

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM
RECRUITING FOR ESPIONAGE

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
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STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

Recruiting for Espionage

THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 1955

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a. m., in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland, Johnston, and Hennings.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Robert McManus, investigations analyst.

Senator JOHNSTON (presiding). We will come to order. The hearing will resume.

I think the first witness today is David Gordon.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is David Gordon here?

Senator JOHNSTON. Is David Gordon present?

Mr. SOURWINE. David Gordon.

Senator JOHNSTON. David Gordon.

(No response.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Victor Weingarten.

Senator JOHNSTON. Hold up your right hand.

Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I do.

Senator JOHNSTON. So help you, God?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. So help me, God.

TESTIMONY OF VICTOR WEINGARTEN, PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY DANIEL POLLITT, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten, will you give the reporter your full name, please?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Victor Weingarten.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your address, sir?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Munsen Building, Pleasantville, N. Y.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what is your business or profession, Mr. Weingarten?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am a publicity man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you self-employed?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes; I am.

Senator JOHNSTON. Before we proceed any further, I notice that you have a counsel with you. Let him identify himself for the record.

Mr. POLLITT. My name is Daniel Pollitt. I am with the firm of Rauh & Levy, with offices at 1631 K Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, Mr. Weingarten, employed by the Brooklyn Eagle in 1935?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how long did you work for the Eagle?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Until 1942.

Mr. SOURWINE. And when you left there, where did you go?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I went with the National Maritime Union.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you were with them for about a year?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. About 8 or 9 months.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then you went into the United States Navy?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You came out of the Navy about Christmas, 1945?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you then employed?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. In Fact.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is "In Fact" the name of an organization or publication?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes. It was a weekly newsletter, now defunct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who owned or managed the newsletter?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. It was owned and published by George Seldes.

Mr. SOURWINE. S-e-l-d-e-s?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you were employed by him?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes; I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity, sir?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Associate Editor.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that newsletter was on a part-time basis initially, was it?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. No. It was full time initially, and part time from 1948 on.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then, when did you leave them entirely to enter your own business?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have been self-employed since that time?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. May I consult with counsel?

Senator JOHNSTON. You may.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am not a Communist and I was not a Communist 5, 10, or close to 15 years ago, sir. Other than that, I think, sir, I would invoke my privilege for all other questions concerning communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. In your executive session, Mr. Weingarten, you stated:

I would like to say that I elect to make full and frank disclosure of any of my activities up to the time I was eligible to vote in my first presidential election, which would be in 1940.

Is that right?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us, then, were you a member of the Communist Party prior to 1940?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke my privilege to that question, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you stated, did you not, that you wanted to make full and frank disclosure of any of your activities up to the time you were eligible to vote?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. May I consult with counsel, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEINGARTEN. It was my impression, sir, that I said I would be willing to discuss my own activities since 1940. I think the record—and you can bear me out—showed a correction at that point, because you caught me on that. I thought I said, “since,” when I meant “prior to.”

Isn't that correct, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying now that you are willing to make a full and frank disclosure of all your activities after you became an eligible voter?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, from 1940 on?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Since 1940.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you since 1940 been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Not since I cast my first vote for President, sir, in the 1940 Presidential election.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party between January 1, 1940, and the Presidential election in 1940?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke my privilege for that question, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think that pins it down fairly well.

Were you a member of a Communist unit of the Brooklyn Eagle employees' organization?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke my privilege to that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten, are you invoking your privilege against self-incrimination on the grounds that you fear that if you answered that question truthfully, it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. May I consult with counsel, sir?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEINGARTEN. In large part, sir, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you, Mr. Weingarten, know Alvah Bessie?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I knew who he was, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Alvah Bessie as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke my privilege to that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Nat Einhorn?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I know who he is, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him now?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what he does now?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. My impression is, he works for the Polish Information Service.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Nat Einhorn as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke my privilege to that answer—to that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am talking now about the period since 1940, sir, and not before. Have you since 1940 known Nat Einhorn as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am advised by counsel, sir, that I can still say—I am willing to testify all about myself, but not about others since 1940.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are declining to answer questions about other persons, on what grounds?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. On the grounds of the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. On the grounds of your privilege against self-incrimination?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten, you are admonished that you have testified under oath that you have not since 1940 been a member of the Communist Party. When you were then asked if you knew another person as a Communist since 1940, and you contend that it would incriminate you to answer that question truthfully, you must see that the implication is that you answered the previous question untruthfully.

Can you explain the circumstance, so that the record will be clear in justice to yourself, Mr. Weingarten?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I would like to try, sir, if I may.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please do.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Well, sir, I must respectfully decline to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just stated you would like to try to explain. Have you changed your mind about that?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Sir, all I can say is that I am not a constitutional lawyer. I don't know all of the ramifications of the fifth amendment. All I can do, sir, is be guided by advice of counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your counsel, sir, cannot make for you the decision as to whether a particular question, in your opinion, will tend to incriminate you. You have to make that decision yourself.

Now, I am not asking you questions of constitutional law. I am trying to find out for this record why you are refusing to answer questions about other individuals. You made it quite clear in the executive session that you had elected to talk about yourself, but not to talk about others; is that not true?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. My recollection of my testimony in the executive session, sir, is that I was willing to talk about myself in the period since 1940.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is right.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. And that I said I would not testify against others.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is right.

Now then, sir, that is not a reason for claiming the fifth amendment. That is not a reason for asserting your privilege under the fifth amendment, your desire not to testify about others. You have no right not to testify about others. You have no right to protect others. The only basis on which you can claim that you have a privilege against testifying is the claim that to truthfully answer the question might tend to incriminate you—not others, but you.

Now, I will rephrase this question. Have you, since 1940, and during the period when you yourself were not a Communist, had reason to know that Nat Einhorn is or was a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Sir, I must on advice of counsel state that I would like to invoke the fifth amendment on any questions concerning communism.

(Senator Eastland entered the hearing room.)

Mr. SOURWINE. You have already waived your privilege in that respect—

The CHAIRMAN (presiding). Counsel, wait just a minute, now.

You waived it. You stated that you did not want to involve others. You had no right to do that. Now, I am ordering you and directing you to answer that question, and I am going to tell you that if you do not, if you do not answer that question, I am going to recommend to the subcommittee that you be cited for contempt of the Senate.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Well, sir, I again must respectfully decline to answer that on the grounds of the self-incrimination clause.

The CHAIRMAN. You can make your bed.

Mr. SOURWINE. The fifth amendment, Mr. Weingarten, is not a blanket under which a witness may refuse to answer for reasons which suit him. It is a privilege against self-incrimination, and that is all. It does not go any further.

Have you, sir, since 1940, attended any Communist meetings?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Not to my knowledge, sir; not that I recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you, sir, since 1940, met with any persons known to you to be Communists?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke the fifth amendment, sir, on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must respectfully decline, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why are you protecting Nat Einhorn, Mr. Weingarten?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am not protecting any person other than myself, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten, have you, since 1940, engaged in any Communist activity?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you, since 1940, participated in any way in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. To the best of my knowledge, sir, I have never done anything illegal, but on advice of counsel, sir, I would like to invoke the fifth on that, too.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten, you have claimed the privilege of the fifth amendment on the question of whether since 1940 you have engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence; is that right?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Well, sir, I think what I said was that I would like to give you an unequivocal answer to it. So far as I know, I have never committed any illegal act of that sort. On advice of counsel, however, because I just do not understand the ramifications of this entire proceeding, I am advised to invoke the fifth amendment, and I do it with reluctance, but nevertheless I must invoke it, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will reduce the question to simpler form. Have you, since 1940, knowingly aided and abetted communism?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am advised to make the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, your counsel cannot decide for you. Do you honestly fear that if you truthfully answer the question as to whether since 1940 you have knowingly aided and abetted Communists, that would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I think, sir, I must repeat this, and tell you that in part I recall reading in the paper last week of a woman who told this committee that she had never committed espionage and had no intention of ever doing so in the future, and the story said that she had been indicted for contempt.

Now, I could make a very unequivocal kind of answer to that question, but I frankly do not know what the legal implications are here, and so, on advice of counsel, sir, I must invoke the amendment.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you mean to say that if you would answer that question, that probably they would find that it was not true and they could take you into court?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am sorry, sir. I——

Senator JOHNSTON. I say, do you mean to say that if you would answer that question, then they might dig up the true facts and prove that you were not telling the truth?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Sir, I believe that I, in the light of my knowledge, and in good conscience, could answer that question without——

The CHAIRMAN. Then why don't you answer it?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Because I do not understand the ramifications of this, and I am informed, or at least I am advised that if I answer this kind of question, I hold myself open to some kind of prosecution.

Now, if I can be assured by the committee that this is not so, I should be happy to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that if you answer the question, you can be prosecuted; is that what you say?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. No, sir. I am saying this, that I recall reading that a woman who answered that question has been indicted for contempt.

Now, I would love to give you a very unequivocal answer, insofar as I can, in all candor and in all honesty testify.

I would have nothing to fear. But I do not know what this committee has in mind, sir, and——

The CHAIRMAN. This committee has in mind getting the truth and nothing but the truth.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Well, sir, I would like to testify only to the truth, and all I can——

The CHAIRMAN. Then why don't you testify only to the truth?
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. What are you afraid of?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Well, sir, I am afraid of a contempt citation, because I am advised that the legal maze involved in all of this area is a very complicated one, that you answer some questions, and you have got to answer all questions.

May I just consult with counsel for one moment, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Now, we know you have broken with the Communist Party, but we also think that people who are close to them are influencing you, sir.

Senator JOHNSTON. We do have some information that you probably know some things that would be helpful to this Government of ours in this fight against communism at this time.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Well, sir, I think that what Senator Eastland said is correct. I am not a Communist. I would like to do everything I possibly can to help this Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why don't you come on? Who has been indicted for attempting to help their Government in the fight against communism?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I think, sir, Mr. Sourwine knows my position. I would have no objection to making full disclosure about myself, but as Mr. Sourwine knows, because we have talked about this—and I don't know if I am on risky ground here or not——

The CHAIRMAN. Risky ground? What do you mean?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am on risky ground, sir, because I am told that a witness cannot be selective. In other words, you cannot answer some questions and then not others.

And so I would like to be content, sir, with the statement that I am not a Communist——

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten——

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Excuse me, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. That I am a loyal and patriotic citizen. To the best of my knowledge, I have never done anything detrimental to the welfare of this country; to the best of my knowledge, I never have. I am proud of this country and I am proud of my role as a citizen in this country.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten——

Mr. WEINGARTEN. But on the questions of communism, sir, I would feel happier and certainly safer if I invoke my privilege on questions relating to communism in the 1930's.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Weingarten, I sympathize with you, believe me. But in your zeal to put yourself in a position where you would not have to testify against other people, you have done what you did not want to do. You have opened up the field. You may now be cross-examined on your statement that you have never done anything detrimental to the country.

With regard to your privilege under the fifth amendment, after you have stated that you were not a Communist since 1940 and that you had done nothing since 1940 to aid and abet communism, you cannot

thereafter refuse to answer questions in the nature of cross-examination on those statements.

To that extent, you have waived your privilege, and you never had the privilege to refuse to testify against somebody else, because you did not want to reveal him.

Now, it is not my place to argue with you about the fifth amendment. I have gone into this at such length because I have been trying to keep you from putting yourself in an invidious position. You have your counsel by you and you are entitled to take your counsel's advice. I will not here quarrel with counsel.

But I am going to ask these questions, and you are admonished, sir, that your refusal to answer on a contention that you have a privilege not to do so may well leave you in contempt of the Senate.

Do you know Violet Brown?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, I do, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Violet Brown the woman you married?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am still married to her, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is she a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. No, my wife is not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was she a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I don't think I should be asked to testify about my wife, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have been asked, sir.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I refuse to answer whether my wife was ever a Communist, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. On what grounds?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Well, I can't say "guilt by association," because I am married to her. So I must invoke the fifth amendment to that answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. The question of whether my wife was ever a Communist?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir, and I think at this point—

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEINGARTEN. And at this point, sir, I would also like to invoke the first amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did counsel tell you to do that?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I don't think I should tell you what my counsel told me, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is your privilege. But it is the privilege of you, sir, as a witness, and not the privilege of your counsel.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Lewis?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I knew Charles Lewis, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke my privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to give the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us go back to Nat Einhorn. Did you attend Communist meetings with Nat Einhorn?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke my privilege on that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must respectfully give the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Hyman Charniak?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I knew him, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke the privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. And I must respectfully make the same reply.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you realize that you are doing Hyman Charniak a great injustice, because you know that he left the Communist Party, and you know that he left the Communist Party at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939, because he could not stomach that, and yet you are giving an answer here which gives the impression that you knew him to be a part of the Communist Party.

Don't you know that Hyman Charniak left the Communist Party in 1939?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must make the same answer, sir, with regret.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Herbert Cohn?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him to be a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must invoke the privilege on that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I order and direct you to answer that question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I am sorry, sir, I must still make the same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Melvin Barnett?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I knew him, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him to be a Communist? That is in the present tense, now. Do you know him to be a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I have no knowledge on this subject at the present time, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Melvin Barnett as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I should like to invoke the privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must respectfully make the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know David Gordon?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must invoke the privilege, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I order and direct you to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must respectfully make the same reply, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Charles Grutzner?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must invoke the privilege, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I order and direct you to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must respectfully make the same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gladys Bentley?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I invoke the privilege, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I order and direct you to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. The same reply, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Leonard Adler?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must invoke the privilege, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I order and direct you to answer the question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I make the same reply, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Lyle Dowling?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must invoke the privilege, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. And the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Murray Young?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I know who he was, but I wouldn't say that I knew him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I had better invoke the privilege on that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Certainly. He was a teacher in a school, a Communist school to which you were directed by the Communist Party, was he not?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he not a teacher in a Communist school to which you were directed by the Communist Party?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. In which I was directed by——

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must plead the privilege to that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Amos Landman?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes; I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must invoke the privilege, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I order and direct you to answer that question.

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must respectfully make the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Milton Kaufman?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must invoke the privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know John Francis Ryan?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I make the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gladys Kopf?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. She is dead now. You cannot harm her. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must make the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Ira Henry Freeman?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I know who he is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I must invoke the privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Sam Weissman?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes; I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. The same reply, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Helen Weissman?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. The same reply, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mrs. Doretta Tarmon?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I didn't know her, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know her at all, or know whether she was a Communist?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. I don't know her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have anything to do with the National Maritime Union?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there any degree of Communist domination in that union at the time you were connected with it?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Not to my knowledge, sir; not to my personal knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any dealings with Communists in that union?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew nothing of any communism in that union?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was the publication, In Fact, in any way connected with the Communist Party?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it a Communist front?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did it cooperate with Communist objectives?

Mr. WEINGARTEN. Not during the term of my employment there.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnston?

Senator JOHNSTON. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hennings?

Senator HENNINGS. No questions. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Charles Grutzner.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you hold up your hand, please, Mr. Grutzner?

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

Mr. GRUTZNER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES GRUTZNER, ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN
McKIM MINTON, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you give the reporter your full name, Mr. Grutzner?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Charles Grutzner.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I am, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Please identify your counsel for the record.

Mr. GRUTZNER. My counsel is John Minton.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his address?

Mr. GRUTZNER. 295 Madison Avenue, New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Grutzner, what is your present occupation?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I am a reporter employed by the New York Times.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how long have you been employed there?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Since September of 1941.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you do before that, Mr. Grutzner?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Immediately before that I was a reporter for the New York City News Association, and before that—sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. GRUTZNER. And before that, I worked for the Brooklyn Eagle from 1934 until the spring of 1941.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, Mr. Grutzner, while you were employed by the Brooklyn Eagle, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you—

Mr. GRUTZNER. Pardon me. You said, while I was employed. During part of my employment. I didn't become a member until 1937, and I got out in 1940.

Mr. SOURWINE. And during all of that time you were employed by the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, were you a member of the Communist Party unit in the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. During all of this time?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Between those dates I mentioned, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, who recruited you into that unit?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I am wondering how far back you want me to go. I wasn't recruited all at once. Someone invited me to join the party in 1936, and I did not join. Then in 1937, after I was moved from Queens, into the Brooklyn office of the Eagle, I was again invited, and then I joined.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, take it chronologically. Who first invited you?

Mr. GRUTZNER. In 1937—I was then working in Queens County for the Eagle—in the course of my work I came in contact with a number of committees, civic committees, committees on housing, committees against discrimination and, committees like that, and I approved of the work they were doing. One day one of the members—I think it was the chairman of one of the committees—I am not too certain—it was 18 or 19 years ago—came to me after a meeting and said, "Well," he said, "you may not know it, or you may have suspected it," he said, "a nun-

ber of the people working for these things in which you seem to believe are members of the Communist Party. We would like you to join."

MR. SOURWINE. Now, who was this, Mr. Grutzner, who came to you with this statement?

MR. GRUTZNER. It was a man whose last name was Martel, and I am not certain of his first name.

MR. SOURWINE. Was it Harry Martel?

MR. GRUTZNER. It may have been. I don't know.

THE CHAIRMAN. That was in 1937?

MR. GRUTZNER. No. That was in 1936, Senator.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

MR. GRUTZNER. That is when I did not join.

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. GRUTZNER. And he then suggested that I think it over, and he said to me, "You know," he said, "you wouldn't have to belong out here in Queens." He said, "The people you work with," he said, "many of the people you respect are members of the Communist Party."

I did not know at that time who he was talking about. It was not until 1937—I was sent into the Brooklyn office of the Eagle for the Presidential campaign of 1936, and I remained in Brooklyn. I think it was in the spring of 1937 that Nat Einhorn asked me to have a cup of coffee with him. I knew him well. In fact, I had worked with him on a weekly newspaper before either of us ever came to the Brooklyn Eagle.

MR. SOURWINE. What was that weekly?

MR. GRUTZNER. Home Talk. It was published in the Bay Ridge section of Brooklyn. As I said, he invited me to come out for coffee, and he said to me, "We would like you to join the Communist Party."

Well, I can't say I was surprised. I didn't know it would be he who would ask me, but I expressed a moderate surprise, I suppose, and he said, "Look. We know you are ripe for it." He said, "The people in Queens told us about you, and we think that you believe in the same things we believe in, and let's work together."

Thereupon I became a member.

MR. SOURWINE. And when you say you became a member, how did you do that? Did you go to a meeting and take a pledge of some sort, or just how did it happen?

MR. GRUTZNER. I don't believe I ever was asked to take a pledge. My best recollection was that I was—I wouldn't say reluctant—I was hesitant. I mean, I am not a joiner. I had never joined anything except my union, and here a proposal like this was made to me, and I said I wanted time to think it over, or something, and I was invited to a meeting at which I was told other Communists would be.

It was a large meeting. My recollection is that it was held in a hotel in Manhattan. It may have been the Claridge, but I am not sure, because many union meetings were held there, and I met a number of people. And after that, I think I started paying dues. I didn't take a pledge or anything.

Then I went to meetings of the local on the Eagle.

MR. SOURWINE. How often did they meet? Was it once a week?

MR. GRUTZNER. I would like to make the distinction. They met once a week. I didn't meet once a week.

Mr. SOURWINE. The meetings were held Tuesday evenings, were they not?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I believe they were.

Mr. SOURWINE. How often did you attend? Every other meeting?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Or three times a month?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No; I did not. And I would explain that. At that time I was covering politics. Most of my work was at night. I was attending dinners; I was attending meetings. I might go to a meeting and I might be away for 3 meetings or 4 meetings, and then I would go to a meeting, and perhaps I would go the very next week and then I might be away for a number of weeks.

Then again, in 1939, I was assigned to cover the World's Fair.

I was detached from the Brooklyn office. We had our own office at the World's Fair, and for a period of, oh, 6 months, perhaps, I attended maybe 2 meetings during the entire 6 months' period.

Senator JOHNSTON. How much dues did you pay, and for how long?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I paid dues during the entire period, except that once, perhaps twice, I fell way behind in dues. I don't recall the exact amount, Senator. I think it was——

Senator JOHNSTON. Approximately.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I think it was something like a dollar a week. I am not too sure.

Senator JOHNSTON. A dollar a week?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The comrades understood that your assignments kept you away from meetings, and so they made no trouble for you about that; is that right?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Oh, I wouldn't say they made no trouble. They nagged me considerably. They told me I wasn't a very good Communist, and I was making excuses to stay away from their meetings, and they sort of put up with me, I would say.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you carry a Communist Party card?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I can't recall a card as such. My best recollection is that once a year there was something which they called a control, and they then checked on your dues to see that you had paid your dues during the year, and that you had paid for whatever literature they had given you, and then they issued you, it may have been a card or it may have been a slip of paper, a sort of receipt showing that you were in control.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUTZNER. In the fall of 1940.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was the year after the Hitler-Stalin pact; is that right?

Mr. GRUTZNER. It was, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you leave?

Mr. GRUTZNER. It was a cumulative sort of thing. One of the reasons I left, and perhaps I should explain why I got in before I tell you why I left—one of the factors that determined me or influenced me into joining was that I was told I was working for civic causes and for other causes for which the party was working, and that I could be more effective in the things I was doing if I helped make the decisions, rather than stand on the sidelines and take part in the things later on.

They said, "When you are on the inside, you help make the decisions. This is a democratically run party." I think a Kansas farm-boy, Browder, was the national chairman then, and they called it 20th century Jeffersonian democracy, or some such thing, and I felt, "Well, this is all right."

And then after a while, I found out the meetings were not as democratic as they had been, and that was one of the things that induced me to get out.

This didn't come suddenly. This came over a period of time. I would stay away from many meetings, and then they would say to me, "Well, it is about time you showed up for the meeting."

And I said, "Well, look, I have reached a point where we don't see eye to eye."

They said, "Well, come around to a meeting and talk about it."

This went on over many months, and finally I just stayed away for good.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever do anything to signify your decision to break with the party?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I spoke to the party organizer about it. I did not put it in writing, for obvious reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was he?

Mr. GRUTZNER. At that time it was a she.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was she?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Gladys Bentley.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead. What did you tell her?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Well, I didn't have to tell her much by that time. We had had many differences of opinion. We had had sharp disagreements about the conduct of the meetings, and she was the one who would get after me and say, "Come on back to the meetings."

Finally I said, "I am not coming back. I am through."

For obvious reasons, you don't put things like that in writing. You don't want records lying around that you ever were in, when you decide you are going to get out.

Mr. SOURWINE. In your own mind, you made a clean break at that time?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the fall of 1940?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, since that time, have you been in any way at any time under Communist discipline?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since that time, that is, the fall of 1940, when you left the Communist Party, have you ever accepted instructions or directives or information from a representative of the Communist Party, U. S. A.?

Mr. GRUTZNER. They didn't offer me any directions. They wouldn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. The answer is "No"?

Mr. GRUTZNER. The answer is "No."

Mr. SOURWINE. Since you left the Communist Party, have you ever accepted invitations or directives or information from a representative of the Communist Party of China?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Of China?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. GRUTZNER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since you left the Communist Party, have you ever accepted instructions, directives, or information from a representative of the Communist Party of Korea?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since you left the Communist Party, have you ever had any part in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I certainly have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since you left the Communist Party in the fall of 1940, have you ever knowingly aided and abetted communism?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No; I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask those questions in part because the previous witness had some trouble with them. You do not find any trouble answering those questions, do you?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Grutzner, you attended a number of meetings of the Communist Party unit in the Brooklyn Eagle; is that right?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you attend Communist meetings with Nat Einhorn?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you attend Communist meetings with Gladys Bentley?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you paid your dues, to whom did you pay them?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I have an idea that at various times I paid them to different people. I couldn't say specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever pay dues to Gladys Bentley?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I may have, but it is unlikely. I don't think her function was dues collecting, although it may have been before she became organizer. I just don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Alvah Bessie?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Alvah Bessie as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No, I did not, and I would like to say something there in explanation.

I sat here yesterday and listened to Winston Burdett. Winston Burdett said he joined the party in 1937, which would be about the time I joined. He said he knew Alvah Bessie, and Alvah Bessie had left the Eagle at the time he joined the party, which indicates to me that if Alvah Bessie ever were a member—and I don't know that he was—he would have been out of it by the time I got in. So I say that to tell you why I have no recollection of ever having attended a meeting with Alvah Bessie.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no knowledge, then, as to whether Mr. Bessie was or was not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Victor Weingarten?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a member of the Communist Party unit of the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I have no specific recollection that he was. He may have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Violet Brown, who later became Violet Weingarten?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a member of the Communist unit at the Eagle?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Not that I recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Charles Lewis?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I knew Charles Lewis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a member of the Communist unit at the Eagle?

Mr. GRUTZNER. The answer is "No." The only reason I am hesitating, I am trying to think when Lewis left the Eagle, whether he may have left it before I met him at a meeting. I am not certain about Lewis. But I know I never—or I have no recollection of ever attending a meeting with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were a member of that unit, were you not?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you attended a number of meetings over a period of years?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Over a period of 3 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. You must remember more than two persons. Now, tell us some of the other persons whom you remember as members of that Communist unit.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Let me tell you this first, if I may. I hope you will understand that my membership in the party was not the dedicated, emotional sort of thing that Mr. Burdett testified about yesterday. I could take my communism and I could leave it, and I left it when I was fed up with it.

To me it was a thing I did for what I thought were good reasons, and it was a practical thing. There was nothing emotional about it. I didn't regard myself as a zealot. I missed many meetings, and at the same time I was attending occasional Communist meetings, I was attending all sorts of other meetings, many of them with the same people whose names were mentioned here, and it is difficult for me, if I attended eight different types of meetings—I am talking about city-wide union meetings; I am talking about meetings of the representative assembly of the union of which I was a member during much of that time; I am talking about meetings of the unit of the union—not of the Communist Party, of which I was a member, of course; I am talking about meetings of the executive committee of the union unit of which I was a member; I am talking about parties for Spain, which all sorts of people who were not Communists were attending, and I am talking about a whole series of all different kinds of meetings.

Now, I have a recollection of names and faces, people with whom I attended some meetings. For me, after 15 to 18 years, to sort of make a jigsaw puzzle out of this and try to match up the pieces and say, "This is the name I saw at this meeting rather than at that meeting," I find it extremely difficult to do, sir, not reluctant, but difficult.

Senator HENNINGS. If counsel will indulge me for a question or two, Mr. Grutzner, did you take anything that might be considered in the nature of an oath or affirmation when you became a member of this Communist organization?

Mr. GRUTZNER. As I said, I have no—

Senator HENNINGS. I assume an oath to be an anathema to a Communist group. That is, an oath using the Bible, or anything related to the Deity.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I don't know anything about that, but my recollection is, I went to a meeting and I started paying dues.

Senator HENNINGS. You just—

Mr. GRUTZNER. Now, I may have signed a card or an application or something. I have no clear—but I never took an oath or a pledge or anything.

Senator HENNINGS. I assume that your pledge would not be similar to that of some other organization, but anything which you considered tantamount to a pledge, except the signing of what you have indicated might have been a card or an invitation.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I am almost certain, Senator, that I did not.

Senator HENNINGS. I wonder, too, if any admonitions of secrecy were imposed upon you at the time you became a member of the organization.

For example, you felt no emotional involvement, and you have indicated that you could take your communism, as you put it, or leave it alone—

Mr. GRUTZNER. Which I did.

Senator HENNINGS. Were you instructed as to secrecy, not to tell anybody that you were a member or to indicate that any others were members of this?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I would not say I was instructed. It was assumed all around, because in those days, even though the Communist Party was a legal political party—I don't think there was any such thing as the Attorney General's subversive list, at least, I have no recollection—but it was an unpopular minority party, and it was dangerous in certain jobs.

In certain jobs, if you were known as a Communist, you might lose your job. And it was assumed that you were not going to go around advertising the fact.

In fact, when I was asked to join, that was one of the questions I raised. I said, "Well, how would it affect me in my job?"

"Oh, well," they said, "Everybody uses a fake name for the records, anyway." And I used one. But there was no pledge of secrecy. It was just assumed that you weren't going to go around blabbing about it.

Senator HENNINGS. But you felt no sense of shame in terms of feeling that you should keep your affiliation secret, did you?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Oh, no; I did not.

Senator HENNINGS. You were not ashamed of it, because the objectives of the party as you understood them at that time were consonant with your own beliefs as to housing, civic betterment, and various other things?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Senator, may I say something which may explain my attitude on that? When I was a child, my father would come home from time to time—and my mother has reminded me of this in very recent years—and he would come home and he would say, "I lost my job today."

My mother would say, "Why?"

And he said, "Because I joined the union."

Well, in those days it was worth your job to belong to the union.

In 1937, maybe it wasn't worth everybody's job to belong to the Communist Party, but people were losing their jobs because they were Communists, and for that reason you did not go around advertising the fact.

Senator HENNING. I understand that, Mr. Grutzner, very well. I can understand how, in terms of not losing your job, you might want to keep the matter secret. I was wondering what your own feelings about your identification with the party might have been with respect to either being proud of your, what you then conceived to be, idealistic affiliation, working for the general human betterment, or whether you felt it was something of which you were not quite so proud.

Mr. GRUTZNER. It was not a matter of not being proud, and it was not a matter of great pride. I did something that I thought was the correct thing to do and the practical thing to do at the time.

Senator HENNING. You thought it was right; so that your own feeling was one of satisfaction with your having made the decision?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes.

Senator HENNING. Yes. I think that is very understandable, Mr. Grutzner, and I am not undertaking to cross-examine you.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I understand that.

Senator HENNING. I am just trying to find out what may have been your mental processes at that time.

Now, did you hear any discussion back in the thirties about any identification of the American Communist Party with the Soviet Union?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No. In fact, I raised the question when I was asked to join the Communist Party. I said:

You know. What's all this about Russia?

And, as I recall—and, of course, I can't quote exact words after these years—but my recollection or my impression is that I was told, "Well, this is the American Communist Party, or the Communist Party of the United States," whichever it happened to be at the time. "And it is just as much an American party as if you joined either your district Democratic or Republican Club."

Then it was pointed out to me what were the things in which I had come in contact with communism with. It was housing; it was anti-discrimination. It was things like that.

Senator HENNING. Now, did you ever hear any discussion about overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence during those years?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Nothing like that.

Senator HENNING. At any time.

Mr. GRUTZNER. We talked about local issues and things concerning the shop in which we worked.

Senator HENNING. Was it in the nature generally of a debating society, would you say, or a discussion group?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I would say a discussion group rather than a debating society.

A debating society implies two sides getting equal presentation.

Senator HENNING. Exactly.

Mr. GRUTZNER. And that is one of the things I didn't like about it. Two sides didn't get it.

Senator HENNINGS. And only one side was presented, really?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes.

Senator HENNINGS. And you felt that the organization to which you belonged, that unit of the Communist Party, was not being run in what we are pleased to think of as being a democratic manner?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I suspected it early, but it took me a long time, really, to convince myself.

Senator HENNINGS. I imagine then that you realized that there was a so-called party line, and that you had to subscribe to it if you were to be what you have indicated they termed you, a good Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. That was about it.

Senator HENNINGS. As indicating to you that you were not a very good Communist, because you did not completely subscribe to the entire party line, and did not come to meetings regularly, and seemed to be interested in many other things which were working along the same general lines that you have indicated you were interested in, better housing and racial discrimination and those other professions or idealism or human betterment?

Mr. GRUTZNER. You have put it as well as I could.

Senator HENNINGS. I thank you. That about sums up your point of view?

Mr. GRUTZNER. That about sums it up; yes, sir.

Senator HENNINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Grutzner.

Thank you, counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Grutzner, did you know Hyman Charniak?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I knew Hyman Charniak. He was a reporter or a rewrite man—I forget which—on the Eagle at the time I worked there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that Hyman Charniak left the Communist Party in 1939?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I do not know that. It may have been during one of the periods when I was not at meetings, if his case was discussed at all, but I was rather surprised when I heard about that, because that would indicate: (1) That he was a Communist, and I had no recollection of seeing him at meetings; and (2) that there was quite a fuss about his getting out, and I can see where I might not remember him at these specific meetings, but if there had been a fuss about his getting out, I believe I would have remembered it. So that must have been during a period I was not attending meetings.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Herbert Cohn?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a member of the Communist unit at the Eagle?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I have no specific recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Not that I recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Melvin Barnett?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where Mr. Barnett is now?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where is he?

Mr. GRUTZNER. At the moment he probably is at home waiting to go into his job on the Times. He starts at 4 or 5 in the afternoon.

Mr. SOURWINE. On the New York Times?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Barnett as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I went to many meetings with Mr. Barnett, but I have no specific recollection that they were Communist meetings which I attended with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Haven't you warned Mr. Barnett to get himself square with his employers?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I have warned Mr. Barnett to this extent: When I was called down here to executive session, I had no idea that Mr. Barnett's name or any other name in particular would be presented to me. I didn't know what I would be asked; I didn't know whether any names would be presented to me.

Among the names I was questioned about was the name of Mr. Barnett. That was the first I knew that Mr. Barnett had come to your committee's attention.

When I went back to New York—and I may say that before I ever was subpoenaed by this committee, I discussed my case with my editors and with the publisher of my paper, and I told them all about myself—then having Barnett's name mentioned to me here at the meeting, I felt I owed it to Mr. Barnett, not for any political reasons or anything like that—he was a fellow employee on the Times with me; he had worked with me on the Eagle—then I went to him and I said:

Barney, I was down in Washington. I was given the names of a number of people who presumably have been identified as Communists.

I said:

I am not asking you whether you ever were.

After all, I don't want to usurp this committee's function. But I said:

Your name is before the committee. I don't know whether you ever will be called. Let me tell you what happened to me.

And I then told him how I had gone to the people on the Times and told them everything about myself.

I said:

Whatever your position may be, whether you were or weren't—and I am not asking you whether you were—I think you should have the benefit of knowing what my experience was with the people on the paper.

And Barnett didn't say yes or no as to whether he had been. He said:

Thank you for telling me. I will be guided accordingly.

And I have not discussed it with him since then.

Mr. SOURWINE. All you can say about Mr. Barnett, then, is that he was with you on the Eagle and you attended many meetings with him, but you don't know whether they were Communist meetings; is that your testimony?

Mr. GRUTZNER. That is right. And after I was off the Eagle for a number of years, and before he came to the Times, through mutual friends we met, at a party or something, and we went to the theater with Barnett and his wife and we had dinner at their home a few times, and they came to our home, and this was some years after my severance from the party, and I had drawn the curtain on that whole

unpleasant episode, and I wasn't trying to think back with everyone I met and say, "Now, let's see. Was he ever a member of the Communist Party?"

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Did you know David Gordon?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I did. He was a reporter on the Eagle when I worked there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I have no specific recollection that I ever attended a Communist meeting with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a statement. But the question was, Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I don't believe I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Charles Grutzner?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I should.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him under any other name?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. What other name?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I know him under a couple of other names, and I would like to explain that. When I worked on Home Talk, this weekly paper I mentioned, we were rather understaffed, and I was news editor, and I was a general-assignment reporter, and my sports editor left one day and they said, "You are sports editor in addition to being other things."

And my news stories were signed with my name, Charles Grutzner, and it couldn't appear that one man was running the whole paper.

So they said, "Take a name for your sports column."

So I took the name Chick Garrett, and I covered fights and basketball games and things under that name.

Then when I joined the party and they said:

Well, of course, for purposes of the record you use a phony name so that they can't track this down to your job. What name will you use?

Well, "Chick" seemed a little flippant. So I said, "Call me Kenneth Garrett," and that was my party name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Kenneth Garraghy?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Kenneth Garrett, G-a-r-r-e—one "t" or two "t's." I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever used that name since?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No; I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You used it only as a byline on this Garrett part, and that "Kenneth Garrett" was only your party name?

Mr. GRUTZNER. That is right.

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

Mr. GRUTZNER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gladys Bentley as the organizer of the party unit at the Eagle throughout your membership there?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No. My best recollection is that at the time I joined the party, Nat Einhorn was the organizer, and then somehow in the intervening years, it wound up with Gladys Bentley being the organizer.

Now, just when the switch took place, I don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. She was not succeeded by anyone while you were there?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I don't believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Leonard Adler?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a member of the unit at the Eagle?

Mr. GRUTZNER. The Communist unit or the union unit?

Mr. SOURWINE. The Communist unit.

Mr. GRUTZNER. No. I have no specific recollection of him as that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Lyle Dowling?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I did. He had been the executive editor of the paper.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I don't believe I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. It made quite a furor when he joined the unit, did it not?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No. It made quite a furor when he walked out as executive editor of the newspaper because he felt his employees were getting such a bad deal and had been forced out on strike, that even though he was one of the management's top executives, he went out on strike. That made a big stir, and I remember that. But I don't remember that he joined the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Murray Young?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No. You asked me that name in executive session, and I said the name meant nothing to me. I saw the man here yesterday. The face meant nothing to me, either. When he identified himself as a former professor or teacher at Brooklyn College, and when the name of Morris Schappes was brought up, I remember that some years ago, in the course of my assignment—I was then with the City News—I covered some of the teacher hearings. I remember the Schappes case, because it was rather a notorious case. I think Schappes was indicted for perjury and went to jail.

Now, it may be that in connection with those hearings, Young's name came up, but that would be the only recollection I would have of him, and I say that is not a recollection. It is a possibility which I merely point out.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Amos Landman?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I think there is some confusion in my mind about the name. I remember when you asked me in executive session, I said there was, or I seem to remember a man who was an officer or a member of the assembly of the guild, and I said I thought he worked for one of the Jewish-language newspapers in New York.

I heard Mr. Burdett identify him yesterday as a reporter for either the News or the Mirror, which makes me doubt that I was correct when I said that. It may have been someone with a similar name I was thinking of. But I did not know him as a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I am certain that I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Monroe Stern?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Monroe Stern as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No. And I am certain about that. The reason I say in the case of some people I am certain and in the case of others that I have no clear recollection is because after having seen people come up here and testify, and after having heard people mentioned

by Burdett, I must assume that some of them were Communists, and if they were, they were Communists at the time I was.

But people like this Landman you mentioned, and Monroe Stern, they never worked for the Eagle and they could not have been members of my unit or at meetings that I attended. That is why I say I am sure I have no recollection of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you ever attend a Communist meeting other than a meeting of your little unit at the Eagle?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I attended—you see, there was a funny situation there. There was something called the Progressive Conference within the union. This was a citywide meeting, and there was a citywide fraction of the Communist Party. Now, I think I attended perhaps one meeting, and I think that was the first meeting I attended of the Communists of the citywide fraction.

I attended many meetings of the Progressive Conference, which had—I am sure the Communists were in it, because it was always called the Communist leadership, and it had people who were not Communists.

Now, it is difficult after all these years to distinguish between people you met at one meeting and people you met at another meeting when many of the people probably were the same people, but some of them were not.

Mr. SOURWINE. For that very reason, and in view of the fact that you did attend at least one meeting of the Communist fraction on a citywide scale, your previous feeling that you could not have known as a Communist anyone who did not work for the Brooklyn Eagle was a little bit out of line?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Technically it might be, but it was like this. When I attended, I believe it was this 1 fraction meeting, there may have been 2, but when I attended that I—people whom I didn't know, people who worked on the papers, a lot of people were there. It made no particular impression on me. There were people I met at the union meeting, too, I am sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not at this time arguing with you over your failure to recollect. It only seemed to me that what you said sounded as though you were saying a man could not have been a Communist unless he worked for the Brooklyn Eagle, and I knew you didn't mean that.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Oh, no, I certainly did not. They had no monopoly on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, you have heard testimony here, have you not, that Communists who didn't work for the Eagle attended meetings of the Eagle unit?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I believe there was such testimony.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that it would have been possible for some of these people to have attended meetings at the Eagle unit and you might have been there?

Mr. GRUTZNER. You are right on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I can only find out by asking.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was making a conclusion.

Mr. SOURWINE. And I would rather have your memory, your best memory, than your conclusion.

Did you know Milton Kaufman?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I knew Milton Kaufman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Let me put it this way: I attended Communist meetings with Milton Kaufman. I assumed from that he was a Communist. I never saw his membership card, I never heard him called comrade or anything like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as an officer of the Newspaper Guild?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know John Francis Ryan or Jack Ryan?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Jack Ryan, yes, I knew Jack Ryan.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No; I did not. I had heard him called a Communist in debate at a union meeting, but I had no way of knowing whether he was or wasn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gladys Kopf?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No; I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Ira Henry Freeman?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Ira Freeman occupies a desk alongside of me in the Times office.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he is or was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I do not know, and I am positive I never attended a Communist meeting with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Sam Weissman?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Weissman as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No, and it is extremely unlikely that if he were a Communist he would have been at meetings with me.

I remember Sam Weissman particularly because he and his wife, whose name I have forgotten, but whom I heard referred to yesterday as Helen Weissman, were very active volunteers during the Eagle strike. His wife spent much time at Guild headquarters and ran the coffee canteen, and I have a very clear recollection of him during the strike, and I am about as certain as I can be that I never was to any Communist meeting with him.

Senator JOHNSTON. Did the Communists have anything to do with the strike?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Oh, yes, yes. They sent volunteers down to strike headquarters, but so did other organizations, so did other unions and things, and they printed leaflets in support of the strike and they sent some of their people out to hand out the leaflets in front of department stores. I wouldn't have you get the impression from that, Senator, that they were running the strike or anything like that. They and other groups were in active support of it.

Senator JOHNSTON. Did they help initiate the strike in the beginning?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I don't—no, no. Certainly they didn't initiate the strike. I think the publisher of the Eagle initiated the strike.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mrs. Doretta Tarmon?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No. That was a name you asked me that just didn't register with me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just so the record may be complete, did you ever have any knowledge as to whether Mrs. Helen Weissman was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No; I had no such knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Grutzner, have you to your knowledge had any conferences in the last 10 years with persons known to you to be Communists?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Oh, yes. I mean if you call attendance at a meeting a conference, I met with Nat Einhorn, I met with Gladys Bentley, I met with Milton Kaufman. I assume you are excluding such things as interviews.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I interviewed Cacchione when he was a councilman, but I interviewed him as a reporter, not as an individual.

Mr. SOURWINE. I exclude anything that happened in the line of your business duty as a reporter. Tell us about your interviews with Einhorn and Bentley and Kaufman.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Well, my interview with Einhorn, the first one was something like this: That was that afternoon when he invited me first to join the party, and he gave me the reasons I have gone into. I then expressed some doubt as to whether I ought to join anything.

The word "Communist," it was a bizarre sort of word then, too, and I said, "What's all this about Russia and things?" and he said to me in effect, "Look," he says, "we are not asking you to go into a monastery. We are not asking you to join any bloodrite sect or anything like that. We are not asking you to go over your ears into anything. People who work for some things in common should discuss these things."

There was a word for it at the time, I don't remember whether it was the "popular front" or the "democratic front," but he expounded along those lines, and he said to me, "If you go into, if you join the Democratic Party," he says, "it doesn't mean you identify yourself with everything every Democrat all over the country does, and similarly with the Republican Party."

He said, "Now you go along with us on common ground, and when the time comes that we no longer have common ground," he said, "you get out. It is as simple as all that."

Well, it made it sound pretty much like joining the district club of any party except that the Communist Party at that time appealed to the more active on local issues. That was my conference with Nat Einhorn.

Now, when I talk of conferences with Miss Bentley—

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the only conference you ever had with Nat Einhorn?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Outside of meetings I believe it was; yes. Now, wait a minute. I believe after that first time there was a period of some weeks, and he came with me and discussed the matter again, and we went over substantially the same ground, and I think it was after two discussions with him that I joined the party.

Mr. SOURWINE. You see that is all very interesting, but my question was with regard to conferences during the past 10 years, and that is more than 10 years ago.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Oh, I didn't hear you say 10 years. I am sorry. No; I had social meetings with him. I had no conferences with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you last meet with Nat Einhorn?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Nat Einhorn brought his wife and two children up to my place in the country, I guess about 2 months ago. It was before I had been subpoenaed by this committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Nat Einhorn as a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Not now. I knew him as a Communist—in fact, I don't think too much credence should be put on gossip, but I relate this for what it is worth.

Some years after I was out of the party, someone said to me—I and many other people have been called Communists on and off during the years in the union. They said, "Well, you are part of the Communist leadership," and that sort of thing. And someone said to me, as people do at a bar, I don't recall specifically who, in a sort of a mocking way, "I hear your friend Einhorn got kicked out of the Communist party as a Browderite."

Now whether that is true or is not true, I don't know, but having heard that, there is no way I can say or not say at this time that he is or was a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. You heard it said he worked for the Polish Government?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think that has any bearing on whether he was a Communist?

Mr. GRUTZNER. A superficial judgment would be that he must be, and then you must consider that the Polish Government might want to employ a non-Communist as a face-saving thing or as a front or something like that. I feel that I am not qualified to say whether that makes him a Communist or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever visited Nat Einhorn's home?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes; I did, about I guess a year and a half ago I was invited to dinner, with my wife.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the only occasion?

Mr. GRUTZNER. The only occasion in the last 10 years. You are limiting this to 10 years?

Mr. SOURWINE. That's right. And has he visited your home only once in 10 years?

Mr. GRUTZNER. That's right, sir, and I may say that the recentness of his visit to my home was a coincidence because that was an outgrowth of the visit we made to him a year and a half ago, and we said, "You must bring the kids up to the country," and they said, "Sure," and we kept calling up and putting it off and putting it off, and finally it came about a few months ago. But again I say it was before I was subpoenaed by this committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. What brought about the renewal of your contact with Mr. Einhorn after you had nothing to do with him for 8 or 10 years?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I think it was 2 years ago I got in the mail, as I do from all sorts of sources, you get invitations to this and you get announcements to that, and this was an invitation to a Polish film festival that was being held at Rockefeller Center, and it was supposed to be a showing of, oh, half a dozen or so of the latest Polish motion pictures, and it was quite a big thing.

I thought maybe I would go and maybe I would not go. It would depend on what my wife was doing that day. And a day or two after I got the invitation, I got a phone call from Nat Einhorn, and Nat said, you know, "How have you been? I haven't seen you in a long time." He said, "I sent you an invitation to this Polish film festival." He says, "There is some wonderful new photography in it." He said, "I hope you can come."

And it was on a Saturday and I was not working, and I said, "Well, if I can make it, I will." And that was the renewal of our friendship.

And I say that friendship went back before the days I was a Communist. It went back before the days I came to the Brooklyn Eagle.

MR. SOURWINE. You had known Einhorn as a Communist and as a Communist organizer of the unit at the Eagle, and you made no inquiry, made no effort to determine whether he still was a Communist?

MR. GRUTZNER. Mr. Sourwine, I didn't want to know whether anybody was a Communist. What has happened since I got out 15 years ago has frightened me. I have seen people go to jail, I have seen people harassed, and the whole thing sort of set up a psychologic block to my memory, and I certainly didn't want to break the block. I was perfectly willing to ignore the past and say this is something I was well shed of 15 years ago, and I didn't want to be reminded of it in any way.

MR. SOURWINE. It never occurred to you that if Mr. Einhorn was still a Communist, you might not be so shed of it?

MR. GRUTZNER. Well, I don't see how I could be—after what I had been through, I was immune to communism. It is like after you have polio. No Communist can infect me any more.

MR. SOURWINE. Now, sir, tell us about any contact you had with Gladys Bentley in the last 10 years, the other organizer of the Brooklyn Eagle unit of the party.

MR. GRUTZNER. In the last 10 years the only times I have seen Gladys Bentley was at citywide union meetings, and once or twice after a meeting we would meet at the bar and she would say to me, "Are you still retired?" and I would say, "What do you mean by 'retired?'" and she says, "Well, you know," she says, "you are acting as if you had done your work and you are going to sit back and let a younger generation do it," she says, "and I am not talking about any one thing." She said, "I am talking about everything." She says, "You are not active in the union any more. You are not doing things that you know you ought to do," and I say, "I know what I am doing."

And that was the full extent of my meetings or conversations with Gladys Bentley.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you know whether she is still a Communist?

MR. GRUTZNER. I don't know, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. When was your most recent meeting with her?

MR. GRUTZNER. My guess is that it was—well, my last meeting with her was an accidental meeting on the street about 4 years ago. I was walking up Broadway on my way to an assignment. Previous to that, I think it has been 6 years since I met her at a union meeting or anywhere else, for that matter.

MR. SOURWINE. And when was your last meeting with Mr. Kaufman?

MR. GRUTZNER. My only meetings with Mr. Kaufman were at Communist Party meetings. I mean, when you said did I confer with

these people, I was taking it in the all-inclusive sense, "Did you ever talk with them," and that was before I got out of the party, which was in 1940.

I may have seen him at a few union meetings since then. I don't recall just when he left the union. But it is at least a dozen years since I have even seen Mr. Kaufman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Grutzner, were you ever in Korea?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was in Korea as a war correspondent for the New York Times.

Mr. SOURWINE. During what period?

Mr. GRUTZNER. From September through December of 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you during that time have any contact with members of the Communist Party of China?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I most certainly did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any trouble with the Army during the time you were in Korea?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I never had any trouble, but somebody has tried to make trouble about something, an incident that I related to you, and I am glad of the opportunity to spread it out on the record now.

It was in December of 1950, and I was in Seoul. I had been up in North Korea with the Army and I came back to Seoul, and we had daily briefings.

And this morning one of the reporters suggested to me and to two of the wire service correspondents that there was a bigger story cooking out at Kimpo Airfield than at the briefing, and we took a jeep and we went out to Kimpo Airfield. And the story was to be this: Our sabrejets, which had been in Korea for some time, had been in training flights, had been on reconnaissance, but they had not engaged the enemy and they were supposed to fly up to the Yalu River that day, and if they scored, if they were in contact with the enemy, the story then would be ready for publishing.

We spent the whole day at the airfield alternately burning ourselves in the tent against the hot stove and then going out and freezing. And late in the afternoon we saw the MIG's streaking in—not the MIG's, they had downed the MIG's, the sabrejets streaking in, and one of them made a maneuver.

I wasn't particularly familiar with Air Force matters, but one of the Air Force men said, "They bagged a MIG. This is the signal."

So, of course, when the plane landed, there were a few of them, I don't recall how many, everybody rushed into the briefing tent and the airmen told how they had engaged in combat.

This was a pretty good story. And later we discussed it with the public-information officer of the Air Force at the airfield and he filled us in on all the details.

And then as a routine thing he said, "Well," he says, "let's call Tokyo and get clearance." At that time there was only voluntary censorship. There was no enforced censorship yet.

So we called Tokyo and we got a PIO colonel in Tokyo who said:

We are not going to let you use that story yet.

And one of the men got on the phone and argued with him, and he got off the phone and he said:

Why that so-and-so—

he says—

The reason he doesn't want us to use the story, I will bet, is because it is now early Sunday morning in New York City and the Sunday morning papers are out already and there will be no other papers until Monday morning, and they want to hold it up to hit all the papers on Monday. That's the way General Stratemeyer operates.

I am quoting the other man. I had no opinion. And we were all pretty burned up about it.

We said:

Well, God, this is voluntary censorship. We were told that when the MIGs are in combat there is no more secret about it. The enemy got hit by them and we knocked down one of the enemy.

So we rode back to Seoul—

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is it that said this, Mr. Grutzner?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I told you in executive session. This has nothing to do with communism. As it developed later, the man who told me had erred in judgment and missed a story. He was one of my colleagues. He was a war correspondent with me. If you force me, I will tell his name, but I really don't see where it is apropos here.

Senator HENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, if I may venture an opinion, I hope that it does not conflict with our learned counsel's opinion. I don't think this has any application here. It relates to conversations. Unless something later develops that might affect this other man's professional standing—

Mr. GRUTZNER. It might very well, because I don't know that the story has ever been made public, this part of it.

Senator HENNINGS. It might operate as a derogation to his earning a living.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with you, Senator Hennings.

Mr. GRUTZNER. It very well might have that effect, Senator Hennings.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. GRUTZNER. All right. We rode back to Seoul in a jeep. Although the temperature was below zero, we were burning all the way back and we discussed this. And one of the correspondents then said that the PIO colonel in Tokyo, when he had been argued with on the phone said:

Well, the Pentagon said we shouldn't let the story go until they approved of it.

And then this correspondent said:

Well, inasmuch as Stratemeyer or Stratemeyer's PIO has put the responsibility on the Pentagon, why can't we get clearance from the Pentagon. If the Pentagon releases the story, well, it certainly is in the clear. There is no higher authority on military matters than the Pentagon.

And we agreed then that we would go back and we would file our story to our headquarters with a long preface explaining all the circumstances and saying:

Do not use this story unless you get prior clearance from the Pentagon.

And I went back. The other correspondents at that time were staying in a press billet. I was fortunate because the other Times correspondent had been in Tokyo before the war and had made himself good connections and he had a room at the Chosen Hotel. He then was in Tokyo and I was using his room at the hotel.

I went up there and I wrote my story, and it was a long story, and I think it was a good story. And I was ready to go down and call the jeep and drop it off at RCA, where we filed our copy, when my colleague, Dick Johnston, came up to the room and I said, "Gosh, Dick, are you back from Tokyo, and he said, "Yes, I just got in around dinner time," and I told him about this story and mentioned who we four reporters were who had got the story and what we were going to do.

And he then mentioned the name of one of the reporters I had mentioned and said :

Well, gosh, I don't see how he can file. He's been down in the hotel lounge with me all evening.

So, of course, I was astounded by this, and I went down and called this other correspondent out of the lounge and said to him, "Look, are you passing this story up?"

Mr. SOURWINE. This is the correspondent who had in the first place said, "Let's file?"

Mr. GRUTZNER. No, it was one of the other correspondents who had said, "Let's file," and this man had agreed. We all agreed to file. He was in on the agreement to file.

I said to him, "Gosh, I am filing more than a column and a half on this," which is a lot to cable, but I thought the story was worth it.

And he said then, he said, "Look, it is 10 o'clock in the morning in Washington." He said, "Nobody is going to be at the Pentagon." He says, "One chance out of a hundred that that story will get through before tonight, and by that time we will have clearance from Tokyo."

So I said to him—it was a wire service man who suggested that we all file—I said, "I feel I must file to protect myself if nothing else. If this thing goes out, comes into my office over the wires, they'll say, 'Where was Grutzner when this happened?'"

So I offered him my carbon copies of the story and I said to him, "Look, take this, change it around a little if you want to, but, to protect yourself, file."

And I rode with him in the jeep over to RCA and I was practically thrusting my copy at him all the way, and it was purely an error of judgment on his part. He just thought it wasn't worth filing.

Well, I filed my copy. I left a set of duplicates with the jeep driver to drop into the PIO box, which was procedure then. You didn't have to have your copy censored before you filed, but you dropped a copy into the PIO box so they would have it for the record.

I observed all normal procedure, and I filed my story with a long preceding explanation saying this must be cleared by the Pentagon. I went back and I went to sleep.

The next morning my phone rang. It was the PIO colonel in Seoul, not the Air Force man, the Eighth Army PIO, and he said to me, "Did you file a copy of your story with us last night?" I said, "Sure. If you will look in box so-and-so where I told the jeep driver to leave it, you will find it."

So he said, "Wait a minute," and he looked and he came back and he said, "That's all right. We got it."

Well, I said, "What's it all about?" Well, he says, "Every correspondent is getting rockets from their home office. The Times came out with a front-page story about the sabrejets and no one else has got it."

So, well, I thought it strange that the wire copy hadn't gotten through. I learned later why it hadn't. But to proceed chronologically: A few minutes later this correspondent, who had not filed, called me and he said, "Gosh, I got hell from my office."

So I said, "Well, you know I practically thrust this on you last night." He says, "I know. I am not blaming you for it." He says, "I just wish you hadn't filed it. I got to square myself somehow."

It so happened that I was due to return to the States. My replacement already was on his way to Tokyo. It was about 4 days later, according to arrangements that had already been made, that I returned home.

I got home on Christmas eve from Korea. I spent the Christmas holiday with my family, and it was several days before I went to the Times office. I then rifled through the papers on the file to see how the stories had been handled, and I noticed in one of the other papers there was a story out of Tokyo in which General Stratemeyer, who had been rather unhappy over this thing, had said voluntary censorship had been broken; lives of American airmen might have been endangered.

I was surprised, that if such a story were published in this country, that my office hadn't called me to find out about it. I then went to my foreign desk and discussed it with them, and they said:

Well, it was so silly on the face of it, there was no point in us querying you. We got your story in New York—

I believe it was early Sunday morning, there is a 13-hour time difference—

and we put the whole story on the teletype machine to our Washington bureau and somebody in the Washington bureau took your whole story over to the Pentagon, got clearance from the Pentagon. We then published the story, and after we had done that we knew we were in the clear. There was no reason for us to get excited over anything Stratemeyer or anyone else might say. Our clearance came from the top, from the Pentagon.

But the same time there was an article in Newsweek, the magazine, and they ran my picture and they ran an account of the story, and they made no mention of the censorship having been broken. It wasn't. I mean, I didn't like the way they slanted it. They indicated that the Times had shown unusual enterprise in getting the story.

I didn't show any unusual enterprise. I was just lucky because, as I learned later, it wasn't until a month later, when one of the other correspondents passed through New York on his way home, and I said, "Whatever happened to"—and it was AP or UP—"copy on this thing?" And he said, "Well, the UP man in Korea" or "the AP man," whoever it was, "filed his copy to his Tokyo office."

I mean, that was standard procedure for wire services. We would file direct to New York or wherever our paper was. The wire-service men would file to their bureau chief in Tokyo, who would edit the copy and forward it to New York.

Well, apparently when this story got to Tokyo, the Tokyo bureau chief went to the Air Force PIO, or MacArthur's PIO, in Tokyo, and said, "How about this story?" And they said, "Don't send it." So their story never got through, whereas mine, which went on to the Pentagon, did get through.

Now, the reason I want an opportunity to make this clear is because some PIO colonel, his name may be Voorhees, somebody I never came in contact with, wrote a book shortly thereafter, in which he discussed voluntary censorship and he mentioned this incident, without mentioning me by name. I think he mentioned the Times, in a disparaging sort of way, which I felt was totally untruthful.

Then again, before I was called before this committee, when I discussed this matter with my employers at the Times—I mean the matter of my having been a former Communist—they said:

We accept your explanation. We accept your statement. We believe you are and have always been a loyal American and are loyal to the paper we all work for.

They said:

But among the rumors that have come to us has been something that you were in trouble or there was some incident at one time in Korea, and military intelligence was checking up on you.

Well, I mean, that is a horrible thing to hear anybody say, but—

Senator JOHNSTON. Did this incident have anything to do with you leaving Korea as a correspondent?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Absolutely not, and the records at the Times will show I had been sent over to Korea on an emergency basis. They felt that at a certain time, when we were way down in the Pusan perimeter, that we needed more men over there, and I had been covering street-gang wars in New York.

One night the city editor came over to me and said:

Look, we got a bigger war. We don't know for sure whether we will send you over, but can you think of any reason why you can't or wouldn't want to go over?

And I said, "No, I'm not asking for it, but it's another assignment." And that is how I came to go over.

There was no understanding I would be there for any particular period of time. And I was ready to come home. In fact, it appeared that the war was over shortly before Thanksgiving.

I had been brought back to Tokyo for a 2 weeks' vacation before returning to New York. And then the Chinese hit, and they said to me, "Will you go back to Korea until we can send you a replacement out there?" All the arrangements were made for my coming home at that time, so it had no connection whatever with my return from Korea.

Senator JOHNSTON. Did this article that you gave have any military secrets that might be detrimental to our soldiers in the field?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I don't believe it had anything. Whatever information was in it had been supplied by the Air Force itself, and had been cleared by the Pentagon before the Times ever published it, so I don't conceive how it possibly could have done injury to anyone.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were the correspondents in Korea, Mr. Grutzner, yourself included, briefed on the security precautions that Headquarters of United States Air Forces in Korea had taken with respect to the activities of the F-86, the Sabrejet?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No, no, not about the F-86. The time we were briefed was when I first landed in Tokyo on way to Korea.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are saying you had no briefing, the correspondents had no briefing with respect to the security precautions taken with respect to the activities of the F-86?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Mr. Sourwine, I didn't know that the F-86's were going to be in action until that very morning. From the time I first learned of it, I was in transit from Seoul to Kimpo Airfield. I was sweating it out and freezing it out at the airfield, and I was in transit back. There was an interval of maybe 10 hours during which there was no briefing on the F-86's.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know there was an F-86?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Oh, I am almost certain I knew there was an F-86; sure, I knew there was an F-86.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you learned that as a result of any briefing?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No, no.

Mr. SOURWINE. How had you learned that?

Mr. GRUTZNER. It is difficult to say how you learn a specific thing. I mean, you are over there for months; you are with the army; you are traveling back and forth from the front to headquarters; you are attending daily briefings on maneuvers and things.

You pick up hundreds, perhaps thousands, of pieces of information. Now—where specifically I first heard—I do know that that morning before we went out to the airport, one of the correspondents told me, and he said he had been told in Tokyo. He had just arrived from Tokyo. He had been told in Tokyo that the F-86's were going up, and that as soon as they made contact with the enemy, the story would be public property.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of your own knowledge that this story was filed by anyone besides you?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I didn't see anyone file it, no; but I do know of my own knowledge there was an agreement among four men who rode back in the jeep that everyone was to file.

The agreement was that it would be given to the Pentagon for release beforehand, I mean, for clearance beforehand.

Senator JOHNSTON. But you were the only one that filed?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. Who filed with you on it?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I say——

Senator JOHNSTON. You were the only one that filed this report?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No. As I said, Senator, I left so shortly after that that I wasn't able to check on all the mechanics of it.

About a month later one of the correspondents on his way home stopped in New York, and I said to him, "How is it that the wire copy didn't hit the paper at the same time my story did?"

And he said that one of the wiremen—I think it was the UP man; it may have been the AP man—also had filed. He had filed from Seoul, Korea, to his Tokyo bureau, and apparently the story never got further than his Tokyo bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Grutzner——

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Did you know that General Craigie recommended that you be removed from the Korean theater for giving classified information to the enemy——

Mr. GRUTZNER. Senator, this is the first——

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). By virtue of that story?

Mr. GRUTZNER. This is the first I have ever heard of that. I wonder to whom did he make the recommendation. I am sure if it had been made to the Times, I would have heard about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that he stated that that story would cost American lives?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Of course I didn't know that.

The CHAIRMAN. As a fact, were you removed from the theater on orders?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was not, and I was not requested to leave, either; and I am very definite about that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you leave?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I left—I must figure back. I got home in New York on Christmas Eve, which would be the 24th of December. I think I left Tokyo on the 23d or the 22d. There is a day you gain or lose. I think it was the 22d or the 23d that I started home from Tokyo.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know it was said, "This public disclosure has lost to the United States Air Force a tactical advantage which may result in the loss of American lives," and that you were removed from the theater on the recommendation of Major General Craigie?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Senator, I challenge that fact because I know that I was not removed. I challenge the statement. It is not a fact, and I state that as emphatically as I can.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't deny that the recommendation of the Air Force here was that you be removed?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Senator, I know nothing whatever of the recommendation of the Air Force, but I know that I was not removed.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, there is one error in what I stated. General Craigie was in Korea, and that recommendation was made to the commander in chief, Far East.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Isn't it strange, Senator, that if anyone felt that way about it and if anyone wanted to remove me or, as you say, did in fact remove me—

The CHAIRMAN. I did not say that.

Mr. GRUTZNER (continuing). That no one should ever have asked me about this?

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you a question. I didn't state it as a fact that they actually removed you. I asked you if you knew that they recommended or that they requested your removal, that the Far Eastern Air Force had requested your removal on the 19th of December 1950; and that ties in with when you stated you came back to this country.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Senator, I believe there must be in the files of the Times, somewhere, copies of communications between me and the Times about my return from Korea which predated this.

The CHAIRMAN. I simply asked you the question, sir.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I have answered it as emphatically as I can, Senator.

(The following material relative to Mr. Grutzner's cable on the sabrejets together with a copy of the cable, furnished by Mr. Grutzner, was later ordered into the record at this point:)

For immediate release

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JAMES O. EASTLAND (DEMOCRAT OF MISSISSIPPI)

The Internal Security Subcommittee has been informed by the Department of Defense that a recommendation for disaccreditation of Charles Grutzner, New York Times correspondent, made December 19, 1950, by General Craigie, endorsed by General Bush, and forwarded through General Parks, was returned through channels 3 weeks later with a memorandum from Clayton Fritchey, then head of all public information activities for the Department, stating that the Department of Defense did not concur in the recommendation for disaccreditation.

The subcommittee has further been informed that the Department is unable as yet to state from its own records whether the article written by Mr. Grutzner concerning the first combat use of American F-86 aircraft (sabrejets) was cleared for publication at the Pentagon. However, the New York Times has publicly stated that its record indicates that such clearance was obtained from Jack Shea at the Pentagon by Austin Stevens of the Times staff. I have no reason to doubt the truth of this statement by the New York Times, and on this basis it would appear that the Times did nothing to violate security. Of course, the subcommittee never has made any such charge, but I am glad to make this statement in the interest of complete fairness.

[From the New York Times, July 1, 1955]

TIMES EDITOR SAYS GRUTZNER STORY DID NOT ENDANGER UNITED STATES SECURITY—ASSERTS DISPATCH RELATING TO SABREJETS HAD BEEN CLEARED BY PENTAGON—DEFENSE AGENCY'S RECORD CITED

Turner Catledge, managing editor of the New York Times, issued the following statement last night:

The Times rejects any implication that national security was jeopardized by its publication of Charles Grutzner's dispatch regarding the F-86 Sabre-jet.

The dispatch concerning the use for the first time of this plane in the Korean war theater was received by the Times on December 17, 1950.

The dispatch, filed from an "advanced air base, Korea," was preceded by the following memorandum addressed to the foreign editor:

"Suggest Washington bureau expedite release following story which I spent entire day at frozen air base getting. Fifth Air Force says regarded as security by 'high Washington level' despite fact our new plane made confirmed kill of MIG 15."

The story was sent by teletype to the Times Washington bureau. Clearance for publication was obtained by Austin Stevens. Mr. Stevens at that time was the bureau's Pentagon reporter.

Mr. Stevens recalled yesterday that the story was sent from New York with a request that it be checked by Pentagon officials. He said that he telephoned a responsible civilian member of the press section of the Air Force, to whom he read the story.

"This official," Mr. Stevens said, "then applied what he said was the standard rule at that time—that if a plane had been engaged with the enemy it was presumed to have been identified. The official said to go ahead and publish the story."

The story was published the next day, December 18.

In connection with the F-86 jet story, G. Herschel Schooley, Director of Information for the Defense Department, issued this statement last night:

"Our records show that the Department of Defense, Office of Public Information, received on January 10, 1951, recommendations urging the disaccreditation of Charles Grutzner of the New York Times because of the F-86 incident from Maj. Gen. L. C. Craigie, vice commander of the Far East Air Force, and Brig. Gen. K. B. Bush, then Adjutant General of the Far East Command.

"The recommendations were forwarded by Maj. Gen. Floyd L. Parks, then Army Chief of Information, to the Defense Department, Office of Information. On January 15 Clayton Fritchey, then Director of Information, advised General Parks by return letter that the Department of Defense 'does not concur' in the recommendations to revoke Mr. Grutzner's accreditation."

The Department of Defense was requested by General Craigie to revoke Mr. Grutzner's accreditation on January 10, 1951. By that time Mr. Grutzner had returned to this country and had been working on the city staff for a full week. The Times was not informed that General Craigie had requested Mr. Grutzner's recall.

The steps leading toward Mr. Grutzner's return began as early as November 20, 1950, almost a month before the F-86 dispatch was sent. On that date Lindsay Parrott, then chief of the Times Tokyo bureau, sent a message to the late Edwin L. James, then managing editor. The message informed Mr. James that Mr. Grutzner had asked to return to the local staff.

Mr. Parrott said in the message that it was his understanding that Mr. Grutzner had come to Korea only on a temporary basis and wishes to return to his regular assignment by Christmas if possible."

On December 16, 1950, Mr. James informed Mr. Parrott that Greg MacGregor had been assigned to replace Mr. Grutzner, and that Mr. Grutzner could return as soon as Mr. MacGregor reached Korea. Mr. Grutzner left Korea on December 21, 1950.

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Profreedman suggest washington bureau expedite release following story which eye spent entire day at frozen airbase getting stop fifth airforce says regarded as security by quote high washington level unquote despite fact our new plane made confirmed kill of mmmliiggg fifteen stop story follows colon 172045 grutzner sabre dateline at advanced airbase korea december seventeen para unistates newest jet plane comma the worlds fastest comma engaged combat today for first time and sent russianmade jet plummeting in flames into wasteland near manchurian border para four american fff dash eightysix sabres comma throttling down their power until they lured aye quartet of enemy mmmiiiggg dash fifteens into battle comma suddenly quote threw on the coals unquote and went at the mmmliigggs with the speed of sound para while three of the russianmade jets scooted to safety in manchuria across the yalu river comma the fourth was downed on northkorean soil near border city of sinuiju stop distinction of making first kill with blazing fifty calibre machineguns of latest jetplane went to lieutenant colonel bruce hhh hinton of stockton california thirtyone year old flight leader para the glistening silver sabres offtook from this base safternoon as escorts flight of ppp dash fiftyones and ground support mission stop after fighter bombers had bombed bridge over which chinese moved reinforcements into korea fifty miles northeast sinuiju comma the american jets flew slowly in wide arc for return home base para colonel hinton flying number one position stop his cover was captain morris bbb pitts of birmingham alabama stop captain raymond janeczek of sixtythree parker avenue passaic new jersey flew three spot and first lieutenant paul www bryce junior of lawrenceburg tennessee number four stop in the border area near where mmmliigggs often lie in wait across the yalu comma the new american planes cruised at reduced speed paraquote we had it planned to suck in those guys unquote said hinton stop after fifteen minutes of that the sabres were beginning to uppick speed when pitts called over the radiophone quote four bogeys crossing in front of us unquote more

first add 172045 grutzner sabre paraquote theyve got sweptback wings unquote income voice of janeczek stop then began maneuvering of two quartets of swept-back winged jets comma the sabre being similar to mmmliiggg in that respect para our jets were twentyfive thousand feet above the snowy plain stop the enemy craft were seven to tenthousand feet below the sabres and climbing slightly stop as the american jets dove to attack comma retaining their defensive formation comma the russianmade jets started aye hard right turn stop our planes made an inside turn and began inclosing on them paraquote the mmmliigggs broke formation and started going all over the sky unquote hinton reported after our planes backgot to base unscathed requote eye outpicked aye guy and janeczek outpicked aye guy and we went after them stop our wingmen covered us in perfect teamwork unquote para the mmmliigggs comma apparently realizing they had uprun against something faster than expected comma jettisoned their wingtip tanks and dumped fuel to increase speed stop hinton offcast his tanks too stop as he gained on mmmliiggg he gave him aye burst with machineguns para mmmliiggg was hit and showed in trouble stop it wiggled stop its pilot output brakes comma put back in again stop hinton inclosed on him again and gave him long burst stop saw pieces fall off enemy plane stop kept shooting stop mmmliiggg started burning then smoking badly stop hinton was within eighthundred feet when mmmliiggg plummeted paraquote last eye saw of him he was on his back and going straight down unquote said hinton para janeczek comma whose target had escaped across border comma rejoined group in time to see hintons victim fall stop he said mmmliiggg was smoking and quote definitely out of control

unquote para while this dogfight dash which lasted no moren than five minutes dash was ongoing another mmmiiiggg was getting on tail hintons jet stop pitts let go three bursts at mmmiiiggg who fled stop the sabres low on fuel turned for homebase more

SECOND ADD 172045 grutzner sabre para there air expectancy at airbase as fff dash eightysixes spied homestreaking and cheer went up from groundwaiters as hintons plane did victory roll approaching field stop safternoons mission was third time up for new superjets since arrival korea and first time any has drawn blood stop made first sweep over northkorea friday and had escorted bombers to kanggye area smorning without encountering enemy aircraft para other pilots pounded hintons back when outstepped plane stop before debriefing in intelligence shack comma briefing officer handed him cigar in congratulation stop sixfoot hinton told correspondents he had quote told aye guy to get aye red star ready bracket symbol of mmmiiiggg kill unbracket before we left field unquote said he regarded fff dash eightysix quote best plane ever built unquote para the sabre has set world speed record of 670.981 miles per hour and able do considerably better stop other information deemed by airforce releasable is service ceiling moren fortyfivethousand feet comma carries six guns of fifty calibre and can be modified to bear sixteen five dash inch rockets stop wing and tail sweptback comma tricycle gear comma steerable nose and wheel stop span thirtyseven feet comma length thirty feet six inches comma height fourteen feet eight inches comma maximum takeoff gross weight about sixteen thousand pounds stop fivefour sabres ordered by government para sabres here in fifth airforces fourth fighter group under command colonel john ecc meyer of forest hills new york city stop planes so new their pilots not yet had individual names onpainted them stop hinton said his plane nicknamed quote squanee unquote repeat squanee stop asked what means he grinned and replied quote eyed rather not say unquote finis

(The following material was subsequently received by the subcommittee and is included in the record together with the exchange of correspondence relative thereto:)

JULY 8, 1955.

Mr. CHARLES GRUTZNER,
The New York Times,
Times Square, New York 36, N. Y.

DEAR MR. GRUTZNER: The material furnished with your letter of July 2 will be included in the printed record.¹ The items which were not formally offered and accepted for the record will be printed as footnotes.

You state in your letter that "the Craigie recommendation * * * was not made until after I was back in New York * * *." When did you get back to New York? Your story about the Saberjets was filed on December 17. General Craigie's recommendation was dated December 19. You will remember I questioned you about this chronology.

Your blacksheets on the Sabrejet story will be returned to you under separate cover.

Sincerely,

J. G. SOURWINE.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
New York 36, N. Y., July 11, 1955.

Mr. J. G. SOURWINE,
Chief Counsel, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SOURWINE: Thank you for your letter of July 8, regarding disposition of the material I forwarded to you on July 2.

Answering your question as to when I got back to New York, I landed at Idlewild on Christmas Eve, December 24, 1950. You point out that General Craigie's recommendation was "dated December 19." When I wrote you on July 2, I had not seen (and have not yet, for that matter) the full transcript of the June 30 public hearing. I did not know at that writing, and do not know now, just how the December 19 date may have been mentioned then.

¹ This material appears above.

Without quibbling, I say merely that when I wrote you on July 2, I referred to the published story on the Turner Catledge statement (Times, July 1) of which I sent you a copy and which said "The Department of Defense was requested by General Craigie to revoke Mr. Grutzner's accreditation on January 10, 1951." If the Department of Defense, which turned down General Craigie's request, did not get it until January 10, 1951, it would seem I was correct in stating that I was back in New York by that time. It would be obvious, then, that I could not have been "removed from the theater on the recommendation of Major General Craigie."

I hope this has answered whatever question may have been raised on the matter of dates in my July 2 letter. Since I (and the Times, too, for that matter) had been given no information until June 30, 1955, that General Craigie had made such a request for my disaccreditation and it had been turned down by the Department of Defense, I could have no personal knowledge of the dates, whether December 19, January 10, or January 15, which seems to be the date the Department of Defense informed General Craigie by letter that it "does not concur" in his recommendation.

It seems to me that the date (January 10), when the Defense Department got the request, is a more realistic date, for the purpose of showing whether I was kicked out of Korea or was reassigned by my office per long-previous arrangement, than December 19, some 22 days before the Defense Department seems to have been informed.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES GRUTZNER.

ORANGEBURG, N. Y., July 19, 1955.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,

*Chairman Internal Security Subcommittee
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Please find enclosed three-page account, dated December 17, 1950. I respectfully request that this be entered in the record of that part of your current inquiry dealing with the Sabrejet story I filed from Korea to the New York Times on that date.

I venture this request for two reasons. I believe this account, which I found in a search instituted after my appearance before your subcommittee on June 30, contains information important to your inquiry. I believe also that the record should, in fairness, carry my refutation of some of the testimony given by the witness Ansel Talbert 2 weeks subsequent to my public examination.

You may recall that at the June 30 hearing I told you I believed I had carbon copies at home of Korea dispatches, including the Sabrejet story with my hold-for-release memo to the Times. You gave me permission to mail to Mr. Sourwine the Sabrejet carbon if I could find it. In searching through my dispatch file, I came upon the three-page personal account, written shortly after the occurrences noted. You will see that this contains details which otherwise could not have been remembered so exactly after a lapse of nearly 5 years.

I found also carbons of 14 other stories I had filed via RCA wireless from Seoul direct to the United States from December 2 to 20, 1950, without having been once requested not to use RCA. This would indicate that my use of RCA on December 17 was no stratagem or unusual device. A copy of every one of these stories had been filed, at time of sending, with the Eighth Army PIO.

I mailed to Mr. Sourwine the Sabrejet carbon copy, as your committee had authorized me to do. I consulted with my editor on the advisability of offering also the three-page account now enclosed. This was several days before Mr. Talbert testified. My editor advised me to make no additional requests of your committee unless Mr. Talbert's subsequent testimony should prove unfactual and unfair to me.

Some of the testimony recited by Mr. Talbert² has been so far from the facts that I feel compelled now to offer the December 17, 1950, account. I was happy to note that your committee has already accepted, for the record, statements by Glenn Stackhouse, William Barnard, and Sankey Trimble on their recollection of events.

Where some variation appears among the Stackhouse, Barnard, and Trimble statements, it is readily understandable as the individual aspects of undocumented memory after nearly 5 years. I have, in fact, a letter from Mr. Trimble, dated July 13, 1955, in which he writes: "Frankly, vague recollections are about

² Mr. Talbert's testimony appears at p. 1487, pt. 16.

all I have. Those were hectic times and I found that when the issue came up recently, I didn't remember too much about the affair."

With Mr. Talbert, however, it was not just a case of disremembering or remembering vaguely what happened. Mr. Talbert appears to have "remembered" things that never happened. For instance:

Mr. Talbert "remembered" going to my room and awakening me after the December 17 expedition to Kimpo had been organized at the press billet (Naija).

Whereas, my account describes my walk from the Chosun Hotel (where I was living) to the press billet, where I arrived while the regular operational briefing (10 a. m.) was in progress, and how we gathered there for the Kimpo expedition after the briefing.

Again Mr. Talbert "remembered" meeting me quite by chance in a commercial wireless (RCA) office that night and being "astonished" to find me filing the story.

Whereas, my account tells of riding with him in the same jeep to RCA from the Chosun Hotel, where he had been in the bar with Dick Johnston. Mr. Johnston, now in the Chicago bureau of the New York Times, told me recently he remembered well having been at the Chosun bar with Talbert that night, which was fixed in his mind as the date he returned from Tokyo to Korea and found me writing the Sabrejet story when he came up to the room we shared.

I cite the above two items merely as example of the discrepancies which might have some bearing on the credibility of Mr. Talbert's testimony and my own.

May I call to your attention one more item in my memorandum. I told of leaving the jeep at the Chang No and going to the Chosun Hotel on returning to Seoul from the airfield, while the other correspondents went on to the Naija billet, where they were quartered. If there was any notification or request made at the press billet later that evening by the Air Force—and Mr. Stackhouse and Mr. Trimble seem to have varying recollections on that—it could not have involved me because I was not at the press billet any time that evening nor night, and I received no such notification in the Chosun Hotel.

I hope, Senator Eastland, that you will understand my desire to have the record contain my enclosed memorandum. I am reluctant to encumber the record more than is necessary, but I regard this as necessary to remove some of the misunderstanding, to put it mildly, that has been built around what I regarded as a legitimate exercise of my judgment and individual responsibility during the period when there was voluntary censorship as contrasted to the enforced military censorship that was instituted later after other correspondents had sent out stories on the death of General Walker, also described at the time as a security violation.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES GRUTZNER.

JULY 22, 1955.

Mr. CHARLES GRUTZNER,
R. F. D. No. 1, Orangeburg, N. Y.

DEAR Mr. GRUTZNER: This will acknowledge your letter of July 19, with enclosure.

If you will send me the contemporary memorandum respecting the Sabrejet incident, which you reported having found in your files, together with your notarized certificate that this is, in fact, a memorandum typed in December 1950 (or whatever the actual date was) and which has been in your possession ever since, I shall be glad to take up with the committee the matter of having this inserted in the record. The memorandum will, of course, be returned to you thereafter.

Sincerely,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

ORANGEBURG, N. Y., August 4, 1955.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Thank you for your letter and suggestion of July 22, which I received today upon my return from a vacation trip.

I am enclosing, in line with your instructions, my notarized certificate along with my original memorandum (prepared in January 1951) on the events of December 17, 1950.

Since this was written at the time as a very personal account it contains a few references, as you will notice, which have no connection whatever with the matter that came later to the attention of your committee. I believe you will not want to clutter your record with these irrelevant matters and I would be thankful if my privacy were respected on these two irrelevant subjects.

I have indicated the two items which I respectfully request be withheld by drawing a light ink line through them, without, however, obliterating them.

My reasons for requesting that the pertinent parts of this memorandum be put into the record were explained in my letter to you of July 19. I assume that you did not want me to detail them again.

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES GRUTZNER.

ORANGEBURG, N. Y., August 4, 1955.

I, Charles Grutzner, do certify upon my oath that the attached three typewritten pages have been in my continuous possession since January 1951. They constitute my personal account of happenings in which I participated on December 17, 1950. Within a few weeks after the events described therein I wrote the attached account while the happenings were still fresh in my memory and I had some jottings made on the spot.

The attached sheets, each of which I have initialed (cg) for identification, are the original typewritten account set on those sheets of paper in January 1951, exact day of the month unknown.

CHARLES GRUTZNER.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

Sworn to before me this 4th day of August 1955.

[SEAL]

E. LEROY FINCH,
Notary Public, State of New York, No. 41-1212400.

Qualified in Queens County. Term expires March 30, 1957.

Sunday, December 17, 1950:

* * * * *
Walking to the Naija, I paused to take a few snapshots along the side street leading to the billet. Pooksan and the western mountains were white and snow lay on the roofs of houses although the street was swept clean. The briefing session was under way in the big downstairs room, with Captain Tate reporting movements here and contact there for a rather muddled situation in which the enemy seemed to be getting the better of things.

The phones to Tokyo were tied up by the wire services, and the news didn't amount to much, so I was willing when Ed Talbert suggested we go out to Kimpo where the Air Force's newest plane, the F-86 Sabrejet, was to go up hunting MIG-15's today. An Air Force PIO, Lt. Franklin Talley, drove four of us over the snowscape in a jeep—Talbert, Glenn Stackhouse of UP, Bill Bernard of AP, and myself. It was biting cold, especially on the Han River flats where the wind pushed through the sides of the canvas-topped jeep. Sitting in front between Talley and Talbert, I was crowded but had some protection against the cold. We reached Kimpo shortly after 12.

Just before we got to the airbase we heard a roar and saw a few silver streaks jetting by. They were part of the flight of seven Sabres that had gone up in the morning. We met Capt. Sankey Trimble at the PIO tent. The morning flight had gone far north but encountered no enemy planes, so there was no story yet. Talbert, who had come over last week from Tokyo, said the Air Force there had told him nothing could be written to disclose that we had F-86's in Korea until they had engaged in combat.

There was to be an afternoon sortie, so we were in for a wait. We went for chow in two groups because there wasn't enough messkits in the PIO tent. After the tent fellows came back, we correspondents dunked the kits in the cans of boiling water in front of the messhall and then lined up and ate. Then

we went back to the tent, to lie on cots or read Stars and Stripes near the stove. One of the PIO photographers drove me out on the field and showed me the F-80's and F-84's, also a pair of the black nightfighter jets. It was frigid, but clear. I made a few pictures, and he took one of me beside the ruins of some Yak fighters that had been shot down in September.

We had just got back to the tent when we heard the four Sabres were coming back. One of them did a victory roll and we knew we'd have a story. It was a good feeling, jerking me out of the tiredness that came from waiting and the contrast between the cold of the field and the warmth of that part of the tent near the stove.

Crowding into the debriefing tent we heard one of the pilots report how he had taken off at 1405 and returned to the field at 1535. He described the encounter near the Yalu River with four MIG's and was telling about hitting the mep (mop?) when the briefing officer decided we shouldn't be listening in on the debriefing. It had surprised me earlier that we had been permitted in that tent. Sankey Trimble then said we'd all go back to PIO and would get an interview with the pilots after the debriefing. Meanwhile Lt. Col. Bruce Hinton of Stockton, Calif., who had shot down the MIG had come into the tent and all the officers slapped his back and congratulated him.

Later we all went into a larger tent—the 4th Fighter Group's operations tent, I think it was—where we got good interviews. "Well, there's your story," said Trimble. "I guess it was worth the trip out here." We were all happy about it. Trimble said he'd call the 5th Air Force to let them know. He spoke to Colonel Scott, the PIO there, and frowned. "You can't use the story," Trimble told us. We were indignant, especially Talbert. He got on the phone and argued with Scotty, reminding him that it was a "deal" with the Air Force top command in Tokyo that the Sabre story would be made public as soon as a MIG had been shot down. Scotty quibbled at first whether it was a "sure kill." One of the pilots who saw the MIG go down blazing then got on and assured him that it was a "kill."

Trimble got back on the phone and tried gently to get Scotty's O. K., but how tough can a captain get with a colonel? Scotty said "No" again. Trimble relayed some of our arguments to him, and finally he said—and no one believed him—that the decision wasn't his or even General Stratemeyer's but that a "top level in Washington" had decided the time wasn't ripe to disclose the presence in Korea of Sabres.

We were disgusted. We chatted with Col. Johnny Meyer of Forest Hills, commanding officer of the fighter group (who had made the morning flight but not the afternoon) and with Trimble while Talbert, who was doing some work on the side for NBC, and a PIO went to another tent to make tape recordings of an interview with Hinton.

Stackhouse had it figured that Stratemeyer wanted to hold the story because it was now past deadline time for the Sunday a. m. papers in the States and there are no Sunday afternoon papers—hoping to get a bigger play on a weekday. We agreed Scotty's excuse was phony. If the Air Force released the story in a day or two, maybe after another MIG had been downshot, it would be based on the latest development and our whole day out here and the Hinton interview would be second rate or worthless altogether. Stackhouse announced he was going to file his story "hold for release" and suggest that UP try to get clearance from the Air Force in Washington, to whom Scotty had ascribed the holdup of the story. It seemed a good idea. I said I'd do likewise. Then, whenever the story was cleared, our copy would already be in New York, ready to go.

It was dark by the time we left Kimpo, this time in a jeep without even a top. We sat like turtles, our heads inside our coat collars and our hands curled inside our sleeves. We had gone maybe 2 miles when the radiator began steaming. We pulled up at a settlement. The long street was deserted. We could find no water nor anyone to direct us to some.

We returned to Kimpo to fill up the radiator and again rolled toward Soon. A wind was blowing and waves lapped against the flatboats supporting the river bridge. I got out of the jeep where it turned off the Chang No toward the capitol and walked to the Chosun. I had arranged with Soffee that we would meet about 5 and have dinner at the Chinese restaurant. It was now almost 7. I was concerned about having missed her. The phone rang. Soffee was downstairs and was coming up. We decided to put off the Chinese dinner until tomorrow. We were both tired and Soffee was going home to spend tonight with Han-ho.

I went downstairs. They were still serving dinner in the U. N. mess. I told the officer I had a guest, and could I buy an extra ticket. He asked "a Korean"? and I said "Yes, my interpreter." He said yes. Soffee at first did not want to go down to eat, then consented. She was beautiful, walking through the lobby in her sweater and trousers. A couple of GI's stared as if their eyes would pop out of their heads. We had dinner, but Soffee ate very little.

I walked her home, looked in for a minute to say hello to the mamasan and see Han-ho and Jinju playing on the floor, and returned to the Chosun. I went upstairs and began writing the Sabre story. Dick Johnston came up later. He had returned today from Tokyo * * *. He had been down at the bar.

At 10:45 I bundled myself up and went down to take most of my story to RCA, with a precede message to the Times to seek through its Washington bureau clearance. I met Ed Talbert in the lobby. He had been at the bar with Dick Johnston. I let him read my story and told him I thought it a good idea to send, hold for release, as protection if for no other reason. I said that if we did not file we would be at a disadvantage if UP got clearance because its story would then go over the teletype from Washington or New York at once. I suggested he do likewise, but Talbert said it was now Sunday morning in the States and he didn't think the Pentagon would clear any story today. Besides, it was late to start working now, he said.

We went with George Herman in his jeep. I dropped my copy at RCA and walked back to the Chosun, they going on to the Naija. I went upstairs. Dick was asleep. I called the PIO for a jeep and wrote my last add. When the jeep arrived I gave the driver the add to deliver to RCA and my carbons on the whole story for the PIO file, and went to sleep.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Grutzner, did you ever intentionally slant any stories that you sent back?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I certainly did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever write any stories that were picked up by the Daily Worker?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I never saw any of my stories in the Daily Worker.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember writing a story about the Army acknowledging 3 homicides in the last 10 days, involving United States soldiers as defendants?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Yes, I believe I did file such a story.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write a story with a head in the Times about GI's abusing Koreans in Seoul?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Wasn't that the same story?

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the same story?

Mr. GRUTZNER. It was.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Daily Worker put a different head on it.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I am interested to see what they did with it. What did they say?

Mr. SOURWINE. Pardon?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I say I am interested to learn what they did with it. What did they say?

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought you were the one who is telling me it was the same story.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I thought you asked me whether the Times published a story in which I spoke about 3 homicides in 10 days, and then you say to me, "Did you file a story on which a head was put, stating so-and-so?" I assumed, Mr. Sourwine, that you were talking about the New York Times both times, because I filed only one such story.

I didn't know whether you were referring once to the head on it. I certainly have no recollection of what the head said.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I will make the record clear. I will read the first paragraph of the Times story:

By Charles Grutzner, special to the New York Times. Seoul, Korea, Wednesday, December 20:

The American soldier who won a warm spot in the hearts of the populace when he entered this capital as a liberator nearly 3 months ago, now is regarded with suspicion by many Koreans because of the looting and violence of a small group of the United States forces. The recent outbreak of lawlessness has caused the provost marshal to take several restrictive measures, including the closing of dance halls and changing the curfew for military personnel—

and so forth.

Mr. GRUTZNER. That's right. And you will note that I limited this to a small group. There was no complaint about the GI in general, and I felt I was performing a public service by calling this to the attention of the American people. That is why newspapers send special correspondents over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, before this incident, had the F-86 been operated in Korea?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you been briefed about the operation of the F-86?

Mr. GRUTZNER. No, no, I don't believe I was briefed.

The CHAIRMAN. What security precautions had you been given concerning the activities of the F-86?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was given no security precautions concerning the F-86. As I said a moment ago, the first I heard that the F-86's were going to fly that day was about 10 o'clock in the morning when another correspondent told us about it, and four of us decided to go out.

The CHAIRMAN. You had not been told that the Air Force did not want the enemy to know that the F-86's were operating in Korea?

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was told no such thing.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. To get back to this story, Mr. Grutzner, did you write in this story—

Seoul's seven dance halls, after operating in an orderly way, became arenas for nightly brawls, much gunbrandishing and some shooting. Merchants complained that the GI's inspected their wares and then walked off with the desired items, for which they refused to pay. Korean women were molested in the streets by American soldiers, and several shootings of Koreans were reported to the authorities.

Mr. GRUTZNER. That's right. And I would like to tell you why I wrote that story.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I want. I would like to know if there is any connection between the incident which took place on the 17th and the censure which the General made by written communication on the 19th and the story you filed on the 20th, which was very critical of the Army.

Mr. GRUTZNER. It was not critical of the Army. It was critical of a small group of GI's, as my lead says. I wish you would not misinterpret what I write, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will offer the entire article for the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted.

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 2" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 2

[From the New York Times, December 20, 1950]

A FEW GI'S ABUSE KOREANS IN SEOUL—LOOTING AND VIOLENCE BY SMALL GROUP AFTER BITTER RETREAT LOWER UNITED STATES PRESTIGE

(By Charles Grutzner, special to the New York Times)

Seoul, Korea, Wednesday, Dec. 20—The American soldier, who won a warm spot in the hearts of the populace when he entered this capital as a liberator nearly 3 months ago, now is regarded with suspicion by many Koreans because of the looting and violence of a small group of the United States forces.

The recent outbreak of lawlessness has caused the provost marshal to take several restrictive measures including the closing of dance halls and changing the curfew for military personnel from 9 to 7 p. m.

Most breaches of discipline took place since the return here from the north in the last 2 weeks of soldiers and officers of units that had been buffeted by the Chinese Communists in the breakthrough that brought the loss of Pyongyang and most of North Korea.

The men who had endured hardships and harrowing experiences plus the heart-break of retreat behaved for the most part like true soldiers. Some, however, reacted badly.

Seoul's seven dance halls, after operating in an orderly way, became arenas for nightly brawls, much gun brandishing and some shooting. Merchants complained that the GI's inspected their wares and then walked off with the desired items for which they refused to pay. Korean women were molested in the streets by American soldiers and several shootings of Koreans were reported to the authorities.

The Army acknowledges three homicides in the last 10 days involving United States soldiers as defendants. A spokesman for the Eighth Army said there had been a numerical increase in crimes by soldiers in recent weeks but doubted any increase in the crime rate. He attributed the increase in the number of crimes to the sudden growth of Seoul's uniformed and temporary population.

The Army has not made crime figures public and the Korean metropolitan police suddenly decided, on the advice of an American liaison group, that local crime statistics were "confidential."

Not all the culprits are enlisted men. Following a recent collision between jeeps a United States captain in one jeep shot the Korean driver of the other vehicle and escaped.

Most of the military police were taken out of Seoul for the tactical mission of keeping traffic rolling during the recent withdrawals but that situation now has eased and more military police are on local patrol. An Army spokesman said the lawlessness was believed to be subsiding and that the military police and criminal investigation division personnel in the city now were adequate to prevent recurrence.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I was about to tell——

Mr. SOURWINE. Just a moment.

I will also offer for the record at this point an article from the Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, December 21. The heading is:

SAY VIOLENCE IN SEOUL STIRS ANTI-UNITED STATES FEELING

"The Army acknowledges 3 homicides in the last 10 days involving United States soldiers as defendants," a New York Times dispatch from Seoul, Korea, said yesterday. The story, by Charles Grutzner, declared that American soldiers are now "regarded with suspicion by many Koreans because of the looting and violence of a small group of the United States forces."

Grutzner said that not all of the culprits are enlisted men. He reported that following a recent collision between jeeps, a United States captain in one jeep shot the Korean driver of the other, and escaped.

Most "breaches of discipline," he wrote, "took place since the return here from

the North in the last 2 weeks of soldiers and officers that had been buffeted by the Chinese Communists."

Examples of the violence against the Korean people were reported as follows—and so forth.

I offer the entire article for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted.

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 3" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 3

[From the Daily Worker, New York, December 21, 1950]

SAY VIOLENCE IN SEOUL STIRS ANTI-UNITED STATES FEELING

"The Army acknowledges homicides in the last 10 days involving United States soldiers as defendants," a New York Times dispatch from Seoul, Korea, said yesterday. The story, by Charles Grutzner, declared that American soldiers are now regarded with suspicion by many Koreans because of the looting and violence of a small group of the United States forces.

Grutzner said "not all the culprits are enlisted men." He reported that following a recent collision between jeeps a United States captain in one jeep shot the Korean driver of the other and escaped.

Most "breaches of discipline," he wrote, "took place since the return here from the North in the last 2 weeks of soldiers and officers that had been buffeted by the Chinese Communists."

Most of the returning men, he said, "behaved for the most part like true, soldiers."

But "some, however, reacted badly."

Examples of the violence against the Korean people were reported as follows by Grutzner:

"Seoul's seven dance halls, after operating in an orderly way, became arenas for nightly brawls, much gun brandishing and some shooting. Merchants complained that the GI's inspected their wares and then walked off with the desired items for which they refused to pay. Korean women were molested in the streets by American soldiers and several shootings of Koreans were reported to the authorities."

Grutzner added:

"The Army has not made crime figures public and the Korean Metropolitan Police suddenly decided, on the advice of an American liaison group, that local crime statistics were 'confidential.'"

Grutzner's dispatch was among the last filed from Korea before General MacArthur imposed his censorship.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, go ahead, Mr. Grutzner.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I believe I was to tell you how I came on the track of that story. I went to a Chinese restaurant in Seoul one evening and a young woman who had acted as my interpreter on occasion accompanied me, and we came out of the restaurant and a crowd of people, Koreans, was milling about the street, and when they saw me in uniform, they dashed up to us and they were muttering and they were threatening me, and I asked my interpreter, "What is this all about?" She said:

GI's in a jeep just stole from a store. They pushed an old lady. She fell down. The old lady was hurt. They hit her husband. They are angry at you; they are angry at GI's.

And I said to her:

Will you explain to these people that there are bad people everywhere. There are thieves in any group of people, that they should not hold this against the GI's in general.

And being a Korean, she spoke to them and the mob subsided. And I then went to—I think it was the provost marshal and I asked him, I said: "This is a serious situation. Is there much of it?"

And I don't recall the details of the conversation, but I then went to the chief of police in Seoul and I had conversations with him.

And from what I learned I wrote that story, and I felt it was a matter of a small group of GI's, and the percentage may have been no larger—it may have been smaller—than in the civilian population. But a small percentage of GI's was giving us a bad name over there, to the extent where Koreans would mill around you in the street. I felt the people back here should know about it.

MR. SOURWINE. Is that all, sir?

MR. GRUTZNER. That is all, except for one thing. Now, you are quoting from the Daily Worker. I know you are not implying any responsibility on my part, but I want to point out to you that the Daily Worker—and I think you should make this clear, Mr. Sourwine. You know how these Communist outfits operate.

The Daily Worker quotes regularly not only from the New York Times, from other newspapers, and it picks things which its own interpretation might strike the fancy of the people who read it, or it may appear to serve its own purposes.

MR. SOURWINE. That's right. That is why they printed your story. It appeared to serve their purposes.

MR. GRUTZNER. That is why it printed my story?

MR. SOURWINE. That's right.

MR. GRUTZNER. And it quotes from time to time many writers on papers, and this was not a case of my story being an exception, but it suited the purposes of the Worker to the extent that they did something unusual. They do that almost every day, I daresay.

MR. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

MR. GRUTZNER. Did you ever have any contact with the Communist leaders or officials of any union?

MR. GRUTZNER. Mr. Einhorn was some official in the Newspaper Guild. Milton Kaufman was a paid official. I had no contacts with any Communists in any other union.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you ever have any contact with any of the officials of the Teachers Union in New York?

MR. GRUTZNER. Not except where I was on assignment covering hearings and trials.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about any Communist leadership in the Teachers Union in New York?

MR. GRUTZNER. Except what I read in the papers, or what I heard at hearings.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you ever meet with any of the leaders of the Teachers Union as Communists?

MR. GRUTZNER. I never did.

MR. SOURWINE. I have no other questions, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnston?

SENATOR JOHNSTON. Your Communist meetings—where did you meet?

MR. GRUTZNER. We met generally, I would say, at the home of the organizer. Meetings were held at homes of other people.

At the time preceding and during the Eagle strike, many emergency meetings were held. They would be held in a cafeteria in the afternoon, when the cafeteria was almost empty. I think those are the places where they were held.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hennings?

Senator HENNINGS. I have no questions. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside.

We will recess now until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator JOHNSTON (presiding). The committee will resume its business.

Mr. SOURWINE. Gladys Bentley.

Senator JOHNSTON. Gladys Bentley.

Raise your right hand. Do you swear that the evidence you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Miss BENTLEY. I do.

Senator JOHNSTON. Be seated.

TESTIMONY OF GLADYS BENTLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY GLORIA AGRIN, HER COUNSEL

Mr. SOURWINE. Miss Bentley, would you give your name, your full name, and your address for the record, please?

Miss BENTLEY. Gladys Bentley, 93 Remsen Street, Brooklyn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it Miss or Mrs. Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. Miss.

Mr. SOURWINE. Miss Bentley, would you tell the committee your employment for the past 20 years?

Miss BENTLEY. Excuse me.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mr. SOURWINE. I see you have counsel with you. Would you identify counsel, Miss Bentley?

Miss AGRIN. Yes; Gloria Agrin, of the firm of Freedman & Agrin.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that Milton Freeman?

Miss AGRIN. No, it is not. It is Blanch Freedman.

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought I would make that clear, since Mr. Milton Freeman has appeared as counsel for witnesses earlier in this hearing.

Miss AGRIN. That is a "e-e-d" Freedman that we have here.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. Where is your office?

Miss AGRIN. 220 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are practicing in New York?

Miss AGRIN. Yes, I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you practiced in any other State?

Miss AGRIN. No. I am admitted in New York, and only there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Miss Bentley, the question is, would you tell the committee your employment for the past 20 years?

Miss BENTLEY. I decline to answer on the grounds of my privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where are you now employed?

Miss BENTLEY. I am in advertising. I am a space salesman.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was not what do you do, but where are you now employed?

Miss BENTLEY. At Chelsea Advertising.

Mr. SOURWINE. In New York City?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long have you been with that company?

Miss BENTLEY. Two and a half years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you employed before that?

Miss BENTLEY. I decline to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever been employed by the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth, claiming the privilege.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you presently a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. The same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a member of the Brooklyn Eagle unit of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. The same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, you are refusing to answer on the grounds of your privilege against self-incrimination?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a member of the American Newspaper Guild?

Miss BENTLEY. Excuse me, sir.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss BENTLEY. I will give you the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you honestly feel that to answer the question as to whether you were a member of the Newspaper Guild might tend to incriminate you?

Miss BENTLEY. I give you the same answer, sir, which I think, in effect, answers your question.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; it does not, in effect; and on that question you are not permitted to give the same answer. You have to answer that question "yes" or "no," because that is a question that goes to the bona fides of your claim of privilege. I am only determining the state of your own mind. In order to claim privilege, you must in your own mind honestly feel that a truthful answer to the question would tend to form at least a link in the chain that would incriminate you.

Miss BENTLEY. That is——

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking you if you truthfully feel that a truthful answer to the question as to whether you were ever a member of the American Newspaper Guild would tend to form at least a link in the chain to incriminate you.

Miss BENTLEY. I thought it was implicit in my giving you that answer, sir. If it is not clear enough, I would like to talk to my lawyer.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question is what you feel, not what your lawyer thinks. But you always may consult counsel.

Miss BENTLEY. My answer is "Yes."

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Will you refuse on the same grounds to answer all questions about your membership in the Communist faction at the Brooklyn Eagle, or would you like to have the questions asked individually and be given an opportunity to consider each one?

Miss BENTLEY. I would like to talk to my lawyer about that.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

MISS BENTLEY. Would you repeat the question, please?

MR. SOURWINE. I ask you if it is your intention to refuse to answer all questions about your connection with and activity in connection with the Brooklyn Eagle Communist unit, or whether you would prefer to have the individual questions asked and consider each question as it is asked.

MISS BENTLEY. I think I would prefer to have each question asked separately. I don't know how you would ask them.

MR. SOURWINE. I will tell you it has been testified here that you were the Communist organizer of the Communist unit at the Brooklyn Eagle, and I ask you, is that true?

MISS BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. You do not deny it?

MISS BENTLEY. I answer with the fifth amendment.

MR. SOURWINE. All right.

SENATOR JOHNSTON. So if people come here and testify that you were the organizer, you do not come here and deny that fact?

MISS BENTLEY. I use my privilege under the fifth amendment.

MR. SOURWINE. Were you ever employed at the Brooklyn Eagle, Miss Bentley?

MISS BENTLEY. I answer with the same answer, sir, the fifth amendment.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you honestly feel that an answer to the question, a true answer to the question as to whether you were employed at the Brooklyn Eagle, might tend to incriminate you?

MISS BENTLEY. I honestly feel that it might tend to; yes, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. Have you ever backed a Communist candidate for office in the American Newspaper Guild?

MISS BENTLEY. The same answer, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you ever back the candidacy of John McManus for vice president of the American Newspaper Guild?

MISS BENTLEY. I give you the same answer, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you ever sign a Communist petition in an election campaign?

MISS BENTLEY. The same answer.

MR. SOURWINE. By "same answer," you mean you claim—

MISS BENTLEY. The fifth amendment. Would you like me to say it each time? I will, if you would.

MR. SOURWINE. There can be some confusion in the record when you say "same answer," and I do not think a stipulation is in order, but it would be fairly simple if you would say that you decline, and when you say you decline, then I think we can have a stipulation, with the chairman's permission, that you decline on the grounds of your privilege against self-incrimination.

Would that be satisfactory?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, it is a long—

MR. SOURWINE. All you have to do is say, "I decline," instead of saying "The same answer."

You see, "same answer" requires a reference, and there is some confusion as to what you are referring to. When you say, "I decline," we know that you are refusing to answer.

MISS BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think it would be much clearer for the record, when you are asked a question, if you state that you decline to answer, reserving your rights under the fifth amendment, if you do so. Do you understand?

Miss BENTLEY. The full sentence?

Senator JOHNSTON. I think that would be clearer.

Miss AGRIN. If the Chair prefers it, I think it is wise.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, Miss Bentley, at any time employed in the ad department of the Brooklyn Eagle?

Miss BENTLEY. I will try to give the answer as you outlined it.

I decline to answer, reserving my rights under the fifth amendment.

Is that the way you want it? Okay.

Mr. SOURWINE. Miss Bentley, it is not the way I want it. It is the question of how you want it.

Miss BENTLEY. It is this gentleman who outlined the answer.

Senator JOHNSTON. Understand that I am not telling you how to answer any question. You are to answer the questions. But if you are using the fifth amendment to keep from answering the question, we want to know it, so that when you say, "The fifth amendment," too, remember this, that it is the same as saying that you are refusing to answer under the fifth amendment, because if you would answer, you would tend to incriminate yourself.

Miss BENTLEY. I understand that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Miss Bentley, you do not have the privilege of refusing to answer the question as to whether you were employed in the ad department of the Brooklyn Eagle. I will remind you that you have already testified under oath that you were so employed.

Now, you can only claim your privilege under the fifth amendment when there is involved a disclosure which you feel would tend to incriminate you. If the question involves only a fact with respect to which you have already testified, or a fact which is already of public record, you may not refuse to answer.

Under the circumstances, I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether she was at one time employed in the ad department of the Brooklyn Eagle.

Senator JOHNSTON. I will direct the witness to answer the question.

Miss AGRIN. If the Chairman please, with all due respect—

Senator HENNINGS. Counsel wants to make a statement.

Senator JOHNSTON. Excuse me.

Miss AGRIN. With all due respect to Mr. Sourwine's interpretation of the law relating to the fifth amendment, I do not believe that is correct. Each proceeding and each portion of a proceeding stands on its own, so that if Miss Bentley a month ago may not have thought that that fact would form a link in a chain of evidence which might tend to incriminate her, a month has passed, and as this committee is well aware, the newspapers have reported enough to make her presently have a fear.

I think it is a perfectly legitimate assertion of the fifth, and I believe that there is no ground to direct her to answer this question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to enter into an argument with counsel. I stated the position of this counsel for the committee so that the witness might be apprised. Under the decisions, it is important that the witness be apprised of the possibility of contempt

for refusal to answer. I think the witness should also be apprised that she is entirely free to take the advice of counsel, her own counsel, but that it is her decision, and if her counsel is wrong and she is in contempt because of it, the penalty for contempt will be no less.

I ask that the witness be again ordered and directed to answer the question.

Senator HENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, I hope that learned counsel for the committee will also agree with this observation, that it is my understanding of the law and always has been with relation to availing one's self of the fifth amendment to the Constitution relating to possible incrimination or exposure to a criminal charge, that one has the right to invoke the fifth amendment to any question. The question of contempt would then be one to be referred in due course, within the determination or decision of the lower court or in this case of the committee, to the proper tribunal.

Am I right?

Mr. SOURWINE. The Senator is entirely correct. Contempt would lie in invoking it in an improper case.

Senator HENNINGS. Precisely. One does so always at hazard and risk, depending upon the soundness of the witness' view of the interpretation of the fifth amendment or depending upon counsel's view of that interpretation, and counsel and courts frequently will disagree.

But I just hope it will be made perfectly clear both to the witness and counsel that it is within the purview of the witness to answer or decline answering, availing herself, if she so desires, of that amendment, with relation to any question.

Miss AGRIN. I am well aware of that. I am well aware of that, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. What the Senator from Missouri says is entirely correct. But in order for us to lay the proper foundation here in this case, we must require that you answer the questions.

Senator HENNINGS. Thank you.

Miss BENTLEY. Excuse me.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss BENTLEY. I reassert the fifth.

Mr. SOURWINE. Miss Bentley, reading from your testimony in executive session, you were asked:

Where have you been employed for the last 20 years, Miss Bentley?

You replied:

Twenty years. Brooklyn Eagle for about 14 years.

Did you not so testify?

Miss BENTLEY. I give the same answer, sir. I am sorry. I have lost the words again.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are claiming the fifth amendment as—

Miss BENTLEY. I am claiming the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. As to whether you testified to that before this committee?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the testimony of this witness in executive session be made a part of this record, in toto.

Senator JOHNSTON. It shall be made a part of the record.³

³ Miss Bentley's executive testimony follows her public testimony at p. 1447.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, reading from that testimony, Miss Bentley, you further testified—you were asked, “In what capacity?” After you had said “Brooklyn Eagle for about 14 years,” the question was asked, “In what capacity?”

And you said, “Advertising solicitor and later sales supervisor in one of the advertising departments, after which I went to several other jobs,” and so forth.

Do you not remember testifying to that effect?

Miss BENTLEY. Excuse me, please.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss AGRIN. Will you excuse us?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

Miss AGRIN. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. SOURWINE. Let the witness answer, Miss Agrin.

Miss AGRIN. No. I want to make one observation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let the witness answer.

Miss AGRIN. No. Miss Bentley has bad eyes. The light is very disturbing. She has a piece of glass in her eye. Is it possible to have the lights turned off?

(The television lights were turned off.)

Miss AGRIN. Thank you.

Miss BENTLEY. Would you ask your question again, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you if you remember testifying before this committee that you were employed by the Brooklyn Eagle for about 14 years in the capacity of advertising solicitor and later sales supervisor in one of the advertising departments.

Miss BENTLEY. If the record shows that I said it, then it is so.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question is whether you remember so testifying, Miss Bentley. Do you remember so testifying?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Having so testified, I now ask you, is that testimony true?

Miss BENTLEY. I gave only true testimony.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that you were employed by the Brooklyn Eagle for about 14 years as advertising solicitor and later sales supervisor in one of the advertising departments?

Miss BENTLEY. Excuse me, please.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss BENTLEY. For your last question: It is my opinion that circumstances today are different than they were when I testified last, and therefore I do have a fear today that I possibly didn't have last time, and I assert the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Miss Bentley, this is a merry-go-round. I am unable to understand you. You admitted here that you testified to this under oath. You have admitted here that your testimony was true. Now you are refusing to testify to the same thing. You have no right to such a refusal, and just to prevent the possible recurrence of such a tactic by other witnesses similarly coached, I ask that the witness be ordered to answer this question.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are ordered to answer the question.

Miss BENTLEY. May I speak with my counsel, please?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss BENTLEY. I am sorry, sir. I again invoke the fifth amendment in answer to the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever employed by Boni & Gaer, publishers?

Miss BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember testifying before this committee in executive session that you had been so employed?

Miss BENTLEY. I said before that anything that I testified to was——

Mr. SOURWINE. The question is: Do you remember testifying before this subcommittee that you were at one time so employed?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I do remember, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that testimony true?

Miss BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir. Circumstances, I think, have changed, and I therefore am using the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether the testimony that she gave before this committee in executive session with respect to her employment by Boni & Gaer was true.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Miss BENTLEY. I answered by invoking the fifth, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever employed by the newspaper Israel Speaks?

Miss BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. By that you mean you decline to answer, claiming that if you answered truthfully the question of whether you were at one time employed by the newspaper, Israel Speaks, that might tend to incriminate you?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember testifying before this committee under oath and in executive session that you had been employed by the newspaper Israel Speaks?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that true testimony?

Miss BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are ordered and directed to answer this question.

Miss BENTLEY. I give you the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know David Wahl?

Miss BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment. I am sorry. I can't remember the phrase, as you gave it to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is no particular phrase.

Senator JOHNSTON. There is no particular phrase.

Miss BENTLEY. Very good. I just wanted to be clear.

Senator JOHNSTON. You answer the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. All you have to is make clear your intention.

Miss AGRIN. I think it is clear enough in this formulation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Wasn't Mr. Wahl connected with Israel Speaks at the time you were employed there?

Miss BENTLEY. The fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever employed by the Daily Compass?

Miss BENTLEY. The fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you honestly feel that if you answered truthfully the question of whether you were employed by the Daily Compass, it would tend to incriminate you?

Miss BENTLEY. I answer by the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. No. That question you have to answer "Yes" or "No."

Miss BENTLEY. I was invoking the fifth amendment because it was my understanding that by using the fifth amendment I was doing it because I do fear self-incrimination.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what this committee wanted to know. But there have been witnesses in the past, without casting any reflection on the present witness, who have claimed the fifth amendment at times when they had no right to do so and without any actual fear in their minds.

And the committee always has the right to inquire into the bona fides of the witness and whether the witness really feels that there is danger to the witness.

Don't you remember testifying before this committee that you had been employed by the Daily Compass?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that true testimony?

Miss BENTLEY. I give you the same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean you are refusing now to answer as to whether it was true testimony?

Miss BENTLEY. Correct. I am sorry. I should have written it down.

Senator HENNINGS. But you did so testify, madam?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Senator HENNINGS. You testified that you were employed by the Daily Compass; did you not?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether that was true testimony.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are ordered and directed to say whether or not that is correct testimony.

Miss BENTLEY. And I give you the same answer, the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Miss Bentley, do you know Alvah Bessie?

Miss BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Nat Einhorn?

Miss BENTLEY. The fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Victor Weingarten?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Violet Brown, who later became Violet Weingarten?

Miss BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Lewis?

Miss BENTLEY. The fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Hyman Charniak?

Miss BENTLEY. The fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Herbert Cohn?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know David Gordon?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Jerry Rutendollendorfer?

Miss BENTLEY. I do not recognize the name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Grutzner?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. I guess better than anybody else does.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her under any other name than Gladys Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Leonard Adler?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Lyle Dowling?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Murray Young?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Amos Landman?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Monroe Stern?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Milton Kaufman?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know John Francis Ryan?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Kopf?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Ira Henry Freeman?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Sam Weissman?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Helen Weissman?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mrs. Doretta Tarmon?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Peter Christopher Rhodes?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. How could you possibly know Peter Christopher Rhodes?

Miss BENTLEY. If he is the Rhodes I think he is, I could possibly know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. What Rhodes did you think he is, Miss Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you have any questions?

Senator HENNINGS. I have no questions.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you want to keep her under the subpoena?

Mr. SOURWINE. No. I think she can be excused, sir.

Miss BENTLEY. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF GLADYS BENTLEY (IN EXECUTIVE SESSION, ORDERED INTO THE RECORD BY SENATOR JOHNSTON, PRESIDING)

Senator WELKER. Will you state your name for the record; and counsel, identify yourself.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. My name is Gladys Bentley.

Mr. SOURWINE. Miss Bentley, may we have your attorney's name for the record.

Miss BENTLEY. Gloria Agrin.

Mr. SOURWINE. What firm?

Miss AGRIN. The firm of Blanch Freedman & Gloria Agrin. Our address is 220 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your address, Miss Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. 93 Remsen Street, Brooklyn.

Mr. SOURWINE. And where have you been employed for the last 20 years, Miss Bentley?

Miss BENTLEY. Twenty years. Brooklyn Eagle for about 14 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity?

Miss BENTLEY. Advertising solicitor and later sales supervisor in one of the advertising departments, after which I went to several other jobs, including Israel Speaks, which is a newspaper; Boni & Gear, a publisher; the Daily Compass.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Attorney, are you taking notes on the testimony?

Miss AGRIN. If I am not supposed to, I won't.

The CHAIRMAN. You certainly are not supposed to. It is a secret session.

Miss AGRIN. I am sorry.

Senator WELKER. May I make the observation, Mr. Chairman; this is a secret session, as the chairman has indicated. That is why we are so careful that no information leave this hearing room.

If there is any information received about this hearing, it will come from your client or you, because we have yet in this committee to ever have one leak of an executive session, and I am sure you appreciate that.

Miss AGRIN. I certainly do, and I have no intention of doing anything that is against your rules.

Mr. SOURWINE. Continue, Miss Bentley.

Miss BENTLEY. The Daily Compass was the last newspaper job I had.

Mr. SOURWINE. And where are you now employed?

Miss BENTLEY. At an advertising agency.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever been employed by the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. I am going to have to take a minute, if you don't mind.

Senator WELKER. I can't hear you.

Miss AGRIN. She asked to take a minute.

Miss BENTLEY. Just a minute, until I compose myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Attorney?

Miss AGRIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The rule is that when your client desires to confer with you, she is permitted to do so. That is a right that she has. You do not have the right to volunteer information.

Miss AGRIN. I will abide by that rule, too, Senator.

Miss BENTLEY. In answer to that, I just forgot the phraseology. I decline to answer on the ground of self-privilege against incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you honestly fear that a truthful answer to the question of whether you were ever employed by the Communist Party would tend to incriminate you, or form at least a link in a chain to connect you with something?

Miss BENTLEY. I give you the same answer, Senator.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. I give you the same answer, and I regard it as a privilege to just say that instead of remembering the phrase.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Brooklyn Eagle unit of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. I give you the same answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend a Communist faction meeting of newspaper employees?

Miss BENTLEY. The same answer; fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you back the election of John T. McManus for vice president of the American Newspaper Guild?

Miss BENTLEY. I would like to confer, if I may.

(Witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss BENTLEY. I voted for John T. McManus.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you work for his election? I didn't ask how you voted.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I worked for his election.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know at that time that Mr. McManus was the Communist candidate for that office?

Miss BENTLEY. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever sign a Communist petition in an election campaign?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever live at 3088 Brighton Sixth Street, Brooklyn?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in 1939-40 election campaign sign a Communist petition, giving that as your address?

Miss BENTLEY. The same answer.

Senator WELKER. Would you mind raising your voice, so we can hear?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes. I am a little nervous.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Alvah Bessie?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Nathan Einhorn?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, you are claiming your privilege against self-incrimination?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And on that basis, refusing to answer?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what you mean when you say "same answer?"

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Victor Weingarten?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Violet Brown?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mrs. Victor Weingarten?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. She and Violet Brown are the same person, aren't they?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Sam Weissman?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mrs. Doretta Tarmon?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Doretta Leibowitz?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Al Schacht?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Senator WELKER. What is that last name?

Mr. SOURWINE. Al Schacht.

Senator WELKER. The baseball player?

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the name.

Senator WELKER. I know him. I don't think I would hesitate to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you honestly claiming the privilege of the fifth amendment when we ask you if you know Al Schacht?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, if I identify the Al Schacht I am talking about as a former big league baseball player, do you still claim the privilege on the question of whether you know him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir; because the name doesn't mean anything to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. If the name doesn't mean anything to you, you can't claim the fifth amendment privilege of refusing to answer, Miss Bentley.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I instruct and order you to answer that question under penalty of contempt of the Senate.

Miss BENTLEY. May I talk with my attorney?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

(Witness confers with her attorney.)

Miss BENTLEY. I didn't recognize the name, but if you say that he is a baseball player, I didn't recognize the name, and therefore I can say that I didn't know who he was, and I didn't, and that I do not claim the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know an Al Schacht who is or was a Communist?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment. I don't.

Senator WELKER. If you don't know, Madam Witness, you could certainly say "No," couldn't you?

Miss BENTLEY. I would use the fifth amendment, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Do you know Frank V. Kennedy?

Miss BENTLEY. Maybe I ought to explain to you gentlemen that I am very bad with names. I think a couple of names here were mentioned, if my life depended on it I could not remember any. I

do know, I think, that this is Senator Eastland. I think so, because I saw him on TV last night, and I am not even sure.

Nobody said yes or no, but I really am very bad with names, and rather than say the wrong thing I would prefer to—unless you can identify these people as baseball players—

Mr. SOURWINE. We are asking you to identify people whom you know; if you do not know them, all you have to do is say "No." If you do not remember whether you know them or not, you are entitled to say that.

If you do know them and if you have no reason to fear that admitting that fact could possibly form a link in a chain which would incriminate you, then you don't have any right to claim the fifth amendment.

If, on the other hand, you recognize the name and you have any reason to fear that admitting you know this person might form at least a link in a chain to incriminate you, then you have a perfect right to claim the fifth amendment and refuse to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. I would like her to answer the question: Do you know Frank V. Kennedy.

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know him personally.

Senator WELKER. You don't know him personally?

Miss BENTLEY. No, sir.

Senator WELKER. Have you ever met him at any meeting?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't think so. I don't know the name.

Senator WELKER. All right. Mr. Chairman, I submit by that answer she has opened the gate. You can direct her to answer every question heretofore propounded to her or hereafter propounded to her, and if she doesn't, she is certainly in contempt of the Senate of the United States, as I am sure her able counsel will tell her.

Miss AGRIN. I am afraid, sir, I don't want to interrupt your proceedings. I don't quite know why you say that. You asked her whether she knew Frank V. Kennedy, and she said she had no knowledge of who this man was.

Senator WELKER. Very well. But, counselor, doesn't that open the gate as to whether she knew all these other people?

Miss AGRIN. I don't see how, sir, because it may very well be that her association with the names against which she asserted the fifth would tend to incriminate her.

Senator WELKER. Then she should have taken the fifth amendment, madam. That is what it is there for, and that is what it is usually taken for.

Miss AGRIN. She did, sir, except she had no knowledge to whom you were referring.

Senator WELKER. Very well. But she opened the gate right there. If you studied the law any more on this matter than we have, I would like to have a little brief on that subject.

Miss AGRIN. I would be glad to submit it to you.

Senator WELKER. You can't submit a brief on it.

Miss AGRIN. I can.

Senator WELKER. We know the law, as well as a couple of others.

MISS AGRIN. I am very well aware of the fact that, for instance, her association with Senator Eastland today across the table would obviously not tend to incriminate her, but her association with, say, William Z. Foster of the Communist Party, might well tend to incriminate her, so that the incriminating element depends on the name.

Senator WELKER. In a series of questions propounded to her, she was taking the fifth religiously.

MISS AGRIN. In relation to people who, she might believe, would tend to incriminate her.

Senator WELKER. How do we know?

MISS AGRIN. She says she believes it would tend to incriminate her when she asserts the fifth, but she also stated to this committee she was asserting it honestly and in good faith.

Senator WELKER. But she didn't assert it with respect to Frank V. Kennedy.

MISS AGRIN. Because it might be very possible that an association with Mr. Kennedy might not tend to incriminate her, and it would certainly make sense——

Senator WELKER. There is no need arguing the law on it. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you are ordered and directed, under penalty of contempt of the United States Senate, to answer that question.

MISS BENTLEY. May I speak with my attorney?

The CHAIRMAN. You may.

(Witness confers with her attorney.)

MISS AGRIN. May I, before I speak to her——

Senator WELKER. I don't want to argue the law with you because I have been in this business a little longer than you have.

MISS AGRIN. I assume so. I just want to know what question she has been directed to answer. Whether or not she knew Frank V. Kennedy?

Senator WELKER. Yes, ma'am; I think that is the one I asked.

MISS AGRIN. Am I correct in believing that the answer on the record is "No"?

Senator WELKER. She has no recollection of it; didn't you say that?

The CHAIRMAN. Read the question and answer.

(Record read.)

MISS AGRIN. We believe the answer is on the record, sir.

Senator WELKER. All right.

Then, Counsel, I would like you to generally order the witness to answer all the questions heretofore propounded to her by counsel, the questions upon which she took the fifth amendment.

(Senator Eastland left the hearing room.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Murray Young?

Senator WELKER. Just a moment. The chairman hereby orders and directs that you answer every question heretofore propounded to you by counsel upon which you claim the fifth amendment.

MISS BENTLEY. Are you going to restate the question?

Senator WELKER. I am not going to take the time. You remember the names propounded to you by counsel for which you took the fifth amendment?

MISS BENTLEY. I would still take the fifth amendment on those questions.

Senator WELKER. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Murray Young?

Miss BENTLEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Milton Kaufman?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Jack Ryan?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Kopf?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know David Gordon?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Melvin Barnett?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Winston Burdett?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Grutzner?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Lewis?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Leonard Adler?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Hyman Charniak?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Herbert Cohn?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Lyle Dowling?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Amos Landman?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Monroe Stern?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Peter Christopher Rhodes?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions of this witness.

Senator WELKER. Very well, madam; you can step down from the witness stand.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask one more question. Do you know David Wahl?

Miss BENTLEY. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know David Wahl?

Miss BENTLEY. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. No more questions.

May the witness be held under subpoena, Mr. Chairman, for a later appearance?

Senator WELKER. Yes; you may step down. Your appearance here is temporarily suspended, but you are held under the subpoena until you receive further notice from the staff. Do you understand?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir.

Miss AGRIN. Is it necessary to have the subpoena endorsed, sir?

Senator WELKER. Ask Mr. Hasser up there. He handles those matters.

Miss AGRIN. To show she appeared. I have no question of this record.

Mr. SOURWINE. The record shows she appeared. She is entitled to transportation.

Miss AGRIN. That has been taken care of.

Mr. SOURWINE. When we want you again, will it be sufficient if we give notice to your attorney, or would you like to have us call you through her?

Miss BENTLEY. It doesn't matter, sir, as long as I get enough notice.

Senator WELKER. How long would you require, madam?

Miss BENTLEY. It would be very helpful to have about a week.

Mr. SOURWINE. We can try to do that. We can guarantee you at least 48 hours.

Miss AGRIN. As far as myself, I would certainly not like to come on an overnight business.

Senator WELKER. Call the next witness.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have a request from Mr. Grutzner, who was the witness this morning. He wants to come back to the stand for a moment. He was dismissed. Would you allow him to return?

Senator JOHNSTON. Come around.

Senator HENNINGS. Charles Grutzner.

Senator JOHNSTON. You have already been sworn.

Mr. GRUTZNER. I have been sworn.

Senator JOHNSTON. This is a continuation of the other testimony?

Mr. GRUTZNER. Sir?

Senator JOHNSTON. You will not have to be sworn. We have already sworn you before. Proceed.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Very good.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF CHARLES GRUTZNER

Mr. GRUTZNER. It has occurred to me that I have at home a file containing the carbon copies of practically every story I filed from Korea. I am certain that among them is not only the Sabrejet story, but the "precede" I sent on, which made it clear that it was not to be used unless cleared by the Pentagon, which in my opinion is a higher authority than General Craig, or Craigie, or whatever his name is.

I would like to ask permission to have that put into the record of this hearing. I do not have it with me. I had not anticipated this. But I shall mail it to your committee, if I may, as soon as I get home.

Senator JOHNSTON. I want you to understand that this committee wanted to be fair in every way, and if you have anything like that that you want to put in the record, we will be glad to have it.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may that be inserted in the record immediately following Mr. Grutzner's testimony previously?

Senator JOHNSTON. I think it should be inserted right after your statement, right after your other testimony, and also, when you get the other record, it will come together.⁴

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRUTZNER. Thank you, sir.

⁴ The copy of Mr. Grutzner's story appears at p. 1427.

Mr. SOURWINE. John Francis Ryan.

Senator JOHNSTON. Raise your right hand.

Do you swear that the evidence you give at this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Senator JOHNSTON. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN FRANCIS RYAN; ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you give your full name, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. John Francis Ryan.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your address?

Mr. RYAN. 108 Franklin Avenue, Glen Cove, Long Island.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you more commonly known as Jack Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. Well, you might be known as Jim or Bill. It is just a nickname.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. It is only a nickname. I did not mean to imply anything else.

Are you the same Jack Ryan who was active in the Newspaper Guild?

Mr. RYAN. I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your present occupation, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. I am self-employed. I do horticultural research.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now you are employed by yourself, you say?

Mr. RYAN. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have been for how long?

Mr. RYAN. Four or five years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now you are represented by counsel, I see. For the record, would you name your counsel?

Mr. RYAN. David Rein, Washington.

Senator HENNINGS. Where is Mr. Rein's office, counsel's office?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Rein has appeared before us several times.

Senator HENNINGS. Oh, yes. He was in the executive session, was he not?

Mr. SOURWINE. I think you have been here, Mr. Rein?

Mr. REIN. Yes.

Mr. RYAN. I don't know his office.

Mr. SOURWINE. Give your office, please.

Mr. REIN. 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Mr. Ryan, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time within the past 10 years?

Mr. RYAN. I would invoke the fifth amendment to that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time since 1950?

Mr. RYAN. The fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the year 1954?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you been a member of the Communist Party at any time since the 1st of May of this year?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party yesterday?

Mr. RYAN. Of course not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time last week?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you at one time treasurer of the New York Newspaper Guild?

Mr. RYAN. Sir? I did not get the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you at one time treasurer of the New York Newspaper Guild?

Mr. RYAN. I was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever hold any office in the New York Newspaper Guild?

Mr. RYAN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. What office or offices did you hold?

Mr. RYAN. I was general organizer of the Newspaper Guild of New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. General organizer? That is, you were an employee of the Guild?

Mr. RYAN. Well, I worked for the Guild; yes. I was an elected officer of the Guild for a time, and I was also executive vice president of the Newspaper Guild of New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir. Did you ever preside at a Communist Party fraction meeting, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. The fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you heard the testimony of the witnesses who have preceded you yesterday and today, Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RYAN. Some part of it, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Burdett?

Mr. RYAN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any of Mr. Burdett's testimony that you wish to deny or correct?

Mr. RYAN. No. But I wish the press would make clear that Mr. Burdett said he did not know me as a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Burdett as a Communist?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have knowledge respecting any of the other matters that Mr. Burdett testified to?

Mr. RYAN. I hadn't seen Winston Burdett in 16 years, sir. I don't know anything about his testimony. I heard that story of his for the first time yesterday.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about the matters that he testified to with respect to his membership in a Communist unit of the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. RYAN. I do not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know of the existence of a Communist unit at the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. RYAN. The fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I think the witness in stating that he knew nothing about the matters testified to by Mr. Burdett opened

himself up to cross-examination on that answer, and I think my question as to whether he knew of the existence of a Communist unit at the Brooklyn Eagle is fair cross-examination. I ask that the witness be ordered to answer the question.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are ordered to answer the question.

Mr. RYAN. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know of the existence of a Communist unit at the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Alvah Bessie?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Nat Einhorn?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Einhorn is at present a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he ever was?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Victor Weingarten?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever know him as a Communist?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Violet Brown?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Presently Violet Weingarten?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever know her as a Communist?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Lewis?

Mr. RYAN. The name isn't familiar to me. I may know him. I knew hundreds of newspaper people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Hyman Charniak?

Mr. RYAN. That name is also familiar, sir, but I don't recall that I ever met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. If the name Charles Lewis does not mean anything to you, how does it come you connect it with newspaper work?

Mr. RYAN. Well, most of the people I know over the years have been newspaper people, and his name has appeared in the press in the last couple of days.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say you did not know Hyman Charniak, or you do not know him?

Mr. RYAN. I wouldn't recognize him, sir, if he walked in the room. The name has been around for a long time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the name as the name of a man who left the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I would know Hyman Charniak's name only as a reporter's name, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Herbert Cohn?

Mr. RYAN. I believe I do. I think in executive session I told you that I didn't recall him, but since the stories have appeared, I do recall him. He was a reporter on the Eagle.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if Herbert Cohn was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Melvin Barnett?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if Mr. Barnett is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know David Gordon?

Mr. RYAN. Yes, I know Dave.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if David Gordon is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I am a little—I was just consulting with my attorney. There is an “is” and a “was” business in here, and I want to be clear on it. I am not in a position, or was not in a position, to get it. At least I wasn’t here in the beginning. I wonder if that “is” and “was” could be separated, and ask one question at a time.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the way they are being asked.

Mr. RYAN. Could you repeat the question, then?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if Mr. David Gordon is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. No; I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if Mr. David Gordon was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where Mr. David Gordon works?

Mr. RYAN. I read today that he is employed on the New York Daily News.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you last see him?

Mr. RYAN. It must be 14 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Grutzner?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if Charles Grutzner was ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Charles Grutzner said in his testimony here that he was a member of the Communist Party. That is—I think—a matter of record.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any other knowledge concerning Mr. Grutzner’s membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hear his testimony here?

Mr. RYAN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have knowledge of any facts which would contradict anything to which he testified?

Mr. RYAN. Contradict?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. RYAN. I don't think so. I didn't hear anything in his testimony that I would personally want to contradict.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have knowledge of any facts that would confirm anything he testified to?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. RYAN. I think I would have to take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Bentley?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hear her testimony?

Mr. RYAN. Yes; I just heard it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Bentley as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gladys Bentley as the organizer of the Brooklyn Eagle unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Leonard Adler?

Mr. RYAN. I believe so. I am not quite sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Leonard Adler as a member of the Brooklyn Eagle unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Lyle Dowling?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Dowling is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Dowling was a member of the Brooklyn Eagle unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Murray Young?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Amos Landman?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Landman is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Monroe Stern?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Stern was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Milton Kaufman?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Kaufman was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Kaufman now is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Kopf?

Mr. RYAN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. She is dead; is she not?

Mr. RYAN. She is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Ira Henry Freeman?

Mr. RYAN. There are several Freemans, sir, in the industry, and I don't know which one is Ira Henry. But I think I know them all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any Freeman who is a Communist?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a Freeman who works for the New York Times?

Mr. RYAN. There are two Freemans on the New York Times.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is either one of those Freemans, to your knowledge, a Communist?

Mr. RYAN. As far as I know, they are not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Sam Weissman?

Mr. RYAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. RYAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Helen Weissman?

Mr. RYAN. Her name came up in this testimony, but I don't recall her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mrs. Doretta Tarmon?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Peter Christopher Rhodes?

Mr. RYAN. I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you have any questions?

(No response.)

Senator JOHNSTON. The witness is excused.

Mr. SOURWINE. Nathan Einhorn.

Before Mr. Einhorn takes the stand, Senator, may I make a call for David Gordon, to see if he is here?

David Gordon. Is he in the room?

(No response.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, sir. Excuse me.

Senator JOHNSTON. Raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you give at this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. EINHORN. I do.

Senator JOHNSTON. Please be seated.

TESTIMONY OF NATHAN EINHORN; ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID COBB, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you give the reporter your full name, please?

Mr. EINHORN. Nathan Einhorn. The address is 1900 F NW., Washington. My counsel is Bruce Cobb, of Cobb & Weissbrodt.

Mr. COBB. David Cobb.

Mr. EINHORN. I am sorry.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where are you employed, Mr. Einhorn?

Mr. EINHORN. I am employed at the Embassy of the People's Republic of Poland.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Einhorn, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EINHORN. During the period of my employment with the Embassy and with any agency of the government, I have not been a member of any political party, and I have engaged in no political activity of any kind.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is an affirmative statement which you make. But I submit it is not wholly responsive to my question. I would like to have you answer "Yes" or "No," as to whether you are a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. EINHORN. I think I made the answer that I am a member of no political party.

Mr. SOURWINE. The point is that this committee does not regard the Communist Party as a political party. It regards it as a conspiracy.

Mr. EINHORN. Very well. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. I thought we had only a semantic difficulty.

Mr. Einhorn, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EINHORN. As to the previous period, I would like to invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment on the ground that I fear that an answer would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, the previous period, you mean the period prior to your employment by the Government of Poland?

Mr. EINHORN. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you employed by the Rocky Mountain News in Denver in 1928?

Mr. EINHORN. I think I was employed in 1927 and 1928 by the Rocky Mountain News.

Mr. SOURWINE. And in 1929 to 1933, by various newspapers in Brooklyn.

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. 1933 to 1939, by the Brooklyn Daily Eagle?

Mr. EINHORN. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. 1939 to 1946, you were executive secretary of the Newspaper Guild of New York?

Mr. EINHORN. I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this a paid position?

Mr. EINHORN. It was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you elected to that position?

Mr. EINHORN. I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you elected to that position with Communist support?

Mr. EINHORN. I think I had support on occasion from everyone, since some of the elections were unanimous.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you knowingly accept and solicit Communist support for your election to that position?

Mr. EINHORN. I didn't reject it.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Einhorn, you were for a period of time the Communist organizer of the Communist unit at the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, were you not?

Mr. EINHORN. Fifth amendment, if I may.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were campaign director and executive director of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief?

Mr. EINHORN. I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that organization had been cited as subversive by the Attorney General?

Mr. EINHORN. It was cited as subversive long after I had left, and secondly, it was cited, I believe, after it had become defunct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that organization during the time that you were connected with it under the control or domination of the Communist Party?

Mr. EINHORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were employed by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union in 1947?

Mr. EINHORN. In 1948, I—No. I think it was 1948 and early 1949.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then in 1949 you went with the Polish Research and Information Service?

Mr. EINHORN. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. And in 1951, with the Polish Embassy?

Mr. EINHORN. Correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have been guilty of an oversight. I have neglected to ask that counsel be identified.

Mr. EINHORN. I did identify him.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did identify him, anyway? Thank you for taking care of that for us.

Senator HENNINGS. Mr. Sourwine, is the date of the witness' employment by the Polish Embassy in the record, the precise date of his employment?

Mr. SOURWINE. I doubt that it is, sir.

Senator HENNINGS. I wonder if we could get that.

Mr. EINHORN. I became employed by the Polish Research and Information Service in New York in June 1949. I came to work for the Polish Embassy in August, I believe, 1951.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. EINHORN. I have been, since 1949.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a member of the Polish United Workers Party?

Mr. EINHORN. I am a member of no party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you regularly report your earnings as an employee of the Polish Government to the Internal Revenue Bureau?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Steve Nelson?

Mr. EINHORN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Steve Nelson as a Communist?

Mr. EINHORN. I understood that he was a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Rhoda Miller as a Communist?

Mr. EINHORN. I plead the fifth amendment to that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever assist in recruiting any person for membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. EINHORN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever assist in recruiting anyone for Soviet espionage work?

Mr. EINHORN. I never did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that gives us a field to work on now.

Mr. EINHORN. May I—if you would like, I would like to volunteer some facts on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. We will be glad to have you.

Mr. EINHORN. May I?

Senator JOHNSTON. Go right ahead.

Mr. EINHORN. The only connection that I have had with the story which Burdett told yesterday was as follows, that as an officer of the Newspaper Guild of New York I frequently had people, or from time to time, rather, people came and suggested that I recommend people for jobs. In this connection, Joseph North, of the New Masses—I believe he was then managing editor—had suggested that I might suggest someone who might go abroad to cover the Finnish War. I suggested Burdett. I don't remember whether or not I talked to Burdett or talked to North, but I suggested Burdett, as Burdett has told you.

The next thing I knew, he had received accreditation from the Eagle and then a group of people from the Eagle, whom I do not remember, but a group of his friends and colleagues, saw him off on the boat. We have not seen him since, at least I didn't, until yesterday. We said goodby to him. At the pier were the Eagle people and his mother and father. And that is the extent of the connection that I have had with this story which he has told.

Mr. SOURWINE. I take it by that that you mean to deny that you knowingly took part in recruiting Burdett for espionage work?

Mr. EINHORN. As I have said, I have never had anything to do with espionage work of any kind.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know whether Joe North did?

Mr. EINHORN. He was editor of the New Masses, and I assume he might be—

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was, Did you know?

Mr. EINHORN. I did not know; not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you deal with him as an espionage—

Mr. EINHORN. No. I dealt with him as a member of the union. The New Masses had a unit of the Guild and so did the Daily Worker.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; what did he tell you about the job that he had for which you recommended Burdett?

Mr. EINHORN. I do not recall very many of the details. All I recall was that it was suggested that, if it were possible to get a fairer reporting of the situation there, it would be good. That is all I recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. A fairer reporting of what situation?

Mr. EINHORN. Of the war which was going on at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Fairer to whom? Russia?

Mr. EINHORN. Let us say more objective.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. North, as editor of the New Masses, was concerned with the objectivity and the reporting of the Brooklyn Eagle; is that right?

Mr. EINHORN. I did not talk to him in connection with Burdett's going as a Brooklyn Eagle reporter. That, I think, took place subsequently, an arrangement which Burdett himself made with the Eagle.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you talk with Mr. North about? How did you contemplate that Mr. Burdett was going to go—

Mr. EINHORN. He might go to cover for the New Masses or for the Worker. I did not know. I did not ask him, and I did not discuss details.

Mr. SOURWINE. You understood, did you, that it might be a job on the New Masses or the Daily Worker?

Mr. EINHORN. It might have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell Mr. Burdett that?

Mr. EINHORN. I don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you tell Mr. Burdett?

Mr. EINHORN. I just told Mr. Burdett that there was a possibility of going abroad. We knew him to be one who wanted to go, who had some ability, and I thought he might be a good possibility for that, and suggested he go see North.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whom do you mean by "we"?

Mr. EINHORN. I meant "I."

Mr. SOURWINE. You suggested that he go see North?

Mr. EINHORN. That is my recollection. It might have been that North came to see him. I don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hear Mr. Burdett's testimony about this?

Mr. EINHORN. Some of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not stay for all of it?

Mr. EINHORN. No. I heard it. I heard it from the back, though, but quite indistinctly on occasion.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hear testimony about his contact with Mr. North?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any reason to believe that was untruthful testimony?

Mr. EINHORN. I wouldn't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know any facts which would lead you to believe that that testimony was either truthful or untruthful; is that your testimony?

Mr. EINHORN. I don't know. If you ask me, do I believe it, I don't believe it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever discuss with Joe North the question of whether Winston Burdett had taken the job?

Mr. EINHORN. No. I saw Burdett off.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Jacob Golos?

Mr. EINHORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you been a friend of Doxie Wilkerson?

Mr. EINHORN. I know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a leading Communist?

Mr. EINHORN. I know him as an official at the Jefferson School.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that the Jefferson School is a Communist school?

Mr. EINHORN. I don't know that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever met with representatives of the Soviet Government?

Mr. EINHORN. Oh, sure, at embassy parties.

Mr. SOURWINE. Other than at embassy parties?

Mr. EINHORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever met with Jean Montgomery of the Tass News Service?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is she a friend of yours?

Mr. EINHORN. She is a friend of mine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether she is a Communist?

Mr. EINHORN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is she a correspondent for Tass?

Mr. EINHORN. She is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think Tass has any correspondents that are not Communists?

Mr. EINHORN. Do you want my opinion?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think Jean Montgomery is one?

Mr. EINHORN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Craig Vincent?

Mr. EINHORN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. State in what connection you knew Craig Vincent.

Mr. EINHORN. Actually, I met him through his wife, who had been executive director of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief prior to my taking that post, when I was campaign director.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did she ever work for you?

Mr. EINHORN. Who?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mrs. Craig Vincent.

Mr. EINHORN. Work for me?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. EINHORN. No. I worked for her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you say you met Craig Vincent through her?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us what you know of Craig Vincent.

Mr. EINHORN. Very little, except that he and his second wife run, or ran, a ranch in Colorado which was in the news a good deal.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know of that ranch as being under Communist domination?

Mr. EINHORN. No; not of my own knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever at that ranch?

Mr. EINHORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Craig Vincent as a Communist?

Mr. EINHORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he was or is?

Mr. EINHORN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mrs. Craig Vincent as a Communist?

Mr. EINHORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Einhorn, were you an adviser to Winston Burdett in any way? Did you ever give Winston Burdett any advice?

Mr. EINHORN. I gave a lot of people advice. I know I never gave him instructions, if that is what you mean.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever suggest that he attend the section school of the Communist Party?

Mr. EINHORN. The fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write a letter to Mr. Burdett in December of 1947?

Mr. EINHORN. I wrote a letter to him. I don't recall the date.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hear the testimony here of Mr. Grutzner?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. Grutzner?

Mr. EINHORN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Grutzner was ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EINHORN. Fifth amendment; fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sorry. You said it so fast I didn't hear you.

Mr. EINHORN. I am sorry. I will state it, as a matter of fact, for the entire list of people that you mentioned, except that fellow whose name I can't pronounce, and Rhodes. I don't know them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, sir, sign a statement as executive secretary of the Newspaper Guild in behalf of the furriers' leaders, which was printed in the Daily Worker in November 1940?

Mr. EINHORN. I don't recall. I may have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Committee for the Election of John T. McManus as vice president of the American Newspaper Guild in the fifth region?

Mr. EINHORN. I think so. I don't recall it very directly, but I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember signing a statement against the Dies committee in January of 1943?

Mr. EINHORN. I don't recall, but I may very well have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Trade Union Committee for Henry Epstein in 1942?

Mr. EINHORN. Who is Henry Epstein?

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember anything about such an instance? Mr. Epstein was a political candidate in New York.

Mr. EINHORN. A committee for him? I don't recall. I am sorry.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive instructions to sever your relations with the Communist Party, USA?

Mr. EINHORN. I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, when you say you are going to take the fifth amendment with respect to all of those names, do you mean that you are going to refuse to say whether you knew those people?

Mr. EINHORN. No. I said that I would say that I knew them all with the exception of that Jerry somebody that you mentioned, and this man Rhodes. I did not know them. I knew the others.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean you recognize that there was one name in there that was the name of a person that you did not know anything about?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that name Rutendollendorfer?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. I have stated yesterday that that was a fictitious name.

Mr. EINHORN. You used it again today, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is correct. The use was for the purpose, as I am sure you recognize, of attempting to determine and to demonstrate whether the witness was being selective in claiming the fifth amendment.

Well, now, I will name them all in a group. That will save time. You say you now know or knew Alvah Bessie, Victor Weingarten, Violet Brown, now Violet Weingarten, Charles Lewis, Hyman Charniak, Herbert Cohn, Melvin Barnett, David Gordon, Charles Grutzner, Gladys Bentley, Leonard Adler, Lyle Dowling, Murray Young, Amos

Landman, Monroe Stern, Milton Kaufman, John Francis Ryan, also known as Jack Ryan, Gladys Kopf, Ira Henry Freeman, Sam Weissman, Helen Weissman, and Mrs. Doretta Tarmon; is that right?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes. I knew all but the last two. I am sorry. I knew all but the last two as union members. The last two were not union members but I knew them.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, Helen Weissman and Mrs. Tarmon you knew, but not as union members?

Mr. EINHORN. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, do I understand that you are planning to invoke the fifth amendment with respect to questions as to whether you knew these persons as Communists?

Mr. EINHORN. You are correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You will do so with respect to all of these persons?

Mr. EINHORN. I will do so with respect to all of these persons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Each and every one of them?

Mr. EINHORN. Each and every one of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, sir, with your family, pay a visit to the home of Charles Grutzner within the past few months?

Mr. EINHORN. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that purely a social visit?

Mr. EINHORN. It was.

Mr. SOURWINE. While there, was there any discussion of communism or Communist activity?

Mr. EINHORN. No. The nearest to it was Grutzner telling me that he had voted for Mr. Stevenson, and we had a discussion on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Einhorn—

Senator HENNINGS. Why do you suggest, Mr. Einhorn, that that is an approach to any discussion of communism, having voted for Mr. Stevenson?

Mr. EINHORN. No. I said the nearest to it.

Senator HENNINGS. Why do you suggest that that is any approach to it?

Mr. EINHORN. No. I meant it was the nearest to any discussion of politics.

Senator HENNINGS. Of politics, but not of communism?

Mr. EINHORN. Right. You will forgive me, Senator. I am sorry.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Einhorn, did Mr. Grutzner visit you with his family some year and a half ago?

Mr. EINHORN. His wife and he visited in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. On that occasion was there any discussion of communism or Communist activity?

Mr. EINHORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you have any questions?

Senator HENNINGS. I was curious to know—if it has not already been developed—Mr. Einhorn, what do you do at the Polish Embassy? What are your duties?

Mr. EINHORN. I do public-relations work, Senator.

Senator HENNINGS. That is, you get up press releases?

Mr. EINHORN. I get up press releases, prepare exhibits on people like Copernicus, photography exhibits by the Association of Polish Photographers, and so on. Mostly it is cultural material.

Senator HENNINGS. And where is that disseminated or circulated?
Mr. EINHORN. Museums; libraries.

Senator HENNINGS. And not for the general distribution to the press or magazines?

Mr. EINHORN. Oh, the press releases go to the press.

Senator HENNINGS. You do that, too?

Mr. EINHORN. Well, I do it with someone who works with me; yes.

Senator HENNINGS. And you have charge, do you, of the press releases?

Mr. EINHORN. No. One of the men who works with me does most of the work on press releases. I do most of the cultural——

Senator HENNINGS. You are his associate and collaborator on some of them, are you?

Mr. EINHORN. That is correct.

Senator HENNINGS. Have you any other duties, Mr. Einhorn?

Mr. EINHORN. No.

Senator HENNINGS. Do you perform any other work then?

Mr. EINHORN. No. I do only public relations work.

Senator HENNINGS. I have no further questions.

Senator JOHNSTON. The witness is excused.

Mr. SOURWINE. Amos Landman is the next witness.

Mr. COBB. Mr. Chairman——

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you swear that the evidence you give at this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. LANDMAN. I do.

Mr. COBB. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt for a minute?

Is Mr. Einhorn discharged from his subpoena?

Senator JOHNSTON. What is that?

Mr. COBB. Is Mr. Einhorn discharged from his subpoena?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Senator JOHNSTON. Yes; he is discharged.

Mr. COBB. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF AMOS LANDMAN; ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. SOURWINE. Now would you give your full name, please?

Mr. LANDMAN. Amos Landman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman. Your address?

Mr. LANDMAN. 145 West 86th Street, New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you are accompanied by counsel. I see Mr. Rein is back.

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. REIN. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, you were employed during 1935 to about 1940 by the New York Daily Mirror?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where had you been employed prior to that time?

Mr. LANDMAN. That was my first regular job. I had had odd jobs as a youngster before that, but that was the first regular one.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were a reporter, rewrite man, and worked in other editorial capacities?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. From 1940 to 1942 you were a reporter and feature writer on the newspaper PM in New York?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir; and also worked in other editorial capacities.

Mr. SOURWINE. On that same newspaper?

Mr. LANDMAN. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. From 1942 to 1946 you were in the military service?

Mr. LANDMAN. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity?

Mr. LANDMAN. I was an enlisted man in the Army Air Force, as it was known then, and most of the time I worked in public relations.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you were discharged, did you return to PM?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. For how long?

Mr. LANDMAN. Approximately 2 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would make it about 1948?

Mr. LANDMAN. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And where did you go then?

Mr. LANDMAN. I then went to the Far East as a free-lance correspondent.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you employed by anyone during that period?

Mr. LANDMAN. Not regularly employed.

Mr. SOURWINE. To whom did you sell your material?

Mr. LANDMAN. I sold my material to Overseas News Agency, the National Broadcasting Co., the New York Herald Tribune, and several other newspapers.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you paid on a space basis?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you returned from the Far East in 1950, what did you do?

Mr. LANDMAN. I wrote a book and then I received a fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, and by the terms of that fellowship I was able to go to Columbia University, where I studied and received a degree.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is that organization, the Council on Foreign Relations?

Mr. LANDMAN. It is an organization of businessmen—many of them quite prominent—of political scientists, people generally interested in foreign affairs, who gather for purposes of study and to hear addresses on matters of foreign affairs.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did go to Columbia University in 1950?

Mr. LANDMAN. No; it was not 1950. It was the academic year of 1951-52.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you receive a degree?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What degree?

Mr. LANDMAN. Master of arts.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where had you received your B. A.?

Mr. LANDMAN. Brown University.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, after you left Columbia University with your M. A., what did you do?

Mr. LANDMAN. I worked in commercial public relations briefly.

Mr. SOURWINE. For whom?

Mr. LANDMAN. For Sidney J. Wayne, Inc.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then?

Mr. LANDMAN. And then I received a grant from the Ford Foundation which enabled me to go to India, also for study purposes.

Mr. SOURWINE. From the Ford Foundation?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator JOHNSTON. In going back to school, did you use the GI Bill of Rights?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you return from India?

Mr. LANDMAN. January 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what have you been doing since then?

Mr. LANDMAN. Commercial public relations for the same firm that I worked for prior to going to India, and publicity. I am presently doing publicity.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what was the amount of the grant or scholarship that you received from the Foreign Relations Council?

Mr. LANDMAN. As I recall, it was between \$6,000 and \$7,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what was the amount of the grant that you received from the Ford Foundation?

Mr. LANDMAN. \$4,500.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you, Mr. Landman, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I am not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever been?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, I show you a photostat of what purports to be an affidavit signed by one Amos Landman in which the signer states that he was at a time named in the affidavit a member of the Communist Party. And I will ask you if that is a photostat of an affidavit that you signed and a photostat of your signature.

Senator HENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, at this point would counsel be good enough to identify the date of the affidavit and the date upon which the affiant suggests or states that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. I had intended to offer it for the record, if I got any identification. It has not been identified yet.

Senator HENNINGS. I see. I was concerned, counsel, with your suggestion that the affidavit stated that the affiant was a member of the Communist Party. I thought it might be helpful if we knew at what time he may have stated it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

The affidavit was subscribed and sworn to before a notary public on the 15th day of September 1953. I beg your pardon; it was sworn to before a consular officer on that date. And it states that the affiant was a member of the Communist Party in the 1930's. I will read this paragraph:

I became a member of the Communist Party in 1937 or 1938. I am not sure which. It will be recalled that this was the time of the great depression, a time when many of us were looking desperately for solutions to the problems then confronting the United States and the world.

Senator HENNINGS. Thank you.

Mr. LANDMAN. May I ask you to repeat your question?

Mr. SOURWINE. The question is whether that is a photostat of an affidavit you made and a photostat of your signature on that affidavit.

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I offer this affidavit for the record. May this go in the record, sir?

Senator JOHNSTON. That shall become a part of the record.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 4" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 4

[Handwritten:]

From: Bombay, India

Enclosure No. 2

Desp. No. 297

My name is Amos Landman. I am presently living at 6 Pemino, Altamont Road, Bombay 26, India. My address in the United States is care of David Landman (my brother), 436 East 71st Street, New York City. I am an American citizen by birth, and hold United States Passport No. 566 (FS 203, 742), issued in Shanghai, China, October 20, 1949, renewed in Washington, D. C., August 14, 1952, and which expires October 19, 1953.

I arrived in India, after a direct flight from the United States, on January 31, 1953, to make a study of media of communications in this country, that is, the press, radio, cinema, etc., and the use made of these media by leaders of Indian society. This research is made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation. The grant is for a period of 1 year. It is believed that this survey will be useful to the American Government and to others doing informational work in Oriental and/or underdeveloped countries and to those interested in selling American goods and services to such countries.

On September 14, 1953, I applied to the United States consulate general in Bombay for a new passport, inasmuch as the present one expires in less than 5 weeks. I was informed that I would have to execute an affidavit on my political affiliations, past and present, and that this document and my application would be forwarded to Washington for consideration. I now willingly make such an affidavit.

I became a member of the Communist Party in 1937 or 1938, I am not sure which. It will be recalled that this was the time of the great depression, a time when many of us were looking desperately for solutions to the problems then confronting the United States and the world. I was in my early twenties. Like thousands of others in America and elsewhere, I thought that the Communist Party offered answers to the various domestic and international problems of the 1930's. I did not engage in espionage or any other conspiratorial or underground activities, nor had I any knowledge that anything of the kind was going on.

The Russo-German Pact of 1939 brought me to a realization of the bankruptcy of communism. My recollection is that I withdrew from the party soon thereafter. As I write this affidavit, I particularly recall how revolted I was by the callous attitude of the American Communists toward the bombing of Britain some months after the pact.

I have not been a member of the Communist Party since; I am not a member today; I am not a member of any so-called "front" organizations; I do not subscribe to or support the views of the party. My only present political connection is that I am enrolled in the Democratic Party in accordance with the election laws of the State of New York. Aside from this, I am not a member of, nor am I associated with in any manner whatsoever, any political, social, labor, cultural, professional, or other organization.

Since I haven't the faintest idea what accusation has been lodged against me today—14 years after I left the party—it is difficult, if not impossible, to set forth relevant answers.

I can, however, say that I am a loyal citizen, and that I vigorously deny any statement or implication to the contrary. I served my country honorably during the last war. At that time, certain Intelligence officers believed my loyalty to be of such an order that they entrusted me with the security checking of certain members of the Armed Forces. I am not at liberty to divulge details.

I have been a newspaperman for most of my working career. Nothing can be more public than the work of a newspaperman. I submit that the record of my work, being public, can be checked and that such a check will reveal no taint of disloyalty. More specifically, I call attention to the fact that I covered the fall of China to the Communists, and events there and elsewhere in the East for the following year, that my reports were widely used, that I was congratulated on them, and that no one, to my knowledge, has criticized them on the grounds of loyalty or bias in favor of any country other than the United States of America.

My present plan is to complete my work in India in January, and then return home. I expect to take a 6-week vacation en route home, stopping in Italy, Switzerland, France, Spain, and Portugal for sightseeing and a rest.

I herewith submit the usual passport application.

/s/ Amos Landman.

AMOS LANDMAN [hand printed]

REPUBLIC OF INDIA,
STATE OF BOMBAY,
CITY OF BOMBAY,
Consulate General of the
United States of America, 33:

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of September 1953.

Service No. 1030 [number handwritten]

NO FEE.

Tar. 38 [handwritten]

[SEAL]

/s/ Paul H. Kreisberg,

PAUL H. KREISBERG,

Vice Consul of the United States of America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Mr. Landman, I will state to you and to the committee that I do not want to take unfair advantage of you. We have been through this at the executive session, but I want to go through it once more. It is possible to demonstrate that this is your signature. It is possible to demonstrate that this is your affidavit. Since you have made affidavit to this fact and disclosed at that time that you were a member of the Communist Party, you cannot now refuse to testify with respect to that same matter, because your stating now that you were a member of the Communist Party as indicated in this affidavit would not be a disclosure of anything which would tend to incriminate you.

I, therefore, repeat the question, and if you do not answer, I shall ask the Chair to order that you answer.

I repeat the question: Were you at any time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. LANDMAN. I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I will state that we have available a handwriting expert to prove the witness' signature. Is it the desire of the Chair that we interrupt this testimony for 10 minutes and do that, or that we put the expert on after the end of Mr. Landman's testimony?

Senator JOHNSTON. I think it would be best to excuse this witness. There might be something coming up at that time that he might want to answer.

You bring on the other witness.

Mr. Landman will be excused.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Appel.

Senator JOHNSTON. Will you raise your right hand? Do you swear that the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. APPEL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES ANDREW APPEL, JR., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Appel, your full name, please.

Mr. APPEL. Charles Andrew Appel, Jr.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your address, sir?

Mr. APPEL. 3383 Stephenson Place NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your occupation?

Mr. APPEL. I am an examiner of questioned documents, by which I mean the analysis of handwriting, typewriting, paper, ink, any matter which has to do with the authenticity of a writing or document.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where and how did you start this work, Mr. Appel?

Mr. APPEL. I attended lectures of J. Fordyce Wood, of Chicago; Albert S. Osborn, of New York; and Dr. Wilmer Souder, of the National Bureau of Standards, while employed as a special agent at the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I was instructed by Mr. Hoover to study the use of science in crime work and to organize the laboratory of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Thereafter, I specialized in the analysis of questioned documents.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you connected with the FBI Laboratory?

Mr. APPEL. Yes. I was a senior document examiner with the FBI Laboratory until I retired in 1948, since which time I have been examining documents in civil cases in my own laboratory.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have an LL. B. from Georgetown University?

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a member of the bars of the District of Columbia and the United States Supreme Court?

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have continued your studies in the science of handwriting, typewriting, and other means of mechanical impressions, for identification?

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where have you qualified as a witness or given testimony as a document examiner?

Mr. APPEL. I have testified in Federal, State, and military courts throughout the United States and its possessions, committees of Congress, and special courts of the United States, and other bodies.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you name some of the well-known cases in which you have testified?

Mr. APPEL. Well, I testified in the O'Connell kidnaping case in Binghamton, N. Y. I made the examination and testified before the grand jury in the Hauptmann case.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the Lindbergh case?

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, we could go further. I think that we have enough to qualify him.

Senator HENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, I happen to have been the chairman of another subcommittee which availed itself of the services of this witness, and we found that his technical qualifications were of the highest.

The witness may recall that we used him on another occasion about 3 year ago.

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Appel, I send you two documents. One is an expense voucher for this committee and the other is a photostat of an affidavit. I will ask you first if you have examined the original of the affidavit of which this is a photostat.

Mr. APPEL. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you examine it?

Mr. APPEL. At the State Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. The archives of the State Department?

Mr. APPEL. I don't know just what room it was. But the——

Mr. SOURWINE. The document was produced from State Department files?

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir; by Mr. Nicholas.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have with you at that time the other document, the signed voucher?

Mr. APPEL. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you compare the signatures on the two documents?

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your conclusion with respect to them?

Mr. APPEL. That both signatures, "Amos Landman," were written by one and the same person.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions of this witness, Senators. Do you want to question him?

Senator HENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask this.

What did you do in the course of your comparing signatures? You certainly did more than just look at them, did you not?

Mr. APPEL. Oh, yes, sir. I examined the——

Senator HENNINGS. I think it might be helpful if you would tell us briefly just what you did in the pursuit of your specialty, for which you have been qualified as an expert witness before this subcommittee, in order that we may understand fully that you did more than simply make a cursory or superficial examination of them: but in the pursuit, that was in fact the pursuit of your profession for which you are technically qualified, that you did certain things.

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir.

Well, these signatures are practically illegible, by which I mean that you cannot recognize many of the letters in them, and yet it is obvious that the general design of the questioned and the known signature are very similar, that is, the lines have the same shape, the same form. So clear is this that it places the examination under a special class or analysis because it is possible for one person to imitate the form of the signature of another person with some exact resemblance.

However, in order to do that, it is necessary to use drawing motions and not writing motions, so that the examination of this case particularly requires the application of a microscope to enlarge the lines sufficiently to find out whether the lines were written rapidly, as they

must be, in order to execute these illegible forms, which are illegible solely on account of the speed of motion employed.

In other words, it is a question of how were the lines executed, and I found that they were executed in this affidavit exactly the same way that they were in this exemplar, by which I mean that a true writing motion was employed in the execution with a pen and the deformations of the forms of the individual letters are habitual.

Now, when you examine the lines in that way, not only can you tell whether there are any line irregularities which are due to manipulation, but you must necessarily discover the presence or absence of minute motion habits which are so minute that they cannot be artificially reproduced.

In the first place, magnification would be required to do that, and if you use magnification, the area examined is so small within the lens, that you cannot see the big shapes, and the big shapes would come out all out of proportion, and there would be no resemblance in the general design.

And it is for that reason, the absence of any irregularity of execution and the presence of these minute evidences of genuineness, those two things on which my conclusion is based, that they were written by one and the same person with the same automatic writing habits.

Senator HENNING. Thank you, sir.

I just wanted one more question, possibly, Mr. Sourwine. That was, How long a time was consumed in your examination of these signatures?

How much time did you take in this examination in arriving at the conclusion that you have, sir?

Mr. APPEL. About an hour or two.

Senator HENNING. You spent no less than an hour and possibly 2 hours in making your detailed professional examination of these signatures?

Mr. APPEL. Yes, sir; at the State Department. Of course, I made notes and examined those after I arrived at my laboratory. I also had this exemplar with me in the laboratory. But as far as the analysis at the State Department was concerned, I was there an hour and a half, perhaps, and that is all.

It is not a difficult case, because of the automatic writing ability of this writer, which would be exceedingly difficult to imitate.

Mr. SOURWINE. May we have the documents back?

Senator JOHNSTON. Are there any further questions?

(No response.)

Senator JOHNSTON. Hearing none, you are excused.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think Mr. Landman can resume the stand.

Senator JOHNSTON. Mr. Landman will come back and take the stand. You have already been sworn, so just take your seat.

TESTIMONY OF AMOS LANDMAN, NEW YORK, N. Y.; ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, HIS COUNSEL—Resumed

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, you have heard the testimony of the preceding witness?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know it has been established that the signature on the affidavit, of which we have shown you a photostat, is the

same as the signature you placed on the voucher for your expenses in your appearance before this committee.

Now, in view of that fact, sir, do you still refuse to tell us whether you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. LANDMAN. I still take the same position, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, were you ever in India?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When?

Mr. LANDMAN. During most of the calendar year 1953.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, while you were in India, meet Paul H. Kreisberg, Vice Consul of the United States of America?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same Paul H. Kreisberg who attested to the affidavit we have shown you and which has been identified here?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mr. Kreisberg Vice Consul at the Consulate General of the United States of America, Republic of India, State of Bombay, city of Bombay, in September 1953?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir, he was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, did you live at 6 Pemino, Altamont Road, Bombay 26, India?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir; part of the time I was in India.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was your address in the United States, care of David Landman, your brother, at 436 East 71st Street, New York City?

Mr. LANDMAN. My home address where I might receive mail was the address that you have given; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you an American citizen by birth?

Mr. LANDMAN. I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you hold United States Passport No. 566-(FS203.742), issued in Shanghai October 20, 1949, renewed in Washington, D. C., August 14, 1952, and expiring October 19, 1953?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. I do not now hold the passport with the numbers which you read. That passport, as the sentence you read says, expired some time ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you surrender it?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. To whom did you surrender it?

Mr. LANDMAN. Mr. Kreisberg.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you asked by him to do so?

Mr. LANDMAN. I may have been. It had expired. I don't recall the exact details, but since it was expired, it wasn't a valid passport.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you surrender it to him after the execution of this affidavit?

Mr. LANDMAN. I don't recall when I surrendered it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you go to India by direct flight from the United States, arriving there January 31, 1953?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you go there to make a study of media of communications in the country of India, that is, the press, radio, cinema, and so forth, and the use made of these media by leaders of Indian society?

Mr. LANDMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you making that study for the Ford Foundation?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you report the results of that study to the Ford Foundation?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why not?

Mr. LANDMAN. I am still working on a report on the research I did in India and have not yet completed it.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you return to the United States?

Mr. LANDMAN. In January 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has the Ford Foundation asked you for any report since that time?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir. It is not the policy of the Ford Foundation to demand reports of persons to whom it gives grants.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you become a member of the Communist Party in 1937 or 1938?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer that, sir, on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. LANDMAN. I respectfully decline, Senator, for the reason I have given.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Brooklyn Eagle unit of the Communist Party in the late 1930's?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir; I never was; I never worked for the Eagle.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you at any time in attendance at meetings of the Communist faction of the Brooklyn Eagle?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you returned from India, did you return by way of Italy, Switzerland, France, Spain, and Portugal?

Mr. LANDMAN. Not quite all of those. By way of the Suez Canal, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Nova Scotia, and New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you confer with any Communist official or leaders of any of those countries?

Mr. LANDMAN. Certainly not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you had any recent relationship or contact with officials of the Communist Party, United States of America?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. With officials of the Communist Party of India?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. With officials of the Communist Party of China?

Mr. LANDMAN. I was in Communist China for a period of approximately 11 months, and for much of that period involuntarily. In

other words, I couldn't get out. Other people, as you know, have had that problem, and still do.

During the period of 6 or 7, or perhaps 8 months when I was trying to get out, I made a regular round of official agencies of the Communist government, in an effort to try to get out of the country, and during these interviews with the personnel of these agencies, I would not in the least be surprised if I met and had contact with Communist Party officials.

Mr. SOURWINE. During what period of time was this?

Mr. LANDMAN. Well, I was in Communist China from May 1949 until April 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you get in?

Mr. LANDMAN. I got in by virtue of the Communists coming to me. I was in Shanghai when the city was taken. I had been in Nationalist China for approximately a year prior to that.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you finally got out of Communist China when?

Mr. LANDMAN. April 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get out with a passport or permission of the government, or did you sneak out?

Mr. LANDMAN. I got an exit visa—

Mr. SOURWINE. Good.

Mr. LANDMAN (continuing). In due course.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, where did you go from there?

Mr. LANDMAN. Well, I had been in Shanghai, which was where I lived in China, and after much negotiations I got permission to take a train to Tientsin, and I left Tientsin by ship for Japan.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you went to Japan?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And where did you go from there?

Mr. LANDMAN. From there I went to Hong Kong.

Mr. SOURWINE. And from Hong Kong?

Mr. LANDMAN. To Formosa.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what time did you arrive in Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. It was the early summer of 1950, possibly May, possibly June, sometime about then. I don't recall precisely.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how did you enter Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. I took a plane from Hong Kong.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a passport?

Mr. LANDMAN. Sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a visa?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you cleared by security authorities of Taipei, or Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. I assume everybody who goes to Formosa is. I have no independent knowledge of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was: "Were you"?

Mr. LANDMAN. Was I what?

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you cleared by security when you went to Formosa? Do you remember any clearance procedure, anything you went through to get security clearance to go to Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. I was questioned by several officials upon arrival at the airport outside of Taipei. This may have been a security business, although, if it was, it was a very routine one. I have no knowledge of any further clearance that I may have gone through.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Bob Sheeks—S-h-e-e-k-s?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir, I remember Bob Sheeks.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was Bob Sheeks?

Mr. LANDMAN. He was an officer in the United States Information Service in Formosa. In fact, he may have been the head of the office there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a friend of yours?

Mr. LANDMAN. I knew him. I don't know that I would describe him as a personal friend.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that name Sheeks, with an "s," or Sheek—S-h-e-e-k?

Mr. LANDMAN. I think the way you spelled it the first time is the proper spelling.

Mr. SOURWINE. S-h-e-e-k-s?

Mr. LANDMAN. I believe so. That is my recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is your recollection?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he have anything to do with helping you get papers to get to Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. It is possible that he did. The problem was this.

Since I was in Hong Kong and the British no longer recognized the Chinese Nationalist Government, there was no consular officer to whom to go, so, as I recall, the airline which provides service between Hong Kong and Taipei sent a wire to its people in Taipei, and they arranged the visa by which I entered. Now, if Sheeks was in on this operation, I don't really know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you pay Mr. Sheeks any money in connection with his efforts to help you get papers to get to Taipei?

Mr. LANDMAN. Of course not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you engage in any business ventures with Mr. Sheeks?

Mr. LANDMAN. No. I used to talk to him on the matter of gathering news while I was in Formosa, but I don't think I would call that a business venture.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, Mr. Landman, attend any meetings of Communist Party units in New York in the late 1930's?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer that question, sir, on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Alvah Bessie?

Mr. LANDMAN. No; I never saw him until yesterday.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Nat Einhorn?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Nat Einhorn as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the reason I have given.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as the Communist organizer of the Communist unit at the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the reason I have stated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Victor Weingarten?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Violet Brown; who became Mrs. Victor Weingarten?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Lewis?

Mr. LANDMAN. I don't recall ever meeting anyone named Charles Lewis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Hyman Charniak?

Mr. LANDMAN. I don't recall ever meeting anyone by that name either.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the name Hyman Charniak as the name of the man who left the Communist Party in 1939?

Mr. LANDMAN. I told you I don't think I ever met the man or know anything about him.

Mr. SOURWINE. This question hasn't to do with your meeting the man. It has to do with your knowledge of a name. Do you know the name Hyman Charniak as the name of a man who left the Communist Party in 1939?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Herbert Cohn?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I do, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Melvin Barnett?

Mr. LANDMAN. No; I don't recall ever meeting him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know David Gordon?

Mr. LANDMAN. I have a distant recollection of David Gordon.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your recollection?

Mr. LANDMAN. That he was a reporter on the Eagle whom I used to run into on assignments.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Grutzner?

Mr. LANDMAN. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Bentley?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a present member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I have no idea whether she is a present member or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that she was a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you deal with her as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Leonard Adler?

Mr. LANDMAN. When you asked me about him in the executive session, I didn't place him, but having heard the testimony here for the last couple of days, I believe I do recall him and I did know him many years ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Lyle Dowling?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Murray Young?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir; never met him—don't recall him at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Monroe Stern?

Mr. LANDMAN. Monroe Stern I know as a former rewrite man on the New York Journal or the New York American; as one with a reputation as a very fast and accurate newspaperman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Monroe Stern as a former official of the New York Newspaper Guild?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes; I know him in that capacity, too.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Monroe Stern as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Milton Kaufman?

Mr. LANDMAN. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever dealt with him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a member of the Communist unit at the Brooklyn Eagle?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. The answer is, that I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know John Francis Ryan?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gladys Kopf?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Ira Henry Freeman?

Mr. LANDMAN. I have a vague recollection that I knew him before the war.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Freeman as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Sam Weissman?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Helen Weissman?

Mr. LANDMAN. I don't think that I recall her. I am not sure whether I knew her or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Amos Landman who, with one Lynn Landman, wrote a book, *Profile of Red China*, published by Simon & Schuster in 1951?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes; I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is Lynn Landman your wife?

Mr. LANDMAN. She is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Amos Landman who wrote *The First Year is the Toughest*, an article which appeared in the *New Republic* January 13, 1947?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Amos Landman who, with Lynn Landman, wrote an article, "Will MacArthur Removal Change Chinese Attitude?" appearing in the Foreign Policy Bulletin of May 4, 1951?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you employed as public relations representative for the National Municipal League, New York City?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever ordered to leave Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did it come that you left Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. I had been overseas quite a while. The problem of making broadcasts from Formosa became rather difficult after the Chinese Nationalist Government refused to permit me to use the broadcasting facilities there. My wife had already left for home and I thought it was time to go, so I went.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did the Chinese authorities deny you the use of the broadcasting facilities on Formosa, if you know.

Mr. LANDMAN. I do know. I did a broadcast on the attitude of the people of Formosa toward the Chinese Nationalist Government in that period, which was the summer of 1950, and in that broadcast I said that it was my impression, after considerable investigation, that the people of Formosa were not especially happy with the Chinese Nationalist rule, and I thought that was a quite important story, because, as you will recall, this was shortly after the Korean invasion. Our troops were in very bad shape there in Korea.

The Seventh Fleet had just been dispatched to Formosa, the waters off Formosa, and at that time the Seventh Fleet consisted of one or two destroyers, and the Communists had been threatening for some time to invade Formosa.

I knew from my own observations on the mainland that separations were underway, and I thought this was an important story and one that the American people should know about.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, did you know that it had at one time been charged that you were in the pay of Vladimir Rogoff, then director of Tass?

Mr. LANDMAN. I have heard that allegation, and I most emphatically deny it. There is not a word of truth to it. I would like to know where it came from.

Mr. SOURWINE. By whom, sir, were you employed at the time you made the broadcast which you say led to denial of broadcasting facilities to you in Formosa.

Mr. LANDMAN. I was not regularly employed by anyone. I was still working on a free-lance basis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have credentials from any newspaper or radio station or radio chain?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I had credentials from the National Broadcasting Co.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you made the broadcast for NBC?

Mr. LANDMAN. I made the broadcast, which was recorded in San Francisco.

I have no knowledge whether it was actually put on the air, but the Nationalists knew about it because I gave them a carbon copy.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any credentials from any newspaper at any time while you were in Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, who arranged for publication of your book Profile?

Mr. LANDMAN. Charlotte Zeiblein was the editor with whom I worked.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Joe Barnes have anything to do with it?

Mr. LANDMAN. He may have. I think he perhaps read the manuscript.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Joe Barnes?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, I do not so know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he ever was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I have no idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever an applicant for employment by the OSS?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, I never was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever an applicant for employment by CIA?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever work for either one of those organizations or agencies?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever state that an intelligence agency of the United States Government thought so much of you that they used you to screen certain persons?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. I may have.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the agency that thought so much of you that they asked you to screen certain persons for security?

Mr. LANDMAN. This incident happened while I was in the Army.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were talking about the United States Army; were you?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you in Intelligence in the Army?

Mr. LANDMAN. Not regularly, but I was asked on several occasions to do some intelligence work.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever cover labor news for the New York Mirror?

Mr. LANDMAN. I covered labor news intermittently, not as a regular permanent assignment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you work on the labor page of PM with Leon Huberman?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Leo Huberman as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever hear of a complaint made against you to Ralph Ingersoll by Dave Dubinsky?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that Ingersoll had fired Huberman?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sure I knew that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why?

Mr. LANDMAN. I don't recall the details, Mr. Sourwine. There was quite a big dispute, but what it was all about, I really don't recollect.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long were you employed by PM?

Mr. LANDMAN. A total of almost 4 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. During that time, was there quite a struggle between the Communist and anti-Communist forces on the staff of PM?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. I don't think I recall anything that could be described as a great struggle such as you have suggested, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that there were Communists and anti-Communist forces or factions on PM during that period that you worked there?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer that, sir, for the reason I have given.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know James Wechsler, W-e-c-h-s-l-e-r?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Wechsler was a member of the Communist Party at the time you were on PM?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you realize you are doing Mr. Wechsler a great injustice by declining that? Don't you know as a matter of fact that Mr. Wechsler headed the anti-Communist group on PM at that time?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions to ask of this witness.

If I may have just a moment, my colleague has suggested it might be productive to ask Mr. Landman about a few persons who have come to the notice of the committee in connection with other investigations.

May I have 3 minutes more?

Senator JOHNSTON. Go ahead.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know John W. Powell?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I know John W. Powell.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you meet him?

Mr. LANDMAN. In China, Shanghai.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I declined to answer that question when you asked it the other day, Mr. Sourwine. On further consideration, and after consultation with my attorney, I am now prepared to answer it, if I may change my answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. LANDMAN. I have no knowledge as to whether he was or was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you work with him in connection with the furtherance of any Communist objectives?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you associate with him socially while you were in Shanghai?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you were in Shanghai and after the Communists took over, did you continue to know John W. Powell.

Mr. LANDMAN. I saw him, but quite infrequently, after the Communists took over.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he was working for the Communists?

Mr. LANDMAN. I had no knowledge as to whether he was or was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Sylvia Powell?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know William Burges, B-U-R-G-E-S?

Mr. LANDMAN. I recall him vaguely. Yes, I think I did know him casually.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Julian Schuman?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mary Barrett?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know any of those persons as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I have no information on any of them as to whether they were or were not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gerald Tannebaum?

Mr. LANDMAN. I had met him. I didn't know him well.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he was connected with Madam Sun Yat-sen?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I had heard that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I had no information on that point whatever.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Rose Yardumian?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know William Hinton?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, I don't think I ever met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Joan Hinton?

Mr. LANDMAN. I don't recall Joan Hinton.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Rose Yardumian as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I have no information on that question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you or did you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, I don't think I know anyone by that name.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions.

Senator JOHNSTON. You have a statement you wanted to make?

Mr. LANDMAN. Very briefly, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

Senator JOHNSTON. Make it brief.

Mr. LANDMAN. When I was in China, Mr. Chairman—as a matter of fact until yesterday I never thought I engaged in anything that could be described as espionage, and I still feel the same way. But after hearing Mr. Burdett's testimony, I think it pertinent to mention that I gathered information and I turned it over to officials of our Government.

The information which I picked up, as far as I could tell from Mr. Burdett's rather limited testimony on the point, was more or less similar to the information which he picked up. Now I gather that this is considered espionage because it was done under false pretenses.

I don't think there is anything especially sinister about it, but I do want you to know that I did gather information and turned it over to various consular and embassy officials of our Government while I was in China. That is what I wanted to tell you, sir.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are excused.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no more witnesses except I would like to make another call, with no hope, for David Gordon.

Senator JOHNSTON. David Gordon.

(No response.)

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to say for the record, Mr. Chairman, that there are certain witnesses whose attendance we have been unable to get. Hyman Charniak—we have an address in Chicago, but Chicago reports that he is not there. They think the address may be the correct one.

We have endeavored to get Mrs. Doretta Tarmon, whose last known address was in New York City, and the report at that address was that she was out of town, whereabouts unknown, and don't know when she could return.

We have endeavored to secure an address for Sam Weissman, and were unable to do so.

Miss Gladys Kopf is dead.

We had a subpoena out for Mr. Gordon, and I was hopeful that it might have been served in time to get him here, but apparently that was not so.

We were unable to get an address for Mr. Melvin Barnett until the testimony of the witness here today. I think we may be able to reach him for testimony at a later date at another series of hearings.

We have no information on the present addresses of Charles Lewis and Leonard Adler. I think that completes the statement.

If I have missed any person who has been named here, I want to say that the staff is making every effort to reach all of these people to serve them with a subpoena.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee is dismissed until call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 3:55 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

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