senator FERGUSON. How would you know what to take down to her? She would call you down at the Whelan Drug Store, at the museum, or on the street corner, and you would carry down memorandums, and how would you know what to carry down there?

Mr. REMINGTON. I often know what I want to sell a person.

Senator FERGUSON. You were doing the selling?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. What were you trying to do?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was trying to sell her on the idea that United States production program was a good one, and now one thing: I spent 6 months trying to sell her on the fact that the War Production Board—I say I spent 6 months that is probably three times I talked with her about this—was that the War Production Board program of controlling materials was a good one, and how we started the war with something called production-requirements plan and it had weaknesses, and I worked in an office which proposed the controlled ma-

terials plan, which Eberstadt put in, and Robert Lamb, whose name probably appears in the FBI report, Robert Lamb, an old friend of my wife's, was working here on the Hill at that time and he was working here for a Senator or a House committee.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know Kramer working on the Hill?

Mr. REMINGTON. Kramer? No; I don't know him.

Lamb took the position in a printed report that the production-requirements plan was good, that the people who wanted to put in the controlled-materials plan, and he didn't call it by that name, the name hadn't been invented, were monopoly minded, and PM took up the cry.

I spend a lot of time trying to sell this woman in here on the idea that the controlled-materials plan which was going into effect was necessary, that it was better than the production-requirement plan and that it was worthy of support, and I went out to Lamb's house one night with my associate, who is my superior, Charles Hitch, and argued that thing out with Lamb and the fellow named Herb Shimmel.

Senator FERGUSON. Shimmel was there? What were you trying to sell Shimmel?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was trying to sell him on the idea that the so-called vertical control of materials was better than the so-called horizontal control of materials.

Senator FERGUSON. I would like to change the subject as to how long you know Shimmel.

Mr. REMINGTON. I met Shimmel at Lamb's house that night when we talked on materials, Shimmel called me again a year or two later on some question that I have forgotten what.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever give him any information?

Mr. REMINGTON. Never.

Senator FERGUSON. If we could have a meeting now of the committee—

Mr. ROGERS. Could I ask one question?

I do not know whether this question has already been answered or not, Mr. Remington, but in our previous discussion before the meeting started this morning, I pointed out to you that the primary interest of this committee in this particular matter was the efficiency with which the Government is proceeding to rid itself of influences that might be subversive, and I asked you if you had any explanation or if you thought it was unusual that you got this particular job where you had access to all of this valuable military information, at the same time that the FBI was investigating you, and as I recall, you told me that at the time you got the job you thought it was utterly fantastic.

Mr. REMINGTON. I wouldn't put it quite that way; I said that I thought that it was fantastic that anyone whose loyalty was questioned would get such a job, and I assume that my loyalty was no longer questioned in view of the fact that I got the job.

Mr. ROGERS. Now, that you find that there is still a question about it, and the grand jury is still sitting and has not handed down any indictments or decided to adjourn?

Mr. REMINGTON. I shouldn't be in the job.

Mr. ROGERS. The fact that you got that job still seems fantastic to you?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; and I would say as long as there is this question about me, I should not act at the Department of Commerce in

the job that I hold there, and I just think that it is most unfair to me that I should have been given that job with this question about my loyalty, and certainly I did my best.

One thing I have forgotten to mention to you: When I took the Commerce job I wrote a letter to the FBI saying that I was taking the job, and they had asked me to keep them informed.

Mr. ROGERS. Do you have a copy?

Mr. REMINGTON. I do.

Mr. ROGERS. Do you have it with you?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. You can supply the committee with that letter.

Mr. REMINGTON. They asked me not to get in touch with them before taking a job, they said "Let us know of your changes in jobs, and changes in address," so I wrote them saying I am taking the job.

Senator FERGUSON. Could you wait outside while we have a meeting?

Senator THYE. In order that I may have this clear in my mind, just when were you asked to take the assignment that took you to London?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is a tough question. That boiled for several months before it finally cooked.

Senator THYE. What year?

Mr. REMINGTON. It was in 1945, the matter was active between about January 1945 to about July.

Senator THYE. Who communicated with you concerning your assignment or accepting the assignment to take you to London?

Mr. REMINGTON. I talked to Thomas Blaisdell about the assignment and he talked to the Navy and my superior officers notified me that I was to receive orders to go to London.

Senator THYE. You were then in the Navy?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was then in the Navy.

Senator THYE. How long had you been in the Navy at that time?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was sworn in as an ensign on active duty on September 3, 1944. I had been in a Navy school as a civilian for 5 months prior to that.

Senator THYE. And you went over while you were still in the service?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes; that was not unusual.

Senator THYE. As an ensign?

Mr. REMINGTON. That is right. There was another Navy officer at the Embassies at the same time.

Senator THYE. At the outset of the war, what were you then engaged in, or where were you employed?

Mr. REMINGTON. I left graduate school.

Senator THYE. What college?

Mr. REMINGTON. Columbia University, or I came from Columbia University to accept a position with the National Resources Planning Board, and I regret to say a New Deal agency, in May of 1940. I planned to stay in Washington a couple of years and get out because I do not want to be a bureaucrat the rest of my life.

Senator THYE. Had you been subject to the draft and deferred?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was deferred for dependencies.

Senator THYE. Dependencies?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator THYE. Your wife and two children?

MR. REMINGTON. Yes, and I was put in 1A in about January or February of 1944.

Senator THYE. Did anyone have to appeal to the Board in your behalf, in order to bring about that deferment?

MR. REMINGTON. No one appealed on the dependency, that would be unusual.

Senator THYE. Did any one request your deferment?

MR. REMINGTON. The Government committee on deferments was asked whether or not they would consider deferring me, and the matter was not pressed and no deferment was requested of my draft board, to the best of my knowledge.

Senator THYE. In other words, the draft board acted on their own initiative and deferred you because of your two dependents and your wife?

MR. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator THYE. And you proceeded to hold your Federal job up until such time as your own enlistment?

MR. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator THYE. Why did you seek enlistment after you had been deferred and that you were occupied in Federal employment?

MR. REMINGTON. Because, sir, I was put in class 1A, and I thought that I was likely to be drafted and I thought that if the time had come when the Government wanted me in the services, that is where I ought to be.

Senator THYE. Did you know Miss Bentley prior to your enlistment?

MR. REMINGTON. I have never seen Miss Bentley since my enlistment.

Senator THYE. But did you know Miss Bentley prior, or Miss Johnson as she was known to you, prior to your enlistment?

MR. REMINGTON. Prior to my entering the Navy, and only prior to my entering the Navy.

Senator FERGUSON. She dropped out of the picture after you went into the Navy?

MR. REMINGTON. Completely, because I think our last session was a little unpleasant.

Senator THYE. What do you mean, unpleasant?

MR. REMINGTON. I had, as I indicated, slowly become somewhat suspicious of her, and I queried her as to why she wanted to know certain things.

Senator THYE. You say it was unpleasant. In what manner was it unpleasant?

MR. REMINGTON. I was getting a little bit suspicious, sir, and she felt I was somewhat unfriendly. It wasn't unpleasant in the sense that we came to harsh words, but I was obviously quite reserved and she wondered why, and as far as I know, I began to get the import of your question, sir, I don't know when she went to the FBI, but I think that I saw her last before that, judging from the newspapers, but I have no way of knowing that.

Senator FERGUSON. We will see you a little later.

(Thereupon the subcommittee recessed at 11:50 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1948

UNITED STATES SENATE,
INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, COMMITTEE ON
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., pursuant to call, in executive session, in room 101, Senate Office Building, Senator Homer Ferguson, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, Michigan; Senator John W. Bricker, Republican, Ohio; Senator Edward J. Thye, Republican, Minnesota.

Also present: William P. Rogers, chief counsel; Ruth Young, clerk. (Mr. William W. Remington was present during all of the proceedings on Saturday morning.)

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. Barstow, will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear in the matter now pending before this committee that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BARSTOW. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROBBINS W. BARSTOW

Senator FERGUSON. Will you state your full name and tell us what your business is?

Mr. BARSTOW. Robbins Wolcott Barstow, Jr. I am a public school teacher in Niantic, Conn.

Senator FERGUSON. Where were you born?

Mr. BARSTOW. In Woodstock, Vt.

Senator FERGUSON. How long have you been a school teacher?

Mr. BARSTOW. This is my fifth year.

Senator FERGUSON. You are a graduate of what year at Dartmouth?

Mr. BARSTOW. I graduated in 1941.

Senator FERGUSON. And in 1941 what did you have to do after you left school?

Mr. BARSTOW. I studied for a year at the Hartford Theological Seminary, and I worked for a year at a settlement house in New York City, and then I started teaching at the Manumit School in Pawling, N. Y.

Senator FERGUSON. You started to study for the ministry?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. You gave that up and went to work?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you graduate with honors at Dartmouth?

Mr. BARSTOW. I graduated cum laude.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you know William Remington at Dartmouth?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, I did.

Senator FERGUSON. He came in this morning and shook hands with you?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. In the room?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. He is in the room now?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes; I remember him very well.

Mr. REMINGTON. I remember him, too.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, Mr. Barstow, you went to Dartmouth in what year?

Mr. BARSTOW. I went to Dartmouth in the fall of 1937.

Senator FERGUSON. How soon after that did you become acquainted with William Remington?

Mr. BARSTOW. I believe my earliest recollection of knowing Bill was in December of 1937.

Senator FERGUSON. December of 1937?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know under what conditions you met him?

Mr. BARSTOW. I am not absolutely certain of the exact time that I met him. Would you like me to tell what I can?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. BARSTOW. I remember that in December of 1937 a woman came to Dartmouth and gave a lecture on Spain, in which she defended the Loyalists as opposed to Franco's rebels. I was interested in the lecture and after the lecture I talked with the lady that had given the talk, and some other students who were also there.

I remember talking for a considerable time after that meeting was over with Mr. L., who was in the class of 1938, and in talking with him he first presented to me the principles of communism and the arguments against capitalism. I remember his writing on the blackboard diagrams showing how capitalism was a bad system that gave profits to stockholders that did not work, that it did not make goods for the benefit of the people, but simply for profit, and so on.

That discussion I had with Mr. L. that evening impressed me so much that I made notes on it when I got home. My impressions were that Bill Remington was also at that meeting and one of the students that talked with me after the lecture, although I remember talking at this time only with Mr. L. about communism.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you recall any conversation with Bill Remington about the Lincoln Brigade and the Spanish question?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, I can remember talking with him about it some time later, in particular I remember that in January of 1938 after the Christmas vacation I talked with him.

Senator FERGUSON. That is all I will ask at this time. I would rather that you keep it.

Mr. ROGERS. Try to keep your recitation chronological, if possible. Senator FERGUSON. Now, at the time, what else do you recall?

Mr. ROGERS. What else do you recall at the time you started to relate about when you began to talk to Mr. L.?

Mr. BARSTOW. I do not remember anything that happened particularly in December apart from that.

Mr. ROGERS. In December of 1937?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS. Did you remember whether you met Mr. Remington at that time or not?

Mr. BARSTOW. My impression is that I did, and I can not say for certain.

Mr. ROGERS. You are not sure, but you think that you did?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS. Some time subsequent to that, did you see Mr. Remington again?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes, I remember distinctly that I talked with him in January of 1938.

Senator JOHNSON. Will you relate that?

Mr. BARSTOW. Bill lived at that time in a room on the second floor of Crosby Hall.

Mr. REMINGTON. That is right, sir.

Mr. BARSTOW. And I remember very distinctly spending a number of evenings in Bill's room, talking with him about communism and other matters.

Mr. REMINGTON. Which Bill?

Mr. BARSTOW. You. Bill Remington.

Mr. ROGERS. Suppose that you speak to the committee, and we will let Mr. Remington talk later.

Tell us what you recall.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever make notes of your conversations with Bill Remington?

Mr. BARSTOW. At the time I was very much interested in these new ideas which were being presented to me, and following my discussion with Bill I happened to write down notes on what we had talked about, and the things that he had told me, the ideas that he had presented to me.

Senator FERGUSON. Could you relate the conversations that you had with Remington without the aid of your notes, or do you wish to do it with the aid of your notes?

Mr. BARSTOW. I have the notes.

Mr. ROGERS. Suppose you do this, tell us what you remember first, and how you happened to go over to Remington's room and everything that you remember first without the notes, and then we can use those, and just relate the story.

Mr. BARSTOW. I don't remember precisely why I went over to Remington's room. I had met and talked with him before, and with this other fellow, Mr. L., and I was interested in talking further with them, and they perhaps invited me over. But I do remember talking with Bill in his room and he presented the ideas of communism and told me why he believed in communism and he told me that he was working particularly as a CIO organizer at the time to advance the welfare of the workers as his immediate contribution to communism.

I remember questioning him about Russia, and he said that he felt that Russia had demonstrated the success of communism and I asked him about the trials and executions which had recently been held in Russia, and he maintained vigorously and convincingly that the men who were scuttled really were traitors who had been planted in there by the enemies of communism, and it was a good thing that they were rooted out, and the only thing you could do was to kill them.

I remember asking him about a book by Eugene Lyons, and he said that the author was a Red baiter and that that book was not factual at all.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know the name of that book?

Mr. BARSTOW. Not offhand.

Senator FERGUSON. Was it an exposé of communism?

Mr. BARSTOW. It was an exposé of the trials.

Senator FERGUSON. Of the trials?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Mr. REMINGTON. "Assignment in Utopia."

Mr. BARSTOW. That is right, "Assignment in Utopia." I remember his telling about the Russian constitution.

Senator FERGUSON. What did he tell you about the constitution?

Mr. BARSTOW. He showed me copies of it, and pointed out, this was the new constitution that they had adopted in 1936, showing how it was a fine document, guaranteeing all of these rights to all people of Russia, and so on.

Senator BRICKER. That is the same constitution Mr. Roosevelt talked to the American people about. That is a side comment.

Senator FERGUSON. Go ahead.

Mr. BARSTOW. I remember his telling me, and I was particularly impressed about this, of his difficulties when he had been working as an organizer in Tennessee.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you relate those in detail, if you can?

Mr. BARSTOW. He said that either in the previous summer or during the year before he—and I believe his roommate, although I don't know just who that was, were attempting to organize workers and show them what they could get from a union in Tennessee, this was, and they were holding a meeting, or they were distributing leaflets or posters about a meeting and they were attacked and driven out of town.

Then I believe he said they came back and held the meeting, but the manufacturer hired some thugs to come and break up the meeting and attack Bill and his roommate, which he said they did, and my recollection is they were left for dead or badly beaten up.

I remember I was particularly impressed by that, because certainly it showed that he was just not talking about it, but had been actually living and working for the things that he believed in.

Senator FERGUSON. Did he tell you at any time that he was then working for the CIO as an organizer?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Right at that time?

Mr. BARSTOW. Well, it may have been that he was in the summer before, and he intended to the next summer, and he may not have been at that particular time.

Senator FERGUSON. At that particular time at college?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Had he ever stated that he worked for the TVA in Tennessee?

Mr. BARSTOW. He may have. I don't remember that from my discussions with him.

Senator FERGUSON. Go ahead and tell us the story that you recall of what Remington told you in college.

Mr. BARSTOW. I remember Remington particularly, because he was openly and admittedly at college a Communist, and there were three boys that I knew during my first years at college who were avowed Communists, Bill Remington, Mr. L., and Mr. M.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know who roomed with Remington?

Mr. BARSTOW. I have forgotten.

Senator FERGUSON. Was it one of these two boys?

Mr. BARSTOW. My impression is that at one time he roomed with Mr. L., but I also know that Mr. L. was married while I was at college and I remember visiting him and his wife at another apartment.

Senator FERGUSON. Go ahead, and go back and tell us the whole story. Tell us if it was the next year that you had any conversations, or do you know when Bill graduated?

Mr. BARSTOW. Bill graduated in June of 1939.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you see him in 1939?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. The year of 1939?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did any of this take place during that year?

Mr. BARSTOW. The conversations that I particularly remember took place during the winter and spring of 1938, because that was my freshman year when I first had these contacts with them, and when I was interested in listening to them and arguing with them, and they were trying to present their case to me.

It was accepted by the other students at the college, the editors of the newspaper, the professors, that these fellows were Communists, and we took it for granted and we respected them for the attitude at the time and just made good discussion and argument.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever have a conversation with Mr. Remington about George W. Shepherd's speech at Dartmouth in January of 1938?

Mr. BARSTOW. I don't remember the exact details of a specific discussion with Bill about it. I was instrumental in January of 1938 in getting George Shepherd to speak at Dartmouth on the Sino-Japanese crisis.

Senator FERGUSON. I will show you a letter dated January 6, 1938, and see if that will refresh your memory.

Mr. BARSTOW. I have a copy of a letter that I wrote to Mr. Shepherd on January 6, 1938, in which I said with regard to his lecture:

I think there may be on the part of a few Communist students who are vitally interested in the present situation a slight apprehension of anticommunistic presentations, in view of your work in China, and with the Chiang Kai-sheks.

Mr. ROGERS. What prompted you to write that? Do you recall?

Mr. BARSTOW. I am sure that it was discussions with Bill Remington and these other two, Mr. L. and Mr. M., about the lectures. They were interested in having a speaker on the situation, but they didn't want it to be one that would be anticommunistic.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you remember any more about that? Did Dr. Shepherd come and speak?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes. Dr. Shepherd came and spoke, and my recollection is that we had discussions with him and about this whole matter. (The letter is as follows:)

JANUARY 6, 1938.

REV. GEORGE W. SHEPHERD,
American Board, Boston, Mass.

DEAR MR. SHEPHERD: Thank you for your recent letter. I have gotten in touch with Mr. Dickerson and am glad to have things straightened out now. In accordance with your telephone conversation this noon with him, we are making arrangements for your visit on Monday the 10th.

We will arrange to have someone meet you at the train, and perhaps you would like to eat at the student cooperative eating club, with various members of the program committee. In the afternoon there are a number of students and professors who would like to meet and talk to you personally. We are planning for as large a meeting as possible in Dartmouth Hall on Monday afternoon at 4 o'clock, your talk to be followed by interested questions and discussion.

In the evening we are planning to have a smaller discussion meeting of students and faculty to stimulate active interest in the present vital needs and possible courses of action and to discuss plans for our future program of education and aid to China, as I outlined to you before. Unfortunately, on Monday evening, we are also joining in sponsoring the showing of the movie *The Wave*, which perhaps you would be interested in seeing, but after the first showing we plan to have our meeting, and so should not conflict.

Being only a member of the committee, and a freshman, I am not in a position to tell you more, but I am sure that arrangements will work out very satisfactorily for all. I think that there may be on the part of a few Communist students who are vitally interested in the present situation a slight apprehension of anti-communistic presentations, in view of your work in China, and with the Chiang Kai-sheks. Knowing of your position with the American Board, through my father, president of the Hartford Seminary, and others, I am, personally confident that we will have very stimulating, worth-while, and constructive discussions in every way, and I know that your talk to members of the college will create an active and constructive interest in the present Sino-Japanese conflict.

Please let Mr. Dickerson know as to the time of your train arrival, and we will arrange further details if and when necessary.

I remain

Very sincerely yours.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Barstow, you started to relate a little while back that Remington was an avowed Communist, and was recognized on the campus as such. Do you recall other conversations or activities on his part that bear that out?

Senator FERGUSON. Any organizations that he belonged to or sponsored?

Mr. BARSTOW. Mr. L., in the class of 1938, was during the year 1937 and 1938 president of the American Student Union. My recollection is that Bill Remington and Mr. M. were also active members of the ASU at that time.

I would have to look that up in the college records.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know whether Mr. M. in 1939 was a past president of the ASU?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know whether Mr. Remington held any position?

Mr. BARSTOW. I don't know if Remington held any positions in ASU. I would have to look that up. I think so. I believe my impression is that he did, but that would have to be checked on.

Senator FERGUSON. If he was connected with communism?

MR. BARSTOW. Yes; we more or less accepted that at least the leaders of the American Student Union there at Dartmouth were Communists. There were other members who were anxious to work with them on things that we all believed in.

Senator FERGUSON. Were you a member?

MR. BARSTOW. I honestly do not remember whether I actually joined the ASU myself or not. I attended many of their meetings.

Senator FERGUSON. You met Remington at those meetings?

MR. BARSTOW. He was at the meetings, I am sure.

Senator FERGUSON. And do you know whether it had any connection with any other Communist front?

MR. BARSTOW. I know that the ASU was connected with the American Youth Congress.

Senator FERGUSON. Was there any doubt at that time in your mind from what was said by these men and William Remington that the American Youth Congress was a Communist front?

MR. BARSTOW. We knew that Communists were active in the American Youth Congress, and the point of view you took toward the American Youth Congress at that time depended on how seriously you considered the threat or danger of Communist control of it.

Senator FERGUSON. Had it any connection with the ASU?

MR. BARSTOW. Yes. I don't know what the exact relationship was. I should think it would be a matter of record. The ASU was a member of the American Youth Congress. It was one of the youth organizations that were a part of it.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, was there an American Youth Congress unit at Dartmouth?

MR. BARSTOW. I do not think that they had units. I think that the American Youth Congress was a sort of covering organization that a lot of different student groups joined in, and it held mass meetings and rallies and marches on Washington, and so on.

MR. ROGERS. Mr. Barstow, I think for the purpose of the record we should point out that on August 4 of the year you wrote Senator Ives a letter concerning the recent investigation by this committee, and I will include the whole thing in the record as part of the record, but I want to call your attention to a couple of statements.

You said:

I knew William Remington fairly well while we were both undergraduates at Dartmouth, and at the time I knew him there he was an avowed Communist.

Later on you said:

I have specific comments on Bill's belief in communism, his defense of the Moscow trials then going on, his interpretation of the then new Russian Constitution, and his ideas about his own activities as a Communist in this country at that time. He had spent the previous summer as a CIO organizer, and told me how he had been beaten up and left for dead while attempting to organize unions down in Tennessee, etc. All of this was part of his avowed advocacy of communism for America and the world at that time.

Do you recall those things: That he did advocate communism and that he was a Communist, and he told you that his activities were part of his belief, putting his belief into action?

MR. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you any notebook here, and we will mark that notebook "Exhibit No. 2." Have you a notebook here?

MR. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. We will mark that as "Exhibit No. 2." Now, will you read your notes out of your notebook that you took down when you had conversations with William Remington?

(Mr. Barstow's 1937-38 college notebook regarding Mr. Remington marked "Exhibit No. 2.")

Mr. BARSTOW. I kept this notebook during my freshman year at college, and reported in it.

Senator FERGUSON. Does it show on the back that you would graduate in 1941, and that the year for which the notes were made was the term of 1937-38? Will you read on the back of the notebook and tell us what there is on there?

Mr. BARSTOW. It is on the cover: "Robbins Barstow, '41, 210 Ripley Hall, Hanover, N. H., 1937-38."

Senator FERGUSON. Will you read the Remington notes, and read all of it?

Mr. BARSTOW. Under the heading of January 5 to 6, et cetera, I have these notes:

Discussions with Bill Remington. Tall fellow, slow and deliberate and quiet talker. Bright and astute, but I wonder if not more one-sided than he admits, and sometimes his attitude antagonizes me. Slightly intolerant and too sure of own convictions? Are all of his statements, general and particular, true?

Communism economically supported and striven for by Bill, and now working for CIO for immediate ends of workers' welfare.

Communism system of maximum production and consumption. Payment not in money and high capital, etc., profits, but in balanced goods all around, governmentally controlled. Personal advancement and higher wages and homes, etc., for ability. But all one together, etc.

Capitalism inherent evils of depressions, worse and worse, overproduction and lay-offs, etc.

Bill was working with roommate distributing posters to mill workers in Tennessee, announcing meeting. Attacked; got away. Held organizing meeting showing workers they were underpaid and how could get better. Employer looked out window and saw and hired 15 thugs to kill him. He was attacked and badly slugged, left for dead(?) Roommate's back broken, etc. Although this only happened a couple of times in his six CIO months.

Labor at least has not hired trained thugs to kill organizers and wreck things, etc.

NLRB's accusations against Ford probably true, because it's pretty cagey and not stick neck out if not sure.

Senator FERGUSON. What is that, Ford?

Mr. BARSTOW. Capital F-o-r-d. That is Henry Ford.

Senator FERGUSON. Henry Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. In Michigan?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Russian communism a success. Russia gone further in last 20 years than any other country. New constitution, etc. The men executed were mostly really very dangerous to the Government and put there in definite attempt to wreck the system.

Communists and Russia only really active ones aiding China now.

Senator FERGUSON. Those are the notes that you took?

Mr. BARSTOW. Those are the notes that I took on those discussions, and there is one other note that might be of interest later on in this book.

Senator FERGUSON. What is it?

Mr. BARSTOW (reading):

But Bill Remington suggests that modern college young people can hardly help dissipating and going wild, etc., unless they have some active interest which keeps them going strong.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that communism that he was talking about?

Mr. BARSTOW. It could have been communism or some other activity. It was student activities and meetings and work for causes.

Senator THYE. Mr. Chairman, I would be interested just in knowing what other types of notes you kept other than the notes that referred to Mr. Remington. Not much of it, but I would be interested just in seeing a couple of statements.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you take any notes from Mr. L.?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes: I have some notes earlier.

Senator FERGUSON. In the same book?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. That is exhibit 2?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes. This is at the very beginning of the book, December 10, 1937, under the heading of communism.

From a talk with Mr. L.—“although I know that that was a mistake. It was the first time that I talked with him and I got his name wrong here, and it should be Mr. L., as I have in the later notes about him”—president of Dartmouth American Student Union, after talk by Miss Herbst on Spain.

There are two or three pages here.

Senator THYE. The only reason I asked that question is because I wanted to see the variety of subjects that you might have referred to in your notes, to satisfy my own mind that you were not a crank in certain questions, that you just kept notes on those questions rather than take the whole activity within your school life as a general thing.

Senator FERGUSON. Are there any other notes?

Mr. BARSTOW. I can read several to you.

Senator THYE. You do not have to read them, but I was just curious to know whether you kept a rather complete memo of everything that transpired in your school life, or whether you have just picked out the subject of communism and then registered that in your memory books.

Mr. BARSTOW. Let me read you a few brief selections from other places.

Senator THYE. Not more than two paragraphs, just enough so that we see what the variety might be.

Senator FERGUSON. Go ahead.

Mr. BARSTOW (reading):

Sunday evening, December 12, 1937. I should be going to bed now at 11 p. m., but I have got so many thoughts to write up I hardly know where I am at, and it is now or never. I have been getting crammed with new ideas lately, and so forth.

Senator THYE. That is all that I wanted to know. I just wanted to see that.

Mr. BARSTOW. May I read two more?

Nazi discussion with Heinze, German student who is a member of the Nazi Party—

and I had discussions with him.

Senator FERGUSON. You discussed nazism with him?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes; and then there is another one here:

Talk by Mr. Chamberlain in chapel toward a happier New York. How to get happiness.

Senator FERGUSON. I show you another exhibit, exhibit 3, and we will mark this envelope, and ask you to read that into the record. What is on the back and what is on the front?

(Envelope addressed to Robbins Barstow, from Remington, post-marked December 26, 1937, was marked "Exhibit No. 3.")

Mr. BARSTOW. This is an envelope which I happen to have among my papers, addressed to Robbins Barstow, 165 Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Conn., and it is dated December 26, 1937, and postmarked New York, and the return address in the upper left-hand corner is "Remington, 836 East Ridgewood Avenue, Ridgewood, N. J."

Senator FERGUSON. Does it bear the word "over" written on it in pencil?

Mr. BARSTOW. It has "over" on it, and these notes on the back: "China-Japan Program, ASU, et cetera, Bill's outline, and EPC information." That means emergency peace campaign information, and China letters, et cetera, booklets."

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know what was in the envelope? Does that refresh your memory?

Mr. BARSTOW. I had in this envelope my correspondence with regard to the talk with Mr. George Shepherd at Dartmouth on January 10.

Senator FERGUSON. Which we made an exhibit here.

Mr. BARSTOW. And other materials on China, some, particularly, gotten out by the emergency peace campaign, the crisis in the Orient, and I am quite sure that this "Bill's outline" refers to an outline sent me by Bill Remington.

Senator FERGUSON. On what question?

Mr. BARSTOW. With regard to this China-Japanese program that we are trying to handle in this talk about it, and it was from that that I assumed that I got concerned with regard to some Communist student not wanting the talk to be anticommunistic.

Mr. ROGERS. Do you recall, Mr. Barstow, any time after 1938 during the year of 1939 when Mr. Remington to your knowledge changed his views about communism?

Mr. BARSTOW. No; I do not. During his senior year, 1938 to 1939, at Dartmouth, he was a senior and he had an office in Baker Library, where he did his own research and studying as part of the program set up by the college.

I remember talking with him at different times in his office in the Baker Library, and I do not remember any expressed change in his viewpoint with regard to communism or his own activities.

Mr. ROGERS. For your entire college career, your acquaintance with Remington, it demonstrated to you that he was an avowed Communist, actively following the Communist Party and working in its behalf?

Mr. BARSTOW. The reason that I can remember so clearly and distinctly about this is that I was so impressed by his being an avowed Communist, by the talks that I had with him about it at college, and I had no further contact with him after he left college in 1939 until I saw his picture and read his name in the newspaper in connection with these hearings.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know of any discussion that you had with him as to where he acquired this ideology?

Mr. BARSTOW. No; I do not remember. I imagine that I must have talked with him about why he became a Communist or how he became one, but I do not remember the details of it, and I wish that I did.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Barstow, I want to go back to your last answers where you said the first time that you recalled these meetings with Remington was when you saw his name in the paper, and I want to call your attention to the last paragraph in your letter in which you say in the letter which is already in the record:

As I told you, I don't know if Bill is still a Communist or not, although I doubt if, once convinced, he would change his mind, strong and keen as it is. I am concerned, however, about his reported denials of earlier Communist leanings, activities, and associations. These I know to be at variance with the truth. If he had admitted having been a Communist at college, it would be a different situation. But I do feel it to be very important not to allow this one-time avowed Communist, if he still is one, to further endanger the security of the United States and our Government.

Very sincerely yours,

ROBBINS W. BARSTOW, Jr.

Does that express your feeling at the time you saw the story about our hearings, and that is, that is what motivated you to write this letter?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes; it is. I would have nothing against Bill if he admitted being a Communist at college. There were, as I said, other students that were, and it is something that an intelligent young person might go through during his education at any college, but the thing that distressed me and prompted me to write to you was his reported denials of having been a Communist, of which I knew.

Senator FERGUSON. I just want certain things out of this book, which will be exhibit 4, which is "Dart," the winter of 1938.

Will you describe that? It is the undergraduate magazine of writing in Dartmouth College; is that right?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. It is volume 10, No. 1.

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. New Myths in the Southland, by William Remington, page 19. That is on the first page. You are familiar with that?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Then on page 14 is this:

William Remington, '39 (p. 19), skipped school last year to work for the TVA in the Tennessee Valley.

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. You are familiar with that?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Then on page 19, that is the article which we will make a part of this record. You are familiar with that?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes; I am. I might say that I think it is a very good article.

Senator FERGUSON. I do not have anything on that. It is not the facts that are in the article, exactly, while they are material to some of the views now taken, but it is a question that he was at the TVA, and so forth. He has asked me to ask you, is the article communistic?

Mr. BARSTOW. I would say no. A Communist could have written it, but the article as it stands is not communistic. Anyone who was not a Communist could have written it, too, and I wish that I could have written it.

Senator FERGUSON. I see, you think it is a very cleverly written article. He is or was an excellent writer?

Mr. BARSTOW. It is a very well written article. He is or was an excellent writer.

Senator FERGUSON. I notice that it closes with this language:

However, that may be, these observers claim that when the people make social welfare a public cause, it is nearer true democracy than Wilkie's rugged individualism that is determined to have its own way and knife the will of Congress.

Do you know what he was talking about when he said "and knife the will of Congress?"

Mr. BARSTOW. I think he meant that Wendell Willkie and the public utilities that were opposing the TVA were attempting to knife the will of Congress in setting up the TVA.

That is, Congress wanted to establish the TVA, and Willkie was opposing it and thereby knifing the will of Congress at that time.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know whether or not public ownership was being advocated by Communists in America at that time as part of their policy?

Mr. BARSTOW. Oh, yes; I think that public ownership has always been advocated as part of Communist policy, and it is also a part of Socialist policy, although under more democratic control or auspices, presumably, and also of course, there are some projects of public ownership that are advocated by the Democratic and Republican Parties today, in their platforms.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, the words are "nearer true democracy." Do you know whether the Communist line back at that time was using the words "True democracy," as describing communism?

Mr. BARSTOW. I think that they always have maintained that communism was the truest democracy.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, American democracy was not described by the Communists as true democracy.

Mr. BARSTOW. No.

Senator FERGUSON. They had what they called true democracy?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that correct?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. We will make the book an exhibit. Would you care to leave that book with us, and also the envelope and the other?

Mr. BARSTOW. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you any other knowledge about this matter?

Mr. BARSTOW. My recollection is that during the 2 years when I was a student at Dartmouth at the same time that Remington was, he wrote some letters to the college newspaper, the Daily Dartmouth, that were published in the Letters to the Editor column, and I cannot say for sure, but I think that there is a possibility that a search through the files of the Daily Dartmouth during those 2 years might turn up some letters from Bill which could give an indication

of his Communist ideas and principles at that time. I cannot say for certain.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that all you remember, now? Does reading this notebook again into the record refresh your memory on any items?

Mr. BARSTOW. No; I think that is all.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. Remington, do you have any other questions?

Mr. REMINGTON. Well, sir, I hope very much before you close this session that we will have perhaps 5 or 10 minutes in which I would like—

Senator FERGUSON. Do you want to testify further?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would like to testify for just a minute, but before reaching the end of the session I would like to talk with you, sir, with you about some very cold turkey about where we go from here.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you want to talk with the committee in the presence of Mr. Barstow?

Mr. REMINGTON. Oh, surely. It makes no difference. I think that it might be educational to him, if he will keep it confidential.

Senator FERGUSON. I do not want to have that agreement.

Mr. REMINGTON. It is O. K. with me, to talk with him here.

Senator FERGUSON. Suppose that you leave the room, Mr. Barstow, if you want to discuss something with us. Just leave the room and we will let Mr. Remington discuss it with the committee.

Mr. REMINGTON. I would like to talk about what he said.

Senator FERGUSON. He will come back.

Mr. REMINGTON. When Mr. Barstow comes back I am going to say that he wastes his nonsense, but we will leave that aside for the moment. I am going over with you the honors that I got from the college administration during this period. I thought there would be somebody here who could really embarrass me, but he cannot. I will talk about that when he is here.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM W. REMINGTON—Resumed

Senator FERGUSON. Were you a Communist at Dartmouth?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir; but let us talk about that when he comes back.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you work for the TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And while you were at the TVA, you were an organizer for the CIO?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir. However, my roommate was.

Senator FERGUSON. Who was your roommate?

Mr. REMINGTON. The roommate that he is talking about was a fellow I roomed with for about 3 or 4 weeks, named Todd, and he was a CIO organizer, and I went with him on one trip and I did get beat up, but that was—

Senator FERGUSON. You never represented the CIO?

Mr. REMINGTON. I talked at many, many CIO meetings in connection with an education project that I was working on.

Senator FERGUSON. Down in the Tennessee Valley?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes. This is all a matter of record.

Senator FERGUSON. It is not in our record.

MR. REMINGTON. Well, sir, can we lay that aside until Mr. Barstow comes back?

SENATOR FERGUSON. Wait a moment. You did talk at many of the CIO meetings?

MR. REMINGTON. Oh, yes; I was very much interested in labor unions.

SENATOR FERGUSON. You were or were not paid in money from the CIO as an organizer or in any other category?

MR. REMINGTON. No, sir, I never received a cent from the CIO, although I did apply for a little money but I never got it.

SENATOR FERGUSON. What do you mean, "applied"?

MR. REMINGTON. I asked them if they would take me on their rolls for a few weeks, but they wouldn't do it.

SENATOR FERGUSON. How many meetings would you say that you talked to down in Tennessee?

MR. REMINGTON. CIO meetings? Half a dozen.

SENATOR FERGUSON. Well, were these organization meetings?

MR. REMINGTON. That I don't remember.

SENATOR FERGUSON. Were they attempts to get members?

MR. REMINGTON. No, sir, I talked to meetings of unions that were already established. I talked on the Court-packing bill to some of them.

SENATOR FERGUSON. Did you advocate the Court-packing bill?

MR. REMINGTON. I think that I did, sir. I am sorry to have advocated it. I now think it was a mistake, but I did advocate it at the time. I was in the company of some others in advocating it but—

SENATOR FERGUSON. Now, you go ahead on what you want to say to the committee.

MR. REMINGTON. Well, sir, I would like to, I don't want to raise again the question of whether I am innocent or not. I have tried to prove I am innocent and I don't know whether I have succeeded or not, but quite apart from that I plan to leave the Federal Government as rapidly as I decently can, and the reason I plan to leave the Federal Government is because in these times I feel strongly that anyone about whom there are questions, serious questions raised, should not be in a position where people have to worry, whether the questions are true or not.

Besides, there is the question of personal embarrassment. My usefulness to the Government is ended.

Now, sir, I am going to try to get out as soon as possible, and I guess it is between me and the Loyalty Board as to what kind of circumstances I get out under.

SENATOR FERGUSON. You have in mind resigning before the trial of the Loyalty Board?

MR. REMINGTON. Oh, no, sir. I am going through with the trial, and I am going to push it just as best I can right to the top, because I want some kind of clearance before I get out of the Federal Government, and then I am going to resign.

Now, I hope that this process comes as quickly as possible. I am being very candid with you gentlemen, although this is probably against my interests to be so candid. But I want you to know where I stand.

Now, if any of you feel—

Mr. ROGERS. Why is that against your interests? Why would being so candid have that effect with us?

Mr. REMINGTON. Because I don't think I should admit to anybody that I plan to resign.

Mr. ROGERS. You said that in public.

Mr. REMINGTON. That is what I say. I don't think that I should.

Mr. ROGERS. Your openness does not ring true, because you have told everybody that.

Mr. REMINGTON. I have not said it for publication.

Mr. ROGERS. My recollection is that you said it on the stand the other day.

Mr. REMINGTON. I did not recall that.

Mr. ROGERS. Have you made any statement now about what this man says about you?

Mr. REMINGTON. I would rather wait until he gets back.

Now, what I want to ask is whether or not this subcommittee wants to go further with the question of my loyalty or whether you want to confine yourselves to the question of how in the name of the dickens I got the jobs I got with these questions that exist.

Senator FERGUSON. We are vitally interested in how you got the jobs, and we are also interested in whether or not you told us the truth, which now goes to your loyalty.

Senator THYE. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest to Mr. Remington that if he knows his record is so crystal clear, and lily white, then he should write a letter to the President and beg of the President that all facts within the files that are within the various departments that have to do with this loyalty check be made available to this committee, because only in that manner can this committee once and for all time come to satisfy ourselves that there is nothing in the files that would cast a suspicion upon the truthfulness of your statement, and if you were to write such a letter to the President, and after having given the President due time to receive the letter, you then made it public, then I think that we at least as members of the committee would have a greater confidence in what you have already stated to the committee than we have at the present time, when every avenue is closed to us, and we do not know what are in the official files.

Mr. REMINGTON. This is what I really wanted to get to. It happens that I have already talked to Mr. Rogers about something similar, and Mr. Rogers has wanted to make it very clear that it was my idea, which I mentioned first. What I had in mind was to get out just a little statement to the press, saying I hoped certain information would be made available to the committee, and I just have no judgment as to which is better, a letter to the President or just a statement.

I want to do it in the way which is most likely to get the information before the committee.

Now, I suppose that I have to reach my judgment on that, and it would be somewhat improper for me to consult with the committee.

Senator FERGUSON. We would not care to consult with you on that, because I think that is a matter that you have to make your judgment on.

Mr. REMINGTON. Because I want to get information to this committee, and I don't want to come out and clash with the President on

the question of what kind of records should be made available to Congress generally, but I would like to see the records on me presented.

Senator FERGUSON. Because you are interested in knowing how you could be transferred from one job to another?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think it is outrageous. I really do, from my own personal point of view, as well as from the point of view of the Government. If I had been told a year ago by Steelman or somebody like that, presumably somebody I knew, that there were serious questions about me, I would have very gladly stepped out of the picture.

Senator FERGUSON. You would be greatly surprised, would you not, if it was the contention that Steelman or someone under him had really forced you out because of your activities, and then you could go into the Economic Advisory Board in the ECA Board, over to the Commerce?

Mr. REMINGTON. If there was any contention that Steelman forced me out because he was suspicious of me, I would know it was just sheer falsehood.

Senator FERGUSON. But if he did do that, you would be surprised that you could take the other three jobs; would you not?

Mr. REMINGTON. Of course.

Mr. ROGERS. I would like to say for the record, so that there will be no misunderstanding along the lines of Senator Thye's comment, Mr. Remington spoke to me on the phone the other night, along the same lines, saying that he thought it was unfair to him personally not to make the records available, because he thought it was unfair to him for people in government, if they had been put on notice of this investigation, to have given him these jobs, so he said.

Senator FERGUSON. That is what I was getting at by my question.

Mr. ROGERS. What he said to me was that he thought that the committee's interest was of paramount importance in the examination of how it happened that our Government would permit this, and that he had a personal interest which was in conformity with our interest because he thought it was unfair to him as an individual.

He asked me what I thought about writing a letter, asking that all of these records be made available, and I told him at that time that I did not want to advise him, that I thought it was all right because it was certainly in line with our thinking, but I wanted it clear that that suggestion came from him, and I would not want it to appear that our committee was suggesting to Mr. Remington that he write certain letters and make certain statements to the press.

I want that clear in the record. That is accurate, is it not?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, that is accurate, and I want to be very anxious to cooperate on this thing, because it is so darned important to the future of the Government.

Senator FERGUSON. That is why the Chair advises you that the committee would feel that you should make up your own mind on that question.

Mr. REMINGTON. I will make up my own mind on the question and do something today and Mr. Rogers will know what I will do, because I will tell him.

Senator FERGUSON. If it will be in writing, will you give us a copy?

Mr. REMINGTON. It will be in writing, and you will know what I do, sir.

Now, personally, I am in a very real sense kind of washed out. I am going out of Government and I don't expect to find a job except driving a taxi or something like that, for quite a while. My net assets will be \$800 or \$900, because in this last few years I have spent over \$5,000 on the question of my wife's illness, and she is in mental care, but I am not worried about myself, particularly, although in a couple of years when this thing simmers down, I may ask one of you gentlemen to tell me exactly what you think. It might be helpful to me.

But the issue that counts is whether or not the procedures of the Government are adequate, and now, beyond that, I think we have settled that, and I am going to write something which you will know about, and beyond that I am curious to know how much of a stigma I am going to carry with me when I leave the Federal service.

I have been devoted to the Federal service, and I think that none of you have any question about my devotion during the last three years, and you probably know if you have read the records what hours I have worked for the Federal Government and how much I have put in on it.

Now, I don't want to ask this committee for any kind of a statement at all, but after January I may.

Now, I think that that finished everything that I want to say.

Senator FERGUSON. What do you say about the Barstow statement?

Mr. ROGERS. Do you want him to come in?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think it would be fair to him.

Mr. ROGERS. Just before we leave that last point, I do not want that to stand as though the committee has given any assent to your last request, because I will tell you frankly, and this is not the committee's judgment, but I do not think that you ever have been frank with us, and I do not think that you have been honest with us, and I do not think that you were when you testified in public session.

Personally, I have no judgment on your present feelings, but I do not think that you made a full disclosure of your past.

Mr. REMINGTON. I did, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. You could have been very helpful to the Government if you wanted to be, and I do not think that you have been. I think that you are a very clever fellow, and I think that you succeeded in giving the impression that you are being forthright and honest when you are not at all. It is a clever device on your part to disguise the true facts. So if you stand on your present position, do not tell what I consider to be the truth, certainly if I am here the first of January you can never ask me for any help, because, frankly, I do not believe you.

Mr. REMINGTON. You have told me that, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. Remington, how do you account for the fact that you did leave out of your public employment with the Government the TVA job? How do you account for that?

Mr. REMINGTON. Certainly I did not desire to conceal it, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, we never had it.

Mr. REMINGTON. I just don't know. I worked for the TVA as a messenger.

Senator FERGUSON. It is very important that you had a Federal job and it was left out entirely.

Mr. REMINGTON. I am sorry, sir. I just forgot it. I worked as a messenger while I was still at college, and I certainly testified to it

many, many times. I testified to my TVA employment many times, and it appears in all of the statements?

Senator FERGUSON. You mean before the FBI?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, and things of that sort.

Senator FERGUSON. It was entirely out of our record until it came in this morning.

Do you have any questions that you want to ask through the committee of Mr. Barstow?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you want to make a statement in relation to Mr. Barstow's testimony?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you proceed with that?

Mr. REMINGTON. First, I want to say that I have constantly and freely admitted to this committee that when I was in college I associated very openly with leftists, and I have said that in statements to the FBI and in the statement which I have filed with the Loyalty Board, that I think some of those leftists were actually members of the YCL, but I am not sure enough to swear that they were.

Now, there is no question but what some of these persons with whom I associated advocated particular Communist doctrines. There is no question whatsoever of that. Now, there is a question of what I myself advocated. I advocated or I said several times, as I recall, that I thought the Moscow trials which Mr. Barstow has referred to were in a very real sense legitimate. That was a guess.

Mr. Joseph Davis, who I believe was an Ambassador of some kind, made the remark when the war began that he now understood the Moscow trials, and thought that the trials had in fact cleaned out a real fifth column.

Mr. ROGERS. Would you mind not elaborating, tell us what your answers are to Mr. Barstow's testimony? We appreciate these things and we are not listening to an argument and we want to know what you have to say about what Mr. Barstow says. He says you were a Communist and you advocated communism and that you were an open and avowed Communist; that you tried to tell him that he should become a Communist and now, what do you have to say about that?

Senator FERGUSON. And why bring in Davis' statement, that has nothing to do with it. He did not mention Davis.

Mr. REMINGTON. He mentioned Moscow trials.

Mr. ROGERS. Confine yourself to what he says.

Mr. REMINGTON. First I was not a member of any Communist organization at Dartmouth College.

Mr. ROGERS. Were you ever an officer of the student union?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. Any office in it?

Mr. REMINGTON. Not that I know of, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. Or a member?

Mr. REMINGTON. No; sir; I have said that I have been associated with the ASU members; that I have worked with them, and I have roomed with them.

Mr. ROGERS. Were they Communists?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. Was it Communist dominated?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, at Dartmouth, I am not even sure that there were any real Communists, any Communist Party members.

Mr. ROGERS. Was the ASU Communist dominated? Did it follow the party line?

Mr. REMINGTON. Naturally, I feel that the National ASU was Communist dominated by real Communists.

Senator FERGUSON. And it followed the Communist line?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe it did.

Mr. ROGERS. Here is a man who says that you are a Communist and you told him you were a Communist and you told him that you believed in communism and you had advocated communism and that you worked for communism while you were in college.

Can you explain why you were working for communism and in what way, and what do you have to say about that?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have said, sir, that I was not a Communist, and I belonged to no Communist organizations, and now, sir, there are many things which I did advocate; first, I said that I thought the Moscow trials were genuine, probably Davis said the same.

Senator FERGUSON. Why bring Davis into it?

Mr. REMINGTON. Because I wasn't alone in saying that; non-Communists said that, too. He used that as an indication that I am a Communist and I say it is not an indication that I am a Communist, and I defined communism probably many times but I don't know whether I defined communism to Barstow or not. I am not sure whether my definitions were right or not. Barstow's notes on this point—Barstow was very young and I have great respect for him in many ways, but he was very young, and so was I; not quite so young.

Third, Barstow has said that I was an avowed Communist; just generally speaking, I say that I was not. I avowed many individual things, many specific ideas like a rich man has no more chance of getting into heaven as a camel of getting through the eye of a needle in advocating some income-tax laws.

Senator FERGUSON. Who paid your tuition at college?

Mr. REMINGTON. I got a large part of my tuition on scholarship, and I earned a very great deal of money myself.

Senator FERGUSON. Did your parents pay any of your tuition and room and so on?

Mr. REMINGTON. They contributed between a third and a half of my college expenses.

Senator FERGUSON. And your father worked for it?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And the other was a scholarship. Who gave you the scholarship?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, are we debating income taxes?

Senator FERGUSON. No; I want to know who gave you the scholarship.

Mr. REMINGTON. Some very generous men contributed money to Dartmouth.

Senator FERGUSON. Who?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't know their names. The college had the fund available.

Senator FERGUSON. Did they make their money that they gave to the college out of the capitalistic system?

Mr. REMINGTON. They did, sir, and I am happy to say that they did. At that time, sir, I was not an enthusiastic supporter of capitalism, I was a critic of many phases of the capitalistic system, just as—maybe in that I was misled, but there are many other critics of individual phases of the capitalistic system.

No: I advocated at college many rather sweeping social reforms, and I was never an actual Communist, although I talked a great deal.

Mr. ROGERS. What is the distinction in your mind between an actual Communist and what you did?

Mr. REMINGTON. The distinction is whether a person really believes in the Communist doctrines, which are, as I see it, revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and membership in organizations committed to revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, and to say I was involved in that thing is sheer and utter nonsense.

Senator FERGUSON. That is why you draw the distinction?

Mr. REMINGTON. Advocacy of revolution, advocacy of dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mr. ROGERS. You say Mr. Barstow is not telling the truth?

Mr. REMINGTON. I say he is telling the truth as he sees it, and he was probably 16 at the time and when I talked about doctrinal utopian philosophy and things of that sort which college students talk about all hours of the night, he wrote down what he wrote down.

Senator THYE. Let us compare the ages of these two men. He refers to this young man as being 16 in college, and now let us have the ages of both of you men at that specific year.

Mr. REMINGTON. I was 18, and I said I was very young.

Senator THYE. Let us have Mr. Barstow's age.

Mr. REMINGTON. I may have been 19; I was 19 by the spring of that year.

Senator FERGUSON. How old were you, Barstow?

Mr. BARSTOW. I was 18 in January of 1938.

Mr. ROGERS. How old are you now, Mr. Remington?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am 30.

Mr. ROGERS. How old are you, Mr. Barstow?

Mr. BARSTOW. I am 28.

Mr. ROGERS. What is your birthday?

Mr. BARSTOW. October 24, 1919.

Mr. ROGERS. What is your birthday.

Mr. REMINGTON. October 25, I will be 31.

Mr. ROGERS. There is 2 years difference.

Mr. REMINGTON. You are dealing with a person here who has a very good memory, and I think that you have got to recognize in dealing with him that he has only a fair memory.

Senator FERGUSON. Wait a minute. Do you think that is a fair criticism?

Senator THYE. I would like to make this comment. I have recognized the keenness of your memory, and that is why I am so critical of the manner that you have answered these questions. You have evaded the point time after time and you are not telling the truth so that we can have any confidence in your statement; and when you say this man here has a very weak memory, and you have an exceedingly good memory, that is the reason that I call to your attention that you do not use your memory at times in answering these questions.

Mr. REMINGTON. May I continue: He said I roomed with Mr. L. I never roomed with L.

Senator FERGUSON. He did not say that.

Mr. ROGERS. He did not say he was sure, he said that he thought he might have. Go ahead.

Mr. REMINGTON. He mentioned, or he said, "I worked 6 months as a CIO organizer. That is not true. It happens there was a man at Dartmouth College who did work for 6 months as a CIO organizer and I think he has got us mixed up.

Mr. ROGERS. You never did work as a CIO organizer?

Mr. REMINGTON. No. I said that I worked for the TVA, that I made at least six talks, or at least half a dozen talks, before CIO unions.

Mr. ROGERS. Did you tell him about being beaten up one time?

Mr. REMINGTON. I did, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. What is the important discrepancy? I don't see any discrepancy of any consequence.

Mr. REMINGTON. He said I was a CIO organizer, and I wasn't, and he said I—

Mr. ROGERS. He has a note written down here, and he says, "Bill is working for communism; economically supported by and striven for by Bill."

Now, he wrote that down at the time of the conversation. And that is probably better than your memory, as good as you claim it was. What do you have to say about that? Is that a true statement?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir; that is his interpretation.

Mr. ROGERS. And you never did economically support it or strive for communism?

Mr. REMINGTON. I strove for many things and I can name them. I can name the things that I strove for. Do you want me to do it?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes; do it.

Mr. REMINGTON. I strove for aid for Spain which he has mentioned, and I strove for aid to China and I was critical of Chiang Kai-shek, but I think that he talked me into hearing his speaker and I have rather friendly reactions toward that speaker, and I—

Senator FERGUSON. You did not even want to hear that speaker, did you?

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I did. He has gotten that reference which he made there rather elliptical and it doesn't refer to me.

Mr. ROGERS. You have told us two things, and we want you to name some of the other things. Do you believe in the Russian Constitution?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. So when he testified to that, he is not telling the truth?

Mr. REMINGTON. You will always look for black and white. There are many things—

Mr. ROGERS. I am trying to get something definite out of you, because you beat around the bush as much as any witness that I have ever seen in my life.

Mr. REMINGTON. One reason I beat around the bush is because I happen in this case—let us use this case specifically—I happen to know that some of our—

Mr. ROGERS. Let us get back to the point. Did you talk to him about the Russian constitution and say you agreed with it?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't recall.

Mr. ROGERS. Did you agree with it?

Mr. REMINGTON. There are things about the Russian Constitution which are good and things which are bad.

Mr. ROGERS. Did you tell him that you liked it and you supported it—the Russian Constitution?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. You never said that?

Mr. REMINGTON. There are things about the Russian Constitution—

Mr. ROGERS. There are things about everything that are good, but I am asking: Did you support the Russian Constitution the way he says you did?

Mr. REMINGTON. As a constitution, no.

Mr. ROGERS. So that is not correct, what he says, then, about the Russian Constitution?

Mr. REMINGTON. It is not correct, and if you will give me a chance I can explain it.

Mr. ROGERS. I am sure you can give one if I let you talk long enough, but he is a man of some intelligence, cum laude at Dartmouth and he says he knows you were a Communist, an avowed Communist, and that you told him you were working for communism, that you supported the Russian Constitution, and now what do you say? Do you say he is lying, that that is not true?

Mr. REMINGTON. I will say it is not true.

Mr. ROGERS. Did you ever tell us when we asked you questions about your strong feeling on communism, didn't you tell us that all you did was associate with Communists; as a matter of fact, your last year in college you became anti-Russian?

Mr. REMINGTON. I can prove that.

Mr. ROGERS. That you were anti-Russian in your last year?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. What did you do that was anti-Russian?

Mr. REMINGTON. I can prove it.

Mr. ROGERS. Tell us, go ahead. How did you do it, or what did you do that was anti-Russian?

Mr. REMINGTON. I ran the Conference Making Democracy Work.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you tell me this, who did you contact first in Government about your TVA job?

Mr. REMINGTON. I went down to the TVA and walked into the personnel office.

Senator FERGUSON. Who hired you?

Mr. REMINGTON. Somebody in personnel.

Senator FERGUSON. Had some of your conversations with Mr. Barstow been prior to the time that you worked for TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. ROGERS. When did you work for the TVA?

Mr. REMINGTON. October 1936 to about April of 1937.

Senator FERGUSON. Who did you know in Government while you were at Dartmouth?

Mr. REMINGTON. No one that I know of.

Senator FERGUSON. After you got out of Dartmouth, who did you first know in Government that in any way aided you or talked about a job in Government?

Mr. REMINGTON. I came down to Washington with letters to 20 men from Arthur MacMahon.

Senator FERGUSON. Arthur MacMahon. What was the month that you brought 20 letters from Arthur MacMahon?

Mr. REMINGTON. In March of 1940.

Senator FERGUSON. March of 1940?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did Arthur MacMahon at that time know that your mother-in-law was a Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am not sure that she was then. I think that she was recruited during 1940.

Senator FERGUSON. But at the time you brought the letters down, did Arthur MacMahon know about that?

Mr. REMINGTON. He knew about the fact that my mother-in-law was beginning to associate with Communists, but he knew that I was not sympathetic.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, you think, then, when you got the letters, who did you get the letters from?

Mr. REMINGTON. Arthur MacMahon.

Senator FERGUSON. How do you account for those not being in your file, those 20 letters that Arthur MacMahon gave you and you brought down in 1940?

Mr. REMINGTON. I delivered them to the people who they were addressed to.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes, in Government.

Mr. REMINGTON. Personal letters.

Senator FERGUSON. But there is no such thing as "personal" in Government when you are after a job, and he has the right to hire you. How do you account for those 20 letters not being in the file?

Mr. REMINGTON. Because I was only hired in one agency.

Senator FERGUSON. At that agency did you give any of those letters?

Mr. REMINGTON. It would be that one addressed to that agency.

Senator FERGUSON. What was it?

Mr. REMINGTON. National Resources Planning Board.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes. The National Resources Planning Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Which you have described as a New Deal agency?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And you had a letter from whom to that Board?

Mr. REMINGTON. From Arthur MacMahon to Mr. Blaisdell.

Senator FERGUSON. To Thomas Blaisdell?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, did MacMahon write the whole 20 letters?

Mr. REMINGTON. It was a form letter, and he wrote it. It was the same and addressed to 20 different men.

Senator FERGUSON. How do you account for the fact that the Thomas Blaisdell letter did not get into your personnel file, and it isn't in it now?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have no idea, sir, whether it is in there or not.

Senator FERGUSON. We have had it, and I mean it has been stripped. Would you know why they would strip that out of the file?

Mr. REMINGTON. No, sir; but I have a photostat of that in Ridge-wood, N. J., I think.

Senator FERGUSON. We would like to have it. Can you bring it down?

Are there any other questions?

Mr. ROGERS. Now I want to get back to this business that you are anti-Russian at Dartmouth. What is this beside this one organization which doesn't strike me as being anti-Russian that you belong to that was anti-Russian?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have, sir, a great many of my college papers. Would you care to read them?

Senator FERGUSON. I wish that you would leave them as part of your exhibit.

Mr. ROGERS. What kind of papers and what do they say, briefly?

Mr. REMINGTON. Papers for various courses which I wrote, and one essay and one short story, which indicate that I was a New Dealer but not that I was a Communist.

Mr. ROGERS. What I am asking now, you attempted in the public session to indicate, and in fact you said that in 1939 you became actively anti-Communist.

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. Now, I am asking you, what evidence is there that you ever were anti-Communist, and here we have a man that says that you were the leading Communist or one of the three leading Communists at Dartmouth. I am now asking you a very simple question: What evidence do you have showing that you were anti-Communist when you were at Dartmouth?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have the papers which I wrote, the essay which I wrote, and I maintain that those essays could not have been written by a Communist.

Mr. ROGERS. I didn't ask you that. Will you give us the substance of anything that you wrote or did showing that you are anti-Russian or anti-Communist? It is a very easy question, and I know that you are smart enough to recognize its point.

Mr. REMINGTON. Those papers I am telling you about, sir, will show you.

Mr. ROGERS. What do they say, briefly?

Mr. REMINGTON. I am giving them to you, and I don't have them.

Mr. ROGERS. They show that you are anti-Communist.

Mr. REMINGTON. They show—let Barstow read them. He will tell you.

Mr. ROGERS. That is a simple question. Do they show that you are anti-Communist?

Mr. REMINGTON. I insist that they do, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. You also indicated in your testimony, I think, from my reading of it, that you wanted to leave the impression with this committee that your connection with communism was pretty much through your mother-in-law. Now, the fact of the matter is that you

apparently were a Communist before she was, because you testified that she did not become a Communist until the last part of 1938 or possibly 1939; and now Mr. Barstow says—and I certainly believe him—that you were an active Communist before your mother-in-law in 1938 or 1937. What do you have to say about that?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have said it, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. Didn't you try to leave the impression with this committee when you testified in public session that you were not a Communist; that you never espoused communism and you were surprised when you found out that your mother-in-law was, and you found out that she was leaving little pamphlets around for children and that you were upset by that?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was very upset when I found that my mother-in-law was getting closer and closer to the Communist Party.

Mr. ROGERS. From your background, that could not have been too upsetting; you could not have been too shocked, if Mr. Barstow is telling the truth.

Mr. REMINGTON. I was shocked.

Mr. ROGERS. Obviously, you don't think that Mr. Barstow is telling this committee the truth.

Mr. REMINGTON. I have told you that he is not telling the truth, and he is telling the truth as he understood it at that time, and I definitely espoused certain things, definitely, which I have told you about. I was not a member.

Mr. ROGERS. Were you a member of the American Student Union?

Mr. REMINGTON. I have wracked my brains on that for years.

Mr. ROGERS. Your answer is that you don't remember?

Mr. REMINGTON. The answer is that I definitely associated with ASU members and I went to some meetings and I don't think that I was a member.

Mr. ROGERS. You are not sure about whether you were a member of the ASU or not?

Mr. REMINGTON. I will not deny it.

Mr. ROGERS. How about the American Youth Congress; were you a member of that?

Mr. REMINGTON. I was not a member.

Mr. ROGERS. Were you a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. REMINGTON. Definitely not.

Mr. ROGERS. Have you been a member of any organization that you have not told us about, up to that point?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. Will you name some of them?

Mr. REMINGTON. The Federal Club, the American Economic Association.

Mr. ROGERS. What do you call this Public Administration Officials Association?

Senator FERGUSON. Is it a labor organization?

Mr. REMINGTON. I belonged to the A. F. of L. American Federation of Government Employees at one time.

Mr. ROGERS. When did you cease being a member?

Mr. REMINGTON. About the time when the union went CIO down in Knoxville; that was about the time I dropped out of TVA.

Senator FERGUSON. When you had been in Government over here, have you belonged to any unions?

Mr. REMINGTON. In Washington, I think that I once joined a union in the OPA for a few weeks.

Senator FERGUSON. What was it?

Mr. REMINGTON. It was a bad one; that is why I dropped out.

Senator FERGUSON. What was it?

Mr. REMINGTON. I believe I have forgotten the name. It was a CIO union for Federal workers.

Senator FERGUSON. What is the meaning of "bad"? Was it communistic?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think that it became so.

Mr. ROGERS. All of these organizations became so later, apparently. At the time that you entered them, you didn't realize it. Is that correct?

Mr. REMINGTON. I don't know whether anyone ever accused that organization of being a Communist organization in 1944.

Mr. ROGERS. Tell us the rest of them that you belonged to, so that we are sure that we get all of the organizations that you belonged to.

Senator FERGUSON. All that you belonged to.

Mr. REMINGTON. I belonged to at least a dozen at Dartmouth. Do you want them?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. REMINGTON. It is going to bore you.

Mr. ROGERS. Now, with a man of your memory, you must be able to name the organizations to which you belonged, because I don't have as good a memory as you, and I can remember every organization that I belonged to in college and since. Will you relate the organizations that you belonged to?

Mr. REMINGTON. I belonged to the Juntl, the Council on Student Organizations. I belonged to the track team; I belonged to the Cooperative Reading Club; I belonged to the organization called Conference on Making Democracy Work; I belonged on several different occasions to a committee called Campus Peace Committee, or Emergency Peace Committee. It had different names in different years, and I belonged to it several different years. And I believe I belonged to the Dartmouth Union, although not very long, just in one year, as I recall.

Now, I belonged to the editorial board of the Dartmouth at one time; I belonged to the Dartmouth Newspaper; I belonged to the Faculty-Student Committee on the Spanish Relief; I belonged to what was called Dartmouth Committee on Aid to China; I belonged to what was called, I believe, just Student Committee to Aid Abyssinia or Ethiopia, or something of that sort.

Now, there were many others. The organization to aid Spain had at least three different names three different years. Then I belonged to a very serious-minded Marxist study group, during, I guess, my freshman year. Then I belonged to the Dartmouth Outing Club, and then I met with them on other occasions, and there were times when I met with the editorial board of the Jack-o'-Lantern, casually on certain subjects; and I met with the business staff on some of the organizations of the faculty members like the Hanover Cooperative to sit at least once; and I was pretty closely identified.

Oh, yes, of course, there was a whole coterie of organizations around

what was called the Student Policy Committee, which I organized in my senior year to deal with problems of student relationship to curriculum. I have some student newspaper describing most of these things.

Now, to put all of this in its perspective——

Mr. ROGERS. Just before we have another speech, could you tell us any organizations that you belonged to after you got out of college? Just outline those.

Mr. REMINGTON. At Columbia I belonged to the Economic Club. I never even attended a meeting or anything else. Here in Washington I think that I told you about all of the organizations that I have belonged to here, and I don't remember any others except the Economic Association. The Public Administration Officials organization of some kind. It is tied in with the Institute of Public Administration, but I have forgotten the exact name. And then the Federal Club. I think those are the only ones that have not been mentioned in the testimony.

Of course, I was on the board of directors of Tauxemont Houses, Inc., a cooperative, and it was a cooperative and I belonged to the Roachdale Cooperative Stores and Consumers' Gasoline Station, and my wife belonged to the Book Shop. I think that that is about the list.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. Barstow, in going over your notes, I see one other notation, and I don't think that you read into the record this, and I show it to you here to read it and see whether that refreshes your memory. Will you read it into the record?

Mr. BARSTOW. I think perhaps I had better read the two paragraphs here:

There is something about a new book on Spain, which stated that the Loyalist election was really won by a minority group with a slight majority vote, not the peoples overwhelming vote and not democratic.

Mr. REMINGTON. Would you read that again?

Mr. BARSTOW. This is a new book on Spain. It says:

The Loyalist election was really won by a minority group with slight majority vote, not peoples overwhelming vote and not democratic. They immediately kicked opponents out of the Government, put in new President and so forth, and the rebels outbreak result of unpopular anarchy, and so forth, many favored and so forth.

Those were the notes I made previously on that book. These are the comments I have down from Bill Remington:

But Bill Remington opposes of course and says this view not right; "250 to 125 congressional majority in election and they put in for first time universal education" and in parentheses I have "objected" and made church assume its proper place outside state, in religion not politics.

Mr. REMINGTON. That is the separation of church and state.

Mr. ROGERS. What happened to Charles L? Do you know what he is doing now? Do you ever hear from him?

Mr. REMINGTON. No.

Mr. ROGERS. What about the other man, Mr. M? Do you know where he is?

Mr. REMINGTON. Yes, sir; I didn't until I ran into him on the street in New York just a short while ago, a few months ago. He is teaching at some college, teaching sociology, and has a baby, and I know a lot of gossip about him but I don't know any of the details.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. Barstow, do you have any remarks to make? I saw you make a memo on your pad.

Mr. BARSTOW. Well, this is just a memo that I made at one time, and I think the record when it is written out would substantiate this. He made some remark about some belief and this is the quote that I have, "Non-Communists said that too," and the reason I wrote it down at the time was it seemed to me that it might have been a slip, and this would have to be read from the record, and I would have to look at the context.

Senator FERGUSON. And he said at the time he was talking about Davis.

Mr. BARSTOW. It is possible to put it in the record as having it mean that he believed it but "non-Communist said it too," and that may be an unfair criticism.

Senator FERGUSON. That is the way you felt about the answer. Is there anything else that you want to say on the record? Is your memory good about this?

Mr. BARSTOW. My memory is very good about this because I was so impressed by Bill, the way he talked, the persuasiveness of his arguments, even without these notes to refresh my memory specifically as to just what I then wrote down he said. I have remembered all of these years, knowing Bill as a Communist at Dartmouth, with these other two, and I am distressed to hear him deny that.

Senator FERGUSON. The members of the committee, is there any objection to us taking out of this testimony these two names, L and M, for the one time being and leaving it blank? Have you any objection?

Mr. BARSTOW. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you, Mr. Remington?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think out of all decency it should be done.

Senator FERGUSON. We can put at the beginning that they were identified to the committee, but in this part of the record they will not be used.

Mr. REMINGTON. May I ask a question? I have been—

Senator FERGUSON. We will do that so when it is written it will be left blank.

Mr. REMINGTON. I have been very restrained in dealing with Mr. Barstow because I liked him at college, I recall, and I recall him now, and I didn't at first, and I recall him as a very earnest young fellow and I perhaps—I think he is a good fellow—if there is going to be any publication of what he has said then there is an awful lot that I can do to challenge his statement.

Senator FERGUSON. That is entirely up to the committee, Mr. Remington.

Mr. ROGERS. I think that we should have some explanation as to what you mean by "there is an awful lot I can do." I am sure the committee doesn't understand that remark.

Mr. REMINGTON. Because, sir, what he knew about me at college, his contact with me, was rather slight, and last night I went over 50 names of people who knew me at Dartmouth, and heard me advocate progressive taxation, and breaking up of big corporations, and anti-monopoly suits and things of that sort, and I could not have recalled Mr. Barstow to save my soul as a person who knew me well.

His contact with me was so slight, a few chats of a freshman with a junior, that it makes very little sense. I would like to challenge

his knowledge on me by questioning him about Dartmouth, about the people that he knew.

Senator FERGUSON. I have asked you for the questions and if you will write them out, we will ask them.

Mr. REMINGTON. If you think it is worth that much time, sir. I don't; I am not challenging what he said.

Senator FERGUSON. You are the judge on that point.

Mr. REMINGTON. Well, as samples, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Barstow reports that he visited me many times in my room and if he can tell me something about the room to show that he has been there.

Mr. ROGERS. He has already described where it was and you indicated that that is where it was. Do you expect him to remember the objects in the room?

Mr. BARSTOW. It was, I believe, the second or third floor of Crosby Hall. I guess anybody knowing the college would know where Crosby Hall was, and it was an outside room, and I remember that you had a desk, I believe, in the southeast corner of the room and I believe there was a swivel chair and that you sat at that desk when I was talking with you and I can remember a typewriter with a paper in it that you were going to type after one of our discussions was over, and you finally sent me home and went to work on this paper on fascism in Spain.

Senator FERGUSON. I think that you have described it.

Mr. REMINGTON. And he is right on some things and not on others.

Now, Mr. Chairman, does Mr. Barstow recall the names of any of the men that I roomed with?

Senator FERGUSON. Do you recall the names?

Mr. REMINGTON. And——

Mr. BARSTOW. No; I don't.

Mr. REMINGTON. Sir, I want to point out that that is rather strange.

Senator FERGUSON. You can ask him questions. The committee will judge whether there is anything unusual or not.

Mr. REMINGTON. I roomed with W. M. and he has named M. I roomed with him until we got in each other's hair to the point where we sought refuge from each other.

Mr. BARSTOW. I was just going to say that it might have been W. M. at one time; C. L., as I said before, lived down the street in an apartment with his wife.

Mr. ROGERS. Do you have any other questions?

Mr. REMINGTON. I think that I have gone as far as necessary, along those lines. Now, I would like to call to the committee's attention some things about my college record.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you have them in writing?

Mr. ROGERS. Are there any more questions that you want to ask Mr. Barstow first, and we want to have an end of this. Do you have anything else?

Mr. REMINGTON. We all want to get out of here and I don't want to ask him any questions.

Mr. BARSTOW. Could I say one more thing, if this matter is continued, and I certainly would be interested in getting corroboration of the truth on the whole thing; I feel sure in my own mind now that there are a number of other students that I know I can name, and professors, at Dartmouth, with whom, if you have some way to get in

touch with them, that could bear out my recorded impressions of Bill's having been avowedly a Communist there at Dartmouth.

Mr. REMINGTON. Could Mr. Barstow stay while I tell you what I want to tell about my college career?

Senator FERGUSON. Do you want him to?

Mr. ROGERS. To be sure that there is no question about that, you are satisfied that you have asked all of the questions that you desire to ask Mr. Barstow at this time?

Mr. REMINGTON. If the committee wishes to pursue this matter further on some subsequent meeting, I want to reserve the right to ask him more questions.

Senator FERGUSON. If we would bring him back, we would bring you back.

Mr. ROGERS. The point we should make, is that we don't want you later to complain that you were rushed or it was lunch time or anything else, if you have any questions now as far as this session is concerned, of Mr. Barstow, if you will submit them to the chairman he will ask them.

Mr. REMINGTON. I will never say anything to try to embarrass this committee. I give you my promise on that.

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. REMINGTON. Now, the president at Dartmouth knew me quite well and we exchanged quite a lot of correspondence on this kind of thing, the question of, there was a strike in Vermont and we exchanged or we mentioned that in our correspondence in later years, and he had very good reason to know me well and his assistant knew me better than that, and a great many of the administration men knew me very well and they will testify to you that I espoused many very wild doctrines in my freshman and sophomore years at college and they will tell you that I outgrew it and they will tell you that the best of their judgment, or they will tell you as far as I know to the best of their judgment, that I never was a member of NYCL if there was any such—and I am not convinced there was really—and they will tell you that my junior year I was still terrifically idealistic and I still am; that I worked hard for kind of causes that I believed in, like aid to Spain, because I was opposed to Hitler and Mussolini, and they will tell you that I raised money and contributed and that I advocated all kinds—

Mr. ROGERS. Why don't you suggest that we get in touch with them rather than you telling us what they are going to tell us?

Mr. REMINGTON. If you want to. Now what these men did for me, first, I was named as student member of the Council on Student Organizations, by the president of the college, with consultation of the administration members. If I had been a Communist, they would not have named me.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, that is a conclusion.

Mr. REMINGTON. That is a fact, sir. I talked it over with them, I was put in charge of the Conference Making Democracy Work by the president of the college. I again insist that that was because of conversations that I had with the dean and other people in which they were satisfied that I was not a Communist.

Third, I was picked for the senior fellowship because they were convinced that I was sound.

Next, I was picked for a graduate fellowship. Everybody knows; Barstow says everybody knew what he knew, and I think that that is true, but other people didn't think that I was a Communist.

Next, I was picked as one of the Dartmouth College representatives to compete for the Rhodes scholarship. I was one of the two men who survived the New Hampshire competition and I was sent from all of the colleges of New Hampshire down to Boston where I was eliminated, in the last round.

Now I think that that is another indication that I was not a Communist. No Communist ever got there.

Now, everybody knew what Barstow knew, he says, and I think that that is true, and everybody knew exactly where I stood.

I think that that is all that I have to say. I can prove all of that and I can show you the things.

Senator FERGUSON. Leave those with the clerk.

We will recess now without a date to reconvene.

(Thereupon, at 12:10 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene to the call of the Chair.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 1

THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1950

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:55 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding. Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter and John McSweeney (arriving as indicated).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, William A. Wheeler, and Courtney Owens, investigators.

Mr. FORER (Joseph). Mr. Chairman, I would like to object to the fact that a quorum is not present.

Mr. WALTER. I have been constituted a subcommittee of one for the purpose of taking this testimony.

Mr. FORER. I would like to point out, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. and Mrs. Hinckley were subpoenaed to appear before the full committee, and may it appear that as to both Mr. Hinckley and Mrs. Hinckley we are proceeding under protest.

Mr. WALTER. Yes. Will you identify yourself for the record.

Mr. FORER. My name is Joseph Forer. I am a member of the District of Columbia Bar.

Mr. WALTER. Will you raise your right hand, please. You swear the testimony you are about to give to the subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM WHEELER HINCKLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS ATTORNEY, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, will you state your full name?

Mr. HINCKLEY. William Wheeler Hinckley.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yankton, S. Dak., March 20, 1910.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you briefly outline your educational background?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I went to the public schools of St. Joseph, Mo., graduating from high school there, and attended 2 years at St.

Joseph Junior College; 2 years at Rollins College in Florida, where I took a bachelor's degree; and I went to Columbia University Teachers' College 1 year, where I took a master's degree in education and psychology. Since that time I have had a few courses at George Washington University.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us a brief statement of your employment background, please, how you have been employed since you first began to accept employment?

Mr. HINCKLEY. During college I worked at a filling station.

Mr. TAVENNER. Say, after the completion of your education.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I worked for a year and a half as a teacher, instructor, at Black Mountain College in North Carolina.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I believe it was in 1933-34. That is approximate. I then was chairman of the American Youth Congress for a period of approximately 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Beginning when?

Mr. HINCKLEY. 1935, in New York. I then for 2 years was employed by the United States Office of Education, where I did a piece of research; it was a handbook of college-entrance requirements.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry. I did not understand your statement.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I was employed for 2 years at the United States Office of Education, where I did a piece of research; it was a handbook of college-entrance requirements.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when did that employment begin?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I believe it was the winter of 1940, early part of 1940. At the conclusion of that period of employment I worked for a period of 2 months for the Railroad Retirement Board as an economist; and from there I went to the Treasury Department, with the bond and stamp program, for a period of approximately 2 months; then for 4 years I was assistant director of employment of the American National Red Cross, responsible for recruiting overseas mail personnel for the services to the Armed Forces program of the organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment with the Red Cross begin?

Mr. HINCKLEY. 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand that was a 4-year employment?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes. I believe that is correct; approximately that, since it is 8 years ago. For the last 4 years I have been employed as a teacher in Montgomery County.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through whom did you obtain your employment with the Red Cross?

Mr. HINCKLEY. The personnel office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who recommended you for employment there?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember whom I asked for recommendations now. I believe I was employed on the basis of experience.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the official who arranged for your employment with the Red Cross?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I don't remember his name at the moment. I talked to a great many people there connected with the Red Cross. I don't know who finally made the approval for the appointment, nor do I know all the people that I saw.

Mr. TAVENNER. From whom did you receive orders to report for work at the Red Cross?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I would assume that it was from the head of the personnel office, whose name at that moment was Mr. Gwinn. I don't know. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who recommended you for your teaching position in Maryland?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I don't remember whom I asked for recommendations in connection with that position, nor do I know who recommended me. I filed an application for the job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you give references in your application?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I am sure I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Don't you recall the names of the references you gave?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I filed many applications. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, on November 30, 1939, you testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on the American Youth Congress, as its former executive secretary and chairman. In addition to this organization, Mr. Hinckley, with what other organizations have you been associated?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time connected with the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I was a member of that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at one time a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I believe I was. I am pretty sure that I was, although I don't remember actually whether it was that organization or the former organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of any other group or organization?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have been a member of many organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state them, please?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason that I gave before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you state to the committee any reason for your refusal to answer, that might enable the committee to determine whether or not such testimony would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have given you my reason. I am not a lawyer.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all the reason you desire to state?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, during the time that you were a member of the American Youth Congress, did you attend the World Youth Congress held in Switzerland in 1936?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a delegate from the American Youth Congress to that meeting?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through what travel agency did you book transportation to the World Youth Congress?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember what travel agency. As a matter of fact, the negotiations, I believe, were taken care of through my office. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. I did not understand your answer.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom were the arrangements for your travel negotiated?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember that. It was done through my office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through your office as chairman of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who paid the cost of your transportation?

Mr. HINCKLEY. The costs came from the funds of the organization as far as I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. What organization?

Mr. HINCKLEY. The American Youth Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you photostatic copies of two receipts, which I will request be marked for identification only as "Hinckley Exhibit No. 1" and "Hinckley Exhibit No. 2," and I will ask you to examine them and state whether or not that refreshes your recollection as to how arrangements were made for your transportation?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I assume that I went to World Tourists, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Will you keep your voice up a little, please?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes. I assume that these are for me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those two exhibits, "Hinckley Exhibit No. 1" and "Hinckley Exhibit No. 2," are receipts showing the receipt by World Tourists, Inc., of money from you; is that correct?

Mr. HINCKLEY. They are receipts for money for me.

Mr. TAVENNER. From you; yes. I desire to offer the two exhibits in evidence and have them marked "Hinckley Exhibit No. 1" and "Hinckley Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WALTER. They will be received.

(The photostatic copies of documents above referred to, marked "Hinckley Exhibit No. 1" and "Hinckley Exhibit No. 2," are filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. "Hinckley Exhibit No. 1" shows that there was received from you the sum of \$156.12; and "Hinckley Exhibit No. 2" shows that there was received from you by World Tourists, Inc., the sum of \$50. Did you actually turn over those sums to World Tourists, Inc.?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I assume they were turned over. I don't know whether I did it. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the source of those funds, if they were turned over?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I believe the source was the organization that I was representing. I don't remember where the money originated; probably from the treasury of that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would the records of your organization disclose the payment of those funds if they were so paid?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I assume they would, although I am not sure. I had very little to do with the keeping and the checking of the records.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your position at that time?

Mr. HINCKLEY. My position was chairman of the organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you in some doubt as to the source of those funds?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't remember. As a matter of fact, Mr. Hinckley, don't you know that those funds were actually paid by the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you not know that World Tourists, Inc., had an account known as the Blake account, to which these two items represented by Hinckley Exhibits 1 and 2 were charged?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I did not know that.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that the Blake account was actually an account of funds procured from the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember of ever having known anything of the sort.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you did not know the exact circumstances under which these funds were handled by World Tourists, Inc., did you not, however, know that those funds were funds advanced and paid by the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, I show you a photostatic copy of an application for passport filed by you for travel to the World Youth Congress, and I will ask you to identify the name of the person whose signature appears as a witness to your application. I will ask that the application be marked "Hinckley Exhibit No. 3" for identification only.

Mr. WALTER. Let it be so marked.

(The photostatic copy of document above referred to was marked "Hinckley Exhibit No. 3" for identification only.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the person whose name is signed as identifying witness to your application?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Benjamin Fine.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please identify Benjamin Fine to the committee and detail your acquaintanceship with him.

Mr. HINCKLEY. Benjamin Fine was at that time publicity director of Teachers' College, Columbia University. I believe he is now education editor of the New York Times.

Mr. TAVENNER. What Teachers' College?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you known him?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember how long.

Mr. WALTER. To the best of your recollection?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Perhaps I knew him over a period of a year or so or 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, do you know Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. Why do you think it might incriminate you to admit that you knew a particular individual?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I am not a lawyer. I have given you my answer.

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I can't answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you associated with Elizabeth T. Bentley in any fraternal organizations while you were at Columbia University?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Elizabeth T. Bentley a student at Columbia University at the time that you were there?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know William Walter Remington?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and under what circumstances did you first meet him?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I met him, as far as I can remember, after I came to Washington and was employed by the United States Office of Education. I don't remember under what circumstances I met him. I saw him over a period of a year and a half or 2 years, socially, in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him while you were at Columbia University?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember ever meeting him before I came to Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean you do not remember or that you did not make his acquaintance before coming here?

Mr. HINCKLEY. As far as my memory serves me, I did not make his acquaintance before I came to Washington. I met many people in my job, or in the various work that I did, and whether I may have met him beforehand is something that I could not testify under oath. I have met thousands of people. As far as my memory serves me, I met him and knew him only after I came to Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were fraction meetings of the Communist Party, composed in part of members of the American Youth Congress, held while you were an official of that organization?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, for the reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did William Walter Remington ever sit in a meeting of any character, whether a Communist fraction meeting or otherwise, while you were an official of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, did you know William Walter Remington to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever sit in a Communist Party meeting attended by William Walter Remington?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason I gave before.

Mr. TAVENNER. During your days as a student at Columbia University, were you a member of the Harlem section of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for two reasons: In the first place, I think that there is no reason for an American citizen to be asked about his political affiliations; and in the second place, I refuse to answer because my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party or the Communist Political Association?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

*MR. TAVENNER. Is it not a fact that Elizabeth T. Bentley signed your Communist Party card when you were recruited into the Communist Party?

MR. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

MR. TAVENNER. When did you first take up your residence in Washington?

MR. HINCKLEY. In the spring of 1940, as far as I remember.

MR. TAVENNER. And you lived in Washington continuously for how long a period?

MR. HINCKLEY. I lived in Bethesda for a period of approximately 2 years.

MR. TAVENNER. And then where did you live after that?

MR. HINCKLEY. On a farm near Germantown, Md.

MR. TAVENNER. For a period of how long?

MR. HINCKLEY. Until now.

MR. TAVENNER. During your residence in Washington or in the neighborhood of Washington, did you become acquainted with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

MR. HINCKLEY. I don't remember of ever meeting Mr. Silvermaster.

MR. TAVENNER. During this period did you become acquainted with Victor Perlo?

MR. HINCKLEY. I don't remember of ever meeting Mr. Perlo.

MR. TAVENNER. During this period did you become acquainted with Duncan C. Lee?

MR. HINCKLEY. I have no memory of ever making his acquaintance.

MR. TAVENNER. During this period did you meet William Ludwig Ullmann?

MR. HINCKLEY. I have no memory of ever making his acquaintance.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Robert T. Miller?

MR. HINCKLEY. I have met a number of people by the name of Miller. I have no memory of a Robert T. Miller at the moment.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Henry H. Collins?

MR. HINCKLEY. I have known him; I have met him.

MR. TAVENNER. Please explain the circumstances under which you met Mr. Collins.

MR. HINCKLEY. I don't remember the circumstances under which I met him. I do remember of having met him.

MR. TAVENNER. What was your opportunity for becoming well acquainted with him?

MR. HINCKLEY. Well, the memory that I have is that at one time Mr. Collins and his wife came to our farm and weeded our garden one Sunday afternoon. I have no recollection of where I met him.

MR. TAVENNER. Were there other occasions on which you met him?

MR. HINCKLEY. I believe there were social occasions, but as far as where they were, I don't remember.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not Henry H. Collins was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. HINCKLEY. Not to my knowledge.

MR. TAVENNER. During your residence in and near Washington, did you become acquainted with Charles Krevitsky, otherwise known as Charles Kramer, K-r-a-m-e-r?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have no knowledge of Mr. Kramer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Abraham George Silverman?

Mr. HINCKLEY. As far as my memory serves me I never became acquainted with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I met Mr. Currie once, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances?

Mr. HINCKLEY. It was at the White House. Mr. Currie had returned from China, and Mrs. Roosevelt had invited some of her friends in for an evening's discussion led by Mr. Currie, and Mr. and Mrs. Currie were there and he talked about his trip to China.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet him on any other occasions?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have no memory of meeting him under any other circumstances.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Mr. Harry Dexter White?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have no memory of Mr. White.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Mr. Currie as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Bela Gold?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have no memory of ever meeting Bela Gold.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Sonia Gold?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have no memory of Sonia Gold.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Frank Coe?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have no memory of Frank Coe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet Alger Hiss?

Mr. HINCKLEY. As far as my memory serves me, I have never seen Mr. Hiss.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you attended the meeting at the White House, did you attend in any official capacity, such as an officer of the American Youth Congress?

Mr. HINCKLEY. That meeting at the White House was a social meeting of friends of Mrs. Roosevelt, and we were simply invited to be there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Donald Hiss?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have never met Donald Hiss to the best of my memory.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were living in Washington or near Washington, did you become acquainted with John J. Abt?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have never met Mr. Abt as far as my memory serves me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Lee Pressman?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have met Mr. Pressman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please explain the circumstances under which you met him.

Mr. HINCKLEY. I met Mr. Pressman socially at a number of gatherings. I don't remember how I actually met him first.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were these meetings held?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Chairman, to the best of my memory at the moment, I remember of seeing him in two places. One was at my farm where he called one Sunday afternoon, again, I think, to help weed the

garden. Another occasion I recall is at the White House, but I don't recall the circumstances or any reason for meeting him there. It was probably a social gathering.

(Representative McSweeney enters hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there other places or occasions on which you met Mr. Pressman?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember any other occasions at the moment. I assume that there were.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Lee Pressman as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason that I gave before.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Hinckley, why do you think it would incriminate you to answer a question as to somebody else's political affiliations?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I can't answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Nathan Witt?

Mr. HINCKLEY. To the best of my memory I have never met Mr. Witt.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were in and near Washington, did you become acquainted with William Rosen?

Mr. HINCKLEY. To the best of my memory I have never been acquainted with Mr. Rosen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with David Wahl?

Mr. HINCKLEY. To the best of my memory I have never been acquainted with Mr. Wahl.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, you have refused on the grounds of self-incrimination to answer questions propounded to you this morning. On April 2, 1939, you appeared on a program entitled "The People's Platform" sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting System. During this program you were asked by John B. Trevor the following question:

I would like to ask Mr. Hinckley whether, in view of the positive stand he has taken in regard to the bomb, whether he would take precisely the same stand in regard to a Communist meeting in Madison Square Garden?

Your answer is quoted as follows:

I think in that case I would say, "Absolutely no." The Communists, it would seem to me, are no threat of aggression from without or from within.

In view of your definite opinions on communism in 1939, I would like to ask you whether or not at this time you still feel that the Communists are no threat of aggression from without or from within?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I am not prepared to discuss my opinions or any changes that may have taken place in them.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you decline to express any opinion as to whether or not communism now constitutes a threat of aggression from within or without this country or the Government?

Mr. HINCKLEY. That is a matter of opinion, and I am not prepared to discuss the opinion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, I have asked you the pointed question of whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party. If I have not asked that specific question I will ask it now. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You recall, do you not, when you testified before this committee on April 2, 1939, you denied having been a member of the Communist Party?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember, Mr. Chairman, what my testimony was on that date.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your testimony you referred to the fact that both Mr. Cadden and you had been charged with being Communists, in which connection you stated, page 7053 of the hearings of this committee:

That is not true. We have denied it. I would like to deny it here under oath.

Does that refresh your recollection?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I think I did so testify.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has anything occurred since April 2, 1939, which would make your answer different?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time become acquainted with Mary Jane Keeney or her husband, Philip?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I have met them.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where did you meet them?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't know. I don't remember where I met them, nor do I remember when. It was probably in the first 2 years of my being in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances of your meeting them?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I met them socially.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know them as members of the Communist Party, either of them?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you testified before this committee on April 2, 1939?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, for the reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told the committee that you were acquainted with William Walter Remington while you were here in Washington. How frequently did you see him?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I saw him very irregularly, on invitation. I don't remember the precise number of times I saw him.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you would say you saw him frequently?

Mr. HINCKLEY. No; I couldn't say that I saw him frequently.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he in the company of Elizabeth T. Bentley on any occasion when you saw him?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the names of other persons who were present on occasions when you met William Walter Remington?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't recall the names of any precise people who were present. The circumstances that I recall mostly today are Mr. Remington's playing volley ball in our side yard, usually with neighbors and friends.

Mr. TAVENNER. If it was a purely social function, I don't want to ask you the names of people. Did you attend a group meeting of any kind with Remington?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I believe I had lunch with him with groups. I have no memory of any other kinds of meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you testified before this committee in April 1939, when you denied under oath that you were a member of the Communist Party, did you tell the truth?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hinckley, in order to teach in the State of Maryland, I think that those who are teachers and applicants for a teaching position in Maryland are required to sign an affidavit under the Ober law. Did you sign such an affidavit?

Mr. HINCKLEY. To the best of my memory, I did; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under that law, an applicant for a position, or where he was employed prior to the effective date of the law, the employee must sign an affidavit containing a provision that the applicant or the employee does—

hereby certify that I am not a subversive person as defined in chapter 86 of the Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland of 1949, namely, that I am not a person who commits, attempts to commit, or aids in the commission, or advocates, abets, advises, or teaches by any means any person to commit, attempt to commit, or aid in the commission of any act intended to overthrow, destroy, or alter, or to assist in the overthrow, destruction, or alteration of the constitutional form of government of the United States, or of the State of Maryland, or any political subdivision of either of them, by revolution, force, or violence.

And the employee or applicant further certifies that he is—

not a member of a foreign organization as defined in said chapter 86, namely, that I am not a member of any organization directed, dominated, or controlled directly or indirectly by a foreign government which engages in or advocates, abets, advises, or teaches, or a purpose of which is to engage in or to advocate, abet, advise, or teach, activities intended to overthrow, destroy, or alter, or to assist in the overthrow, destruction, or alteration of the constitutional form of the Government of the United States, or of the State of Maryland, or of any political subdivision of either of them, and to establish in place thereof any form of government the direction and control of which is to be vested in, or exercised by or under, the domination or control of any foreign government, organization, or individual.

And the employee or applicant also certifies that he is—

not a member of an organization which engages in or advocates, abets, advises, or teaches, or a purpose of which is to engage in or advocate, abet, advise, or teach activities intended to overthrow, destroy, or alter, or to assist in the overthrow, destruction, or alteration of, the constitutional form of the Government of the United States, or of the State of Maryland, or any political subdivision of either of them, by revolution, force, or violence.

That is similar to the affidavit which you signed, is it not?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember the wording, but I assume that it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider that a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America can sign that affidavit without violation of its provisions?

(Witness confers with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. HINCKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I feel that that is a matter of opinion. I don't feel qualified at the moment to discuss it or give my views on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you signed that affidavit or its equivalent?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, for the reason that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Were you a member of the Communist Party on the 2d of April 1939?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the reason that I have given before.

Mr. WALTER. Why do you feel it would incriminate you to answer the question today when on the 2d of April 1939 you apparently did swear that you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Have you taken any other oaths or affirmations regarding your loyalty to the United States Government at any time in any other position than as school teacher?

Mr. HINCKLEY. I don't remember.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Were you in the Army?

Mr. HINCKLEY. No; I wasn't.

Mr. WALTER. Anything further, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be advised that he will be held under the subpoena, to be recalled in the event the committee requests it.

Mr. WALTER. I don't think that is a good practice, Mr. Tavenner. If you do that, you always leave the door open for a question to be raised as to the validity of the subpoena. I think it is a better practice to issue a new subpoena.

(Thereupon Mrs. Margaret C. Hinckley entered the hearing room.)

Mr. FORER. Mr. Chairman, may the record show the same objection of no quorum for Mrs. Hinckley that I noted for Mr. Hinckley?

Mr. WALTER. Note the appearance of counsel for the record and the objection that a quorum of the full committee is not present. However, I think the record should show that a subcommittee was designated by the chairman to hear this testimony.

Will you stand and hold up your right hand? You swear the testimony you are about to give the subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MARGARET C. HINCKLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. Margaret C. Hinckley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. Beverly, Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you and Mr. Hinckley married?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. In 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly for the committee your educational background?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. I attended the Windsor School in Boston. My education followed a rather checkered course. I started at Smith and became ill and went to Rollins in Florida, where I met Mr. Hinckley, and spent a year at the Sorbonne in Paris, and went to Radcliffe for a year. Then I was married and went to Teachers' College at Columbia University. That is about all.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were at Teachers' College at Columbia University, did you meet Elizabeth T. Bentley?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. I am sorry, I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that anything I may answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also meet Mr. William Walter Remington while you were at Columbia University?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. No; I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had employment at any time since the completion of your education?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. Yes. I worked for the American Social Hygiene Association in New York. I am not sure quite what the time was. It must have been 1938 and 1939, or something like that, along there, about 2 years, part of which was part time and part full time; I think most of 1939 and part of 1938. That is the main job I have ever had. I married and continued going to college, and except for that I haven't sought employment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you accompany your husband to Switzerland at the time of the meeting of the World Youth Congress there?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. No, I didn't. I had a baby at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how the expense of that trip of your husband's was paid?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. No; I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any meetings of a Communist Party cell at Columbia University?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds I gave before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. I am sorry. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Mr. William Walter Remington while you were living in Washington?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. No. I have no way of knowing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever attended a Communist Party meeting at which he was present?

(Representative McSweeney leaves hearing room at 12:07 p. m.)

Mrs. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that my answer might incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Mary Jane Keeney?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. I don't know the name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see Elizabeth T. Bentley at any time after you came to Washington?

Mrs. HINCKLEY. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. That is all.

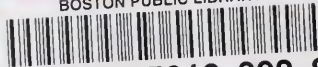
(Thereupon, at 12:09 p. m. on Thursday, June 8, 1950, an adjournment was taken.)

×



3 9999 05018 391 0

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 05018 392 8

