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U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY ASSISTANCE TO
FOREIGN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS
(Testimony of Maud Russell)

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

—————
MARCH 6, 1963
(INCLUDING INDEX)
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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 88TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 9, 1963

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

The Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 requires registration with the Attorney General of certain agents of foreign principals and the labeling of political propaganda disseminated by such agents. An agent of a foreign principal is defined by the Act to include, inter alia, any person who acts, or agrees to act, within the United States as "a public-relations counsel, publicity agent, information-service employee, servant, agent, representative, or attorney for a foreign principal * * * ." The term foreign principal is defined to include, inter alia, a government of a foreign country; a foreign political party; and a person or organization affiliated or associated with, or directed, supervised, or subsidized, in whole or in part, by a foreign government or political party.

By resolution of August 2, 1962, the committee embarked upon a series of hearings relating to the necessity for, or advisability of, recommending amendments to the Act, and for the purpose of exercising the committee's legislative oversight functions in appraising the administration of the Act. The committee particularly directed its attention to the activities of members and affiliates of the Communist Party engaged in the conduct of propaganda on behalf of foreign Communist governments. Court decisions have raised questions as to the true test of the agency relationship within the meaning of the Act.

The initial hearings of the committee on November 14, 1962, involved two organizations, the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee and the Friends of British Guiana. Hearings were continued on March 6, 1963, when the committee received the testimony of Maud Russell, publisher of the *Far East Reporter*, who has been actively engaged for many years as a speaker and publisher, principally upon the subject of Red China.

Armando Penha, an FBI undercover operative within the Communist Party from 1950 until March 19, 1958, had identified Maud Russell as a member of the Communist Party when he testified before this committee on the latter date.

Miss Russell's activities most recently came to the attention of the committee in May 1962 when it received the testimony of Chi-chou Huang, a professor who had defected from Red China a short time prior thereto. In 1945, Mr. Huang had received a scholarship from the Yunnan Provincial Government of Nationalist China for study in the United States. While at the University of Maryland, during the period 1946-1949, he formed the desire to go to the area of North China then occupied by Communist forces which had launched a civil war for the purpose of overthrowing the government.

Huang sought the assistance and advice of a Dr. Frederick A. Blossom, an employee of the Library of Congress, whom Mr. Huang had met while attending a lecture by Scott Nearing, a former member of the Communist Party still active in Communist fronts and causes. Dr. Blossom suggested that Huang contact Maud Russell, and ar-

ranged a meeting in his Washington, D.C., office so that Mr. Huang could discuss the matter with her. Mr. Huang testified that at that meeting Maud Russell had suggested that he contact a Chinese newspaper, the *Hua Shang Pao*, that is, the *Chinese Commercial Daily*, in Hong Kong, where he would receive information that would put him in contact with Communist guerrillas in North China.

In her testimony before the committee on March 6, 1963, Miss Russell testified that she had in fact met with Mr. Huang in the offices of Dr. Blossom and "very faintly" recollected her conversation with him. When asked whether she had specifically referred Mr. Huang to the *Chinese Commercial Daily*, she replied that she did not recall, but did not "think" that she had referred him to any specific newspaper. She said she was "pretty sure" she had told Mr. Huang that if he went to Hong Kong he could get the information he wanted from newspapers there.

The committee had prepared a memorandum summarizing a part of Miss Russell's speaking itinerary during the past 2 years. When this was read into the record, Miss Russell agreed that the memorandum was an accurate account of her speaking engagements and that on all occasions the subject to which she had devoted her attention was that of Red China. When asked whether her talks promoted, praised, and supported the Communist Chinese regime, she replied that she "reported the facts." Miss Russell conceded, however, that the "facts" she reported were "favorable" to the Red Chinese regime and that she believed the regime was good for the Chinese people.

It was then called to the attention of Miss Russell that advertisements and notices about her lecture tour, as the itinerary memorandum indicated, were principally contained in the Communist Party's west coast publication, the *People's World*, and the pro-Communist *National Guardian*. When asked in what way these publications came into possession of knowledge of her speaking itinerary, she testified that she paid for advertisements in them. She conceded that she did not place such advertisements in any non-Communist publication, but confined herself exclusively to the *People's World* and *National Guardian*.

She denied having any knowledge of the Communist Party affiliations of Dorothy Hayes, who arranged her Chicago speaking dates between May and June 1961, or of Dr. J. C. Coleman, who arranged her Los Angeles speaking dates in October 1962. These two individuals, whom Miss Russell conceded knowing over a period of years, have been identified as members of the Communist Party during executive hearings held by this committee.

Miss Russell admitted as "obvious" that she was the publisher of the *Far East Reporter* and agreed that a report, contained in the magazine, that she had served on the staff of the Young Women's Christian Association in China for 26 years, from 1917 to 1943, was correct. She conceded that after her return here, she served as the executive director of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1949. She also admitted that she was the major defense witness for this organization in proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board, held for the purpose of determining whether it should be ordered to register with the Attorney General as a Communist-front organization. The respondent claimed that the organization had been dissolved on

August 1, 1952.¹ She denied that the *Far East Reporter*, of which she is the publisher, was created to fill the void which occurred when the *Far East Spotlight*, the official organ of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, ceased publication.

It was then called to her attention that the *Far East Reporter* had reported that she had visited Communist China in 1959 and that it had reproduced a photograph of her with Chinese national YWCA committee members and staff, which had reportedly been taken in Shanghai in June 1959. Miss Russell invoked the fifth amendment privilege with respect to the accuracy of the report of her visit to China in 1959 as contained in her own publication.

It was pointed out to her that she had filed a passport application in 1959 in which she had indicated she intended to visit Great Britain, Scandinavia, France, the Soviet Union, India, and Japan. When asked whether she had also visited Communist China, she again invoked the fifth amendment. To the inquiries whether she had made any prearrangements with Communists in the United States or abroad for her entry into Communist China, and whether she had met any high-ranking Chinese Communist officials during her visit there, she again relied upon her privilege against self-incrimination.

It was pointed out to Miss Russell that certain persons who had recently written articles for, or whose articles have been distributed by, the *Far East Reporter*—Israel Epstein, Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley, and Anna Louise Strong—had all been active in the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy and had also contributed to publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). It was also pointed out to Miss Russell that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, after its investigation of the IPR, had reported that Israel Epstein and Anna Louise Strong had been identified in its hearings as members of the Communist Party and as persons who had collaborated with Soviet intelligence agents—and that Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley had been the subject of governmental action involving loyalty or national security. In addition, Miss Russell was informed that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee had found the IPR, with which these persons had been affiliated, to be an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda, and military intelligence; to be controlled by staff members who were either identified Communists or pro-Communists; and to have a policy objective of orienting American Far Eastern policy toward Communist objectives.

Miss Russell, in response, denied knowing any of the above-named contributors to her publication as Communists.

It was also pointed out that Susan Warren, a delegate to the New York State Convention of the Communist Political Association in August 1945 and thereafter an instructor at the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science, was a contributor to the *Far East*

¹ *Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, Petitioner v. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Respondent*, Docket No. 113-53, before the Subversive Activities Control Board. The Attorney General filed a petition with the Board on April 22, 1953, for an order requiring respondent to register as a Communist-front organization as required by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. Service of the petition was made upon Maud Russell, former executive director of respondent. An appearance was subsequently entered by David Rein as counsel for Maud Russell only, and motions to dismiss the petition and to quash service thereof were filed with the Board, alleging that respondent went out of existence in August 1952 and was nonexistent at the time of the filing and service of the petition. Testimony was taken on the motion, and the hearing examiner issued his report finding the named organization to have been nonexistent at the time the petition was filed and recommended to the Board that the petition be dismissed. This recommendation was adopted by the Board, one member dissenting. The Board did not pass upon or reach the merits or substance of the Attorney General's petition, but relied solely upon the mentioned technical ground for dismissal.

Reporter. When asked whether or not she knew Susan Warren to be a Communist, Miss Russell chose to avail herself of the fifth amendment privilege.

Also called to the attention of Miss Russell was the reprint by the *Far East Reporter* of an article titled "India and China—a Contrast," first appearing in the *New World Review*, an officially cited Communist publication. This article was written by Helen Travis, an identified Communist Party member, most recently revealed in hearings before this committee as the secretary of the Los Angeles branch of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, which was the subject of the committee's initial investigation in relation to proposed amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act. When asked whether she knew Helen Travis as a member of the Communist Party, Miss Russell denied knowing her as such, although she stated that she had known Helen Travis "a little over a year, 2 years."

When questioned whether she, Miss Russell, was now or had ever been a member of the Communist Party, she invoked the fifth amendment privilege. Miss Russell also claimed the fifth amendment privilege in refusing to affirm or deny the testimony of Armando Penha, an FBI undercover operative, that she was on the "national level" of the Communist Party.

When asked from whom she had obtained the slides of life in Communist China, which she had displayed during a recent talk in Baltimore, Maryland, she invoked the fifth amendment, but specifically denied obtaining them from Edwin S. Smith of New York City, who is registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as an agent of the China Photo Service of Peking, China, a propaganda agency of the Red Chinese Government.

When asked whether, during her visit to Red China in 1959, she had conferred with any officials of that government and had agreed to serve as a propagandist for Red China in the United States, Miss Russell again invoked the fifth amendment. When asked whether she had received any compensation from the Chinese Communist Government or its representatives for her propaganda efforts, she declared that she "received no compensation of any kind." But, when asked whether she was a guest of the Red Chinese Government during her 1959 visit, she invoked the fifth amendment. And when asked whether or not the Chinese Government had paid all of her expenses of travel and visitation and whether this was not a form of compensation for past propaganda assistance and any that she might give in the future, she again claimed the fifth amendment privilege. She declared that she has never registered as an agent of Red China and was not acting for a "foreign principal."

Although Maud Russell has for years paraded as an authority on China, has been billed as a "noted speaker on the Far East," and told the committee that Red China should have nuclear weapons, she repeatedly refused to answer committee questions concerning the dispute between Red China and the Soviet Union in regard to basic Communist policy toward the United States and the rest of the non-Communist world—questions which, as one committee member suggested, would involve "the security and possibly the survival of the United States."

(The Communist Party, USA, is backing the Soviet Communist Party in its widely publicized arguments with the Chinese party over

methods which should be employed by the international Communist movement in pursuit of a world Communist empire. The Chinese Communists, who are urging more militant and revolutionary tactics by the world's Communists, have been accused by Soviet Communists of lacking faith in any victory for communism without armed struggle and of ignoring the consequences of modern war and the use of nuclear weapons.)

Miss Russell invoked the fifth amendment in response to one question on this subject and, in response to others, said she did not want to get into a discussion of this "theoretical thing * * * this is a whole new field of relationships between the Communist parties, and I don't want to get into that question." She stated that she had been studying the Sino-Soviet differences, but did not have full knowledge and understanding of the subject.

U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS

(Testimony of Maud Russell)

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 1963

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:25 a.m. in Room 445, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Clyde Doyle, of California; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Committee members present: Representatives Clyde Doyle, of California; Joe R. Pool, of Texas; August E. Johansen, of Michigan; Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana; Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin; and John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; and William Margetich, investigator.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will come to order, please.

Are you ready, Mr. Nittle?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you ready Mr. Rein, as counsel?

Mr. REIN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Will the witness please come forward and be sworn? Will you please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss RUSSELL. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

I have an opening statement I will read.

Let the record show that this is a hearing conducted by the subcommittee consisting of myself, the chairman; Mr. Johansen, of Michigan; and Mr. Willis, of Louisiana. Mr. Willis is the only one absent. Therefore, a quorum of the subcommittee is present.

And this morning also sitting with us are Committee members Schadeberg, Bruce, Ashbrook, and Pool. We are glad to have you gentlemen with us.

¹ Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

I will proceed to read this opening statement.

On March 5, 1963, the Committee on Un-American Activities met and duly adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS at a duly held meeting of the Committee on Un-American Activities held in executive session on August 2, 1962, a resolution was unanimously adopted directing that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, be held on such date or dates as the Chairman may designate relating to propaganda activities of members and affiliates of the Communist Party of the United States for certain legislative purposes therein set forth; and

WHEREAS it is the desire and intention of the Committee on Un-American Activities that said hearings which were not completed during the 2d Session of the 87th Congress, proceed and continue during the 88th Congress.

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that, the hearings heretofore authorized by resolution on August 2, 1962, be continued and held by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, in Washington, D.C., or at such other place or places as the Chairman may determine, on such date or dates as the Chairman may designate, relating to the same subject and for the same legislative purposes as set forth in said resolution of August 2, 1962.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee, which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

The resolution of August 2, 1962, to which I previously referred, was adopted in the preceding Congress, which I now read:

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or at such other place or places as the Chairman may determine, on such date or dates as the Chairman may designate, relating to propaganda activities of members and affiliates of the Communist Party of the United States, for the following legislative purposes:

1. Consideration of the advisability of amending Title 22, USC, 611(c), by extending the definition of the term "Agent of a Foreign Principal" so as to remove any doubt as to what should be the true test of agency within the meaning of this Act.

2. The execution, by the administrative agencies concerned, of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and all other laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of this Committee, the legislative purpose being to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of these laws, to assist the Congress in appraising the administration of such laws, and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings may designate.

I now offer for the record the order of appointment, by the Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter, of the subcommittee which meets today for the purpose of continuing the hearings upon the subjects and for the legislative purposes set forth in the aforesaid resolution of August 2, 1962, confirmed by the resolution of March 5, 1963:

February 26, 1963

To: Francis J. McNamara, Director
Committee on Un-American Activities

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of the Honorable Clyde Doyle as Chairman, and the Honorable Edwin E. Willis and the Honorable August E. Johansen as associate members, to conduct a hearing in Washington, D.C., on Wednesday, March 6, 1963, at 10:00 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the Committee and take such testimony on said day or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 26th day of February, 1963.

(S) Francis E. Walter

FRANCIS E. WALTER,

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

I say to Miss Maud Russell, who has been subpoenaed as a witness in this hearing and to her counsel, that this hearing is a continuation of hearings commenced on November 14, 1962, relating to the necessity for, or advisability of, recommending amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 for its effective operation in carrying out the intent of Congress as set forth in the Act.

The initial hearings involved two organizations titled the "Medical Aid to Cuba Committee" and the "Friends of British Guiana."

Today our inquiry will relate to propaganda activities of identified members and affiliates of the Communist Party, in the publication of the *Far East Reporter* and the conduct by such persons of activities in support of the Chinese Communist Government.

Are you ready, Counsel, to proceed?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. And witness and counsel are ready?

Mr. REIN. Well, I would like to state for the record that—perhaps it was an inadvertence—I had inquired earlier of Mr. Tavenner as to what the subject of inquiry was of this particular investigation, and Mr. Tavenner directed me to a specific matter of the testimony of Huang, and we were under the impression that the subject inquiry was limited to that and we had not been informed that the subject under inquiry was of the nature which you have now described.

I am sure Mr. Tavenner didn't mean to mislead me, but that is the actual fact.

Mr. TAVENNER. I indicated to counsel, Mr. Chairman, that Miss Russell was called pursuant to the matters that had arisen during the questioning of the witness, the Chinese witness, and sent him a copy of it so he would know what matters had been inquired into.

I did not spell out, or attempt to spell out, the legislative purposes, because I did not think that was any business of the witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, we will proceed then. Proceed, Counsel, please.

TESTIMONY OF MAUD RUSSELL, ACCOMPAINED BY COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name and residence for the record, please?

Miss RUSSELL. Maud Russell, 552 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by Counsel?

Miss RUSSELL. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Counsel please identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. REIN. David Rein, R-e-i-n, 711 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, you were born in Russell City, Calif., were you not?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were you born?

Miss RUSSELL. Hayward, Calif.

Mr. NITTLE. In Alameda County?

Miss RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Russell City was the birthplace of your father, is that correct?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now a citizen of the United States?

Miss RUSSELL. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I went through grammar and high school, graduated from the University of California, 1915, studied in England, took my Master's Degree at Columbia.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Miss RUSSELL. Public speaker and publisher.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, in May 1962, the committee received testimony from a young man named Chi-chou Huang.

Miss RUSSELL. Huang.

Mr. NITTLE. Thank you for the correction in pronunciation.

Miss RUSSELL. We might as well have it correct.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand you speak Chinese fluently?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I would leave out the last word.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huang had defected from Red China a short time earlier. In his appearance before the committee, he testified that in 1945 he received a scholarship from the Yunnan Provincial Government, then of Nationalist China, for study in the United States.

In September of 1945, he enrolled in Johns Hopkins University, and then transferred to the University of Maryland, where he remained from 1946 until 1949.

While at the latter university, he decided to go to Communist China, that is to say, the area then controlled by the Communist revolutionary forces which were in rebellion against the Nationalist Government.

For the purpose of reaching Communist China, Mr. Huang testified that he sought in Washington, D.C., the assistance and advice of Dr. Frederick A. Blossom, an employee of the Library of Congress, whom Mr. Huang met while attending a lecture by Scott Nearing, a former member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Huang further testified that Dr. Blossom suggested that you, Maud Russell, could perhaps help get him to Red China, and that Dr. Blossom, in fact, did set up a conference in his office for you and Mr. Huang to discuss the matter.

Mr. Huang testified that you gave him instructions to contact the Chinese newspaper, the *Hua Shang Pao*, that is, the *Chinese Commercial Daily*, in Hong Kong, a British crown colony on the border of China proper, where he would receive information that would put him in contact with Communist China.

Do you recall meeting with Mr. Huang at the offices of Dr. Frederick A. Blossom in Washington at that time?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, after I read that hearing material that you gave my counsel, I remember it. It had completely passed out of my mind. That happened in 1948.

Then I remembered that I did meet with a Chinese student for about, well, maybe half an hour. That is true, but I had completely forgotten about it until I read this transcript of your hearing with him.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, I hand you a photograph of Mr. Huang, marked for identification as Russell Exhibit No. 1, which was taken about the time of your meeting with him, and while he was in attendance at the university.

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

(Document marked "Russell Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Does that photo refresh your recollection?

Miss RUSSELL. Not a bit. I wouldn't know him if I met him. I just saw him so briefly, 15 years ago.

* * * * *

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Dr. Blossom at that time?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. How long had you known Dr. Blossom prior to the meeting?

Miss RUSSELL. I think maybe 2 or 3 months. I am not sure but that was the first time I had met him in those 2 or 3 days. I did not know him before that. I think I was in his office about 2 or 3 days—I am not quite sure—but 2 or 3 days before this meeting with the student took place.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us your recollection of the conversation at the meeting with Dr. Blossom and Mr. Huang?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, when I met him, Dr. Blossom told me that this student was very eager to return to China. I came into the office, just happened to come into the office, and the student was there.

The student was looking for me, I think, and the student told me he wanted to get back to China.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, just a moment. When you say he wanted to get back to China, are you distinguishing between the area occupied by the Communists and that occupied by the Nationalist Government?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, according to his testimony, he said he wanted to get back to North China. Now, I don't have any recollection of whether he said China in general, or North China. It probably was North China, because I don't think there would have been any question about him getting back to, you know, regular China.

So, I don't recollect that, but I assume that that is what he said, because it could have been easy to get back to China itself, you see.

Mr. NITTLE. He told you he wanted to get back to North China; is that your recollection?

Miss RUSSELL. No; that is not my recollection, but I think that this is probably what he said. I deduced that, because he could have easily gotten back to regular China, to the rest of China.

There wouldn't have been any question, so I deduced that that was that, but I do not recollect. I very faintly recollect my conversation with him. It was 15 years ago.

Mr. NITTLE. Why would he want to consult you about returning to Nationalist China from whence he came?

Miss RUSSELL. He wouldn't, so I say I deduced that. I do not remember him saying specifically he wanted to get back to North China.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it clear to you, Miss Russell, that what Mr. Huang desired to do was to obtain assistance in getting to Red China?

Miss RUSSELL. I say I deduct that from what he said. I don't say I am remembering that. He may have said that. I am not denying it, but I just don't recollect that. I was so briefly with him, and it completely passed out of my mind until I saw your testimony.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you offer him any advice as to the means by which he might get to Red China?

Miss RUSSELL. I said I had no connections whatever that would help him to return to China—I am pretty sure I said this—but that if he went to Hong Kong, there are many newspapers there, and from them, he could get information about travel into China.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huang testified that you referred him to a specific newspaper.—

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE.—in Hong Kong, not to any newspaper but to a specific newspaper, and he stated that you mentioned particularly the *Hua Shang Pao*, which translated means the *Chinese Commercial Daily*. Isn't that right?

Miss RUSSELL. That is right, Chinese business or Chinese commercial reporter.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, did you specifically refer him to the *Chinese Commercial Daily* in Hong Kong?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't think I did, because I did not know Hong Kong newspapers. I had not been in Hong Kong but very briefly. I knew the newspapers on the mainland. I don't think that I did, but I can't swear that I did, because I don't recollect. I don't think I knew that newspaper.

Mr. NITTLE. During the past 10 years, how many times have you been in Hong Kong?

Miss RUSSELL. No times.

Mr. NITTLE. I thought you stated that you had been in Hong Kong briefly at one time?

Miss RUSSELL. I was in Hong Kong in 1938, briefly.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huang testified that he obtained passage to Hong Kong, went to the address of the *Chinese Commercial Daily*, and then discussed his desire to go to Red China with an individual named Fan Chien-ya, who after some delay arranged passage for Mr. Huang by vessel to Tientsin in North China, then under the domination of the Communist revolutionaries.

Did you know Fan Chien-ya?

Miss RUSSELL. Never heard of him. Didn't know him.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know any person connected with the *Chinese Commercial Daily*—

Miss RUSSELL. No; I did not.

Mr. NITTLE.—who would give Mr. Huang assistance in getting to Chinese Communist territory?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Is this newspaper still being published in Hong Kong?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't know. I don't know the Hong Kong papers. You see, I was in China. I read the Chinese papers, because places where I was, there were no English papers. In Hong Kong, there were English papers, so I didn't need to read the Chinese papers.

I wasn't acquainted with Chinese papers in Hong Kong. I was on the Mainland, because there I had to depend upon them for the news.

Mr. NITTLE. Now you have, however, visited China over an extended period of time.

Miss RUSSELL. I was there 26 years.

Mr. NITTLE. And, you were last there in the year 1959, were you not?

Miss RUSSELL. I was.

Mr. NITTLE. During your visits to China, did you receive information from any person there with respect to the *Chinese Commercial Daily*?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you assisted any other individuals besides Chi-chou Huang in getting to Communist China?

Mr. REIN. I object. She hasn't said that she assisted anybody. I think it is unfair to put a question which assumes something which she hasn't testified to, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. You did, did you not, Miss Russell, advise Mr. Huang to contact the *Chinese Commercial Daily* in Hong Kong?

Miss RUSSELL. I told him that if he went to Hong Kong, he could get information, and probably from newspapers.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, did you give such advice to any other person besides Chi-chou Huang?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us in what way Dr. Blossom acquired knowledge or information of your possible status as an American contact for what I might call the Chinese Communist underground?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. I am going to take the fifth amendment on that.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Do you take the fifth amendment with respect to the self-incrimination clause, because you believe that a truthful answer to that question might incriminate you?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, will counsel repeat that question concerning Dr. Blossom? I couldn't quite hear it.

Mr. NITTLE. I am sorry, Mr. Johansen. May I ask the reporter to read it, so that it will be given to you exactly?

Mr. DOYLE. And, will the reporter also read the answer that the witness gave?

(The reporter read the question and answer as requested.)

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, I will change my testimony. I don't think Mr. Blossom could have any such information, because I was not a contact.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You were not a contact with whom or for whom?

Miss RUSSELL. On the implications of his question.

Mr. REIN. With the Communist underground in China, as is his statement.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I am not asking counsel. I am asking the witness.

Miss RUSSELL. Would you repeat the question, then, please?

(The reporter read the question of counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. What is your answer?

Miss RUSSELL. What is the question, again? I have lost it.

(The reporter read the question as follows: "You were not a contact with whom or for whom?")

Miss RUSSELL. I was not a contact, to quote that, of Communist underground.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Thank you, I just wanted to clarify the answer in relation to the earlier question.

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I might suggest that it is hard to hear up here. It may be that the fan of the air conditioner or whatever it is makes a continuous noise here, and we can't hear very well up here.

Therefore, if you could speak a little louder, I would appreciate it.

Mr. NITTLE. You state that Dr. Blossom could not have that knowledge, because you did not tell him. Is that right?

Miss RUSSELL. Because I did not have that contact.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have contacts of any kind in Hong Kong?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I do not.

Mr. NITTLE. That is to say, with persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. I do not.

Mr. NITTLE. You have contacts in the United States with persons known to you to have contacts with Chinese Communists?

Miss RUSSELL. I will take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, you have lectured extensively in this country on the subject of Communist China. You have been doing this for years.

The committee has prepared a memo summarizing some, but not all, of your speaking itinerary during the past 2 years or so. I hand you a copy of the itinerary, marked for identification as Russell Exhibit No. 2, which reads as follows:

ITINERARY OF MAUD RUSSELL (Russell Exhibit No. 2)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, February 20, 1961, page 11:

"Far East Reporter presents 1960 film of Prime Minister Chou En-Lai Interview in Peking with Felix Greene, Brit. corres. Also, colored slides taken in '59 & '60 by Maud Russell and friends. Sun. Feb. 26, 7:30 P.M. Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Ave. [14th St.] Adm. \$1.25." [New York City]

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, April 17, 1961, page 11:

"Maud Russell Chicago Area Speaking dates—May 27 to June 12. Make arrangements with Dorothy Hayes, 1376 E. 53rd St. Phone Plaza 2-2949, evenings."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, August 7, 1961, page 7:

"Maud Russell annual speaking tour. Seattle and Washington dates Sept. 1-14. Arrange with Marion Kinney, 210-29th E. Phone: East 4-8904."

PEOPLE'S WORLD, August 26, 1961, page 11:

In the "What's On" column, under the heading, SEATTLE:

"'People's China Today'—Maud Russell, YWCA worker in China for 26 years; publisher Far East Reporter. Recent visitor to New China. Sat., Sept. 9, Masonic Temple, Harvard Ave. & E. Pine St. Film 7:30 P.M. Doors reopen at 8 for main program. Donation \$1.50; pensioners, students, 50c. Ausp. Wash. Cultural Co-op."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Sept. 4, 1961, page 7:

"Maud Russell's annual speaking tour, Northern Calif. area, Sept. 7 to Dec. 3rd. Write: Russell, c/o Thompson, 363 Lester St., Oakland. Phone GL 1-7745."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Sept. 25, 1961, page 11:

"Maud Russell annual speaking tour in Los Angeles area, Oct. 9-31. Make arrangements with Dr. J. C. Coleman, 5623 Cleon, N. Hollywood. Phone PO. 1-1728."

PEOPLE'S WORLD, October 14, 1961, page 3:

"Los Angeles—Maud Russell, world traveler and lecturer, will speak Saturday, Oct. 21, 8 p.m. at the Brown House, 2103 S. Harvard Blvd."

"She will speak on China, where she spent 26 years as a YWCA worker, leaving in 1947. She returned to China in 1959 for a three month visit."

The following concerning the above lecture appeared in the PEOPLE'S WORLD, Oct. 21, 1961, page 3 under the heading, "Russell Lecture Switched to Sunday.":

"Los Angeles—Latest movies on China, including a filmed interview of Premier Chou En Lai, will be shown by Maud Russell, editor of the Far East Reporter, at a meeting at 3 p.m. Sunday at the Brown House, 2103 S. Harvard Blvd."

"There will also be slides taken in 1960 and 1961, showing the Chinese people at work and at play. The Chou En Lai interview was obtained by Felix Greene, author of *Awakened China*," who put 12 questions before the Premier.

"Miss Russell's lecture was originally scheduled for Saturday night."

SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN, November 1961, p. 60 (published by the Methodist Federation for Social Action):

"Sept. 24 Maud Russell addressed our Oregon Chapter in Portland, on her impressions gained in her 10,000-mile trip in China."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, June 4, 1962, page 11:

"Philadelphia—Public invited—Hear Far East Reporter Maud Russell (who spent 26 years in China as YWCA representative) speak on 'People's China Today', Friday Eve. June 15, 8 P.M., Donation 50¢, Y.W.C.A., 1428 N. Broad St., Philadelphia. Auspices: 'Progressive Labor' Magazine."

PEOPLE'S WORLD, August 4, 1962, page 11: (San Francisco edition)

From the "What's On" column, with a Seattle dateline: "Maud Russell, Seattle area schedule Aug. 28-Sept. 9. Reservations for speaking through Marion Kinney, 210 East 29th Street, Seattle. Tel. EA. 4-8904" [The above information also appears in the PEOPLE'S WORLD, August 18, 1962, page 11].

PEOPLE'S WORLD, September 15, 1962, page 11 (San Francisco edition)

"Los Angeles—Maud Russell, Far East Reporter. Southern California dates: Friday, October 5th through Wednesday, October 31st. Please make speaking arrangements with Dr. J. C. Coleman, 5623 Cleon Avenue, North Hollywood. Phone PO 1-1728."

OPEN FORUM OF MARYLAND, undated leaflet, received, January 25, 1963:

". . . The Open Forum of Maryland invites you to something new . . . Explore 'THE NEW CHINA', via a fascinating color-slide lecture by MAUD RUSSELL, noted speaker on the Far East.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

"As a Y.W.C.A. worker, Miss Russell, a Californian, lived and traveled 26 years in China [1917-43]. Living in many major cities, she was close to student, labor and women's movements. Her fluent Chinese enabled her to learn about the Asian peoples' efforts to rid themselves of feudalism and colonialism. "For 3 months in 1959, she returned to travel some 10,000 miles through urban and rural China. Publishes the 'Far East Reporter'. Her color slides are from 1959-62 inclusive.

"Friday, Jan. 25, 8:30 P.M. [1963] at the College Club, 601 W. 40th St., Baltimore. "Bring the entire family for a delightful and enlightening evening. Hear first-hand facts about the new China from one who long knew the old, too. Ask questions and discuss.

"Admission \$1.00 Students 50¢."

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, would you please inform the committee if that is an accurate account of your itinerary?

Miss RUSSELL. It is an accurate account.

Mr. NITTLE. The public sources of information, some of which are listed in that itinerary, indicate that on all these occasions, you spoke on the subject of Red China. Is this not true?

Miss RUSSELL. 1961 and 1962. I think so. I think so.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it not also true, Miss Russell, that your talks promoted, praised, and supported the Red Chinese regime?

Miss RUSSELL. I was telling the facts about China as I saw them.

Mr. NITTLE. The question, Miss Russell, is whether or not your talks promoted, praised, and supported the Red Chinese regime.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. I was reporting the facts as I was reading them in the press, and as I knew them from China.

Mr. NITTLE. I say, and repeat the question, whether or not it isn't a fact that in your talks, you promoted, praised, and supported the

Red Chinese regime. Now, will you please answer that question, yes or no?

Miss RUSSELL. I reported the facts, and I thought the facts were good.

Mr. NITTLE. Whether these facts were good or not, you did promote, praise, and support the Red Chinese regime?

Miss RUSSELL. If people wanted to praise China on the basis of the facts I presented, O.K. I was presenting facts. I think the American people should have some facts about China.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Were those facts favorable to Red China?

Miss RUSSELL. They were favorable to China. That is true.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, I believe in your response you indicated that you were giving the facts as you allegedly derived them from certain public accounts?

Miss RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And, by that, are you referring to such newspapers as the *New York Times*?

Miss RUSSELL. *New York Times*, *New York Herald-Tribune*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and other papers that I read throughout the country, and some British publications, some Canadian publications.

I think practically every single fact I presented came from American or Canadian or European sources. Very good magazines on China, I will recommend to you. *Atlas*, *New Magazine*, the *National Observer*, I also use a great deal. These are facts from the American press, and I am very careful, because I want to show people that even in our American press there are sources of information about China.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you accurately reflect the newspaper accounts which appeared in those non-Communist publications?

Miss RUSSELL. These were facts that were presented in the paper, yes, and sometimes with very favorable comments by the paper itself.

But, these were facts that I get from our press that—

Mr. NITTLE. Do you mean to say, by what you have just said, that you reported only the favorable comments from the American press?

Miss RUSSELL. I reported the facts that I thought helped people understand the new China. Of course, the—

Mr. NITTLE. What did you do about the unfavorable comments in the American press?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not report those, except when I was reporting on criticisms within China of mistakes in China and failures in China.

Our press sometimes reported that; I reported that, too, to show that there is evaluation and criticism in China, too; and I often pointed out this: That many places where our press criticizes China, they have taken it directly from the Chinese press, which I also see every day of my life.

This is a very interesting fact, that these things that are against China, you know, they are not something souped up by some American correspondents, they are coming from the Chinese press, criticisms of China, failures in China, weakness in China. This is in our press.

Mr. NITTLE. Well now, what you have said, Miss Russell, is very interesting, and I would also like to state a matter which appears equally interesting.

According to the testimony of Anita Bell Schneider, a former undercover operative for the FBI, you told her that you received directions from Mao Tse-tung.

On June 27, 1955 she testified under oath before this committee that she served as an undercover operative for the FBI during the years 1951 to 1954, and that leaders of the Chinese Communist Party were reaching down into the California Communist Party and telling them what they should do.

Mrs. Schneider further stated that on the occasion of your speaking at the San Diego Peace Forum, she received information from you that Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist leader, had given you instructions that the best weapons to use against the Americans are their own publications, taken out of context.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Was Anita Bell Schneider telling the truth about that conversation with you which I have just related?

Miss RUSSELL. I was telling people, like the people who were arranging meetings—she arranged this peace meeting at the Unitarian Church there, and I was telling audiences: "Read the American press, because in the American press you do find facts."

Now, she distorted it there. I didn't need anybody in China to tell me to read the American press. She said that Mao Tse-tung told Miss Russell to read the *New York Times*. What a crazy thing! And you believe that. Silliness.

I was telling audience after audience: "Read the American press. There are facts there. Look for them, you can find them."

I didn't need anybody to tell me to read the *New York Times* or any American press.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you believe Anita Bell Schneider to be a member of the Communist Party when you had this discussion?

Miss RUSSELL. She was a peace worker. I had met her as a peace worker, and she arranged this meeting at the Unitarian Church.

Mr. NITTLE. You knew her as a peace worker?

Miss RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. But, did you also know her as an alleged member of the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not. I met her that one day, and that is the only time I saw her.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Now, Mr. Counsel, may we return to the question you asked her? I do not think she responded fully to your question.

Mr. NITTLE. I think that is correct, Mr. Johansen. I will be pleased to repeat it, and I thank you for calling that to my attention.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And, I direct attention particularly to the statement alleging that she said that these quotations should be taken out of context.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Now, I must repeat this question to you, so that we have a specific answer to the question. Did you, or did you not, tell Anita Bell Schneider at the San Diego Peace Forum that Mao Tse-tung had given you advice or instructions that the best weapons to use against Americans are their own publications, taken out of context?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did he make such a statement to you?

Miss RUSSELL. He did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you ever personally meet Mao Tse-tung?

Miss RUSSELL. I didn't meet him personally. I was at one big mass meeting where he was present. I have seen him personally, but I don't know him individually.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you ever have occasion to talk to Mao Tse-tung?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you present at any gathering or meeting at which Mao Tse-tung spoke?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I was not.

Mr. NITTLE. Well now, you said you saw him at some gathering. What kind of gathering did you mean?

Miss RUSSELL. It was a mass meeting, and he was somewhere in the audience.

Mr. NITTLE. I am going to return to the itinerary. Who paid your expenses in connection with each of these speaking engagements?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I—as I say, I am a publisher and public speaker, and every year, I make this tour, speaking. I get paid for speaking. That pays my traveling expenses.

I am a registered business woman in New York City, have my registration number, and this is my job. I go out speaking and I get paid for speaking. I also sell my literature.

Mr. DOYLE. May I inquire of the witness if Mao Tse-tung did not make that statement to you?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Did any other Chinese Communist leader make that statement to you, or substantially that statement?

Miss RUSSELL. No, absolutely not. I have got a good brain of my own, and I read the newspapers, and I did in China. I used to read the Chinese newspapers every day.

I early in high school got this habit of reading the newspapers, and it is very useful to me now. It is a long custom I have had.

Mr. DOYLE. I didn't quite hear you, whether or not you stated that you received periodicals from Communist China, which you also read.

Miss RUSSELL. Material comes in all the time. You can buy it in the stores. There are many magazines from China that come in, and I get quite a number of them, that is true. It is available to anybody.

Mr. DOYLE. I know that.

Miss RUSSELL. I don't get anything except what is available to the public, except I get private letters from people, you know, my friends that are in China, so that I keep in touch.

Mr. NITTLE. Do your lecture fees and the income from the sale of your periodicals cover all expenses involved in the course of your speaking itinerary?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I do about 24,000 or 25,000 miles a year, and the travel expense for that comes to about \$800, and the fees I get for speaking not only cover that but help me on the publication of my magazine, too, so that the income for the travel is from the speaking that I do throughout the country.

Mr. NITTLE. Who arranges the speaking engagements for you?

Miss RUSSELL. My subscribers in each area, as you have seen on this document No. 2 that you brought here. These are subscribers in the areas, and they arrange places. Where I have a one-night

stand, I arrange directly myself, but where I am going to be in a place for a period of time, the local subscribers arrange it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you write to or contact any persons known to you as Communists to arrange your speaking engagements?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. You will observe from Exhibit No. 2, the speaking itinerary which I handed you, that the advertisements and advices as to your lecture tour have been principally contained in the Communist west coast publication *People's World*, and the pro-Communist *National Guardian*, a publication described in this committee's *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* as "a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

In what way do these publications come into possession of knowledge of your speaking itinerary?

Miss RUSSELL. I put advertisements into them, pay for them as a business thing, count it as part of my travel expense.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you make payment of these advertisements to the *National Guardian* and *People's World*?

Miss RUSSELL. Regular advertising payments. I can show you the checks, if you would like to see them.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you place these advertisements in any non-Communist publications?

Miss RUSSELL. I didn't consider those Communist publications.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, whether you consider them to be such, or not, did you place your advertisements in other publications?

Miss RUSSELL. I didn't. Some of my local people put them in papers locally, but I didn't. The ones that I did were these.

Mr. NITTLE. You confined yourself exclusively to the *People's World* and *National Guardian*?

Miss RUSSELL. *National Guardian* and *People's World*, and I think that is all.

Mr. NITTLE. During your travels, where do you live?

Miss RUSSELL. I stay at motels, as I travel, and sometimes I stay with friends.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you spend most of your time in motels or most of your time with friends as you go on tour?

Miss RUSSELL. A good deal of time with friends.

Mr. NITTLE. Are any of these friends who put you up known to you as Communists?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't think there is a single one that is known to me as a Communist.

Mr. NITTLE. Dorothy Hayes, who arranged your Chicago area speaking dates between May 27 and June 12, 1961, was identified on August 3, 1955, as a member of the Communist party by a former FBI undercover operative in an executive session before this committee.

Do you know Dorothy Hayes as a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. I do not.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Dorothy Hayes?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, obviously I do.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known her?

Miss RUSSELL. Maybe 10 years. I am not quite sure.

Mr. NITTLE. Dr. J. C. Coleman, who arranged your Los Angeles area speaking dates between October 9 and October 31, 1962, was identified on January 15, 1952, as a member of the Communist Party by a former FBI operative in an executive session before this committee.

Did you know Dr. J. C. Coleman as a Communist Party member?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Dr. J. C. Coleman?

Miss RUSSELL. Obviously, I do.

Mr. NITTLE. And, how long have you known him?

Miss RUSSELL. Oh, maybe 6 years, 7 years.

Mr. NITTLE. On September 24, 1961, you addressed the Portland, Oregon, Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in a publication April 23, 1956, stated the following about it: "With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action * * *."

When you spoke at the meeting sponsored by that group in Portland, Oregon, did you understand that you were speaking under the sponsorship of a Communist-front organization?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at that time know that that organization had been so described—

Miss RUSSELL. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. —by the Senate subcommittee?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Miss Russell, I do not think that you will deny that you are the publisher of the *Far East Reporter*.

Miss RUSSELL. That is obvious, isn't it?

Mr. NITTLE. You have issued several copies of the *Far East Reporter*, and distributed them at your various lecture tours, but they all appear to be undated. Is there some explanation for that?

Miss RUSSELL. I think one of the reasons is that the material is valid whatever the date is. And, if you have something that is, say, written in 1955 that still has very valuable material, people are less likely to pick it up if it is dated, so I emphasize the fact that the material is the workable thing.

I get some criticisms from some of my subscribers for that, but that is my policy, has been my policy.

Mr. NITTLE. According to the *Far East Reporter*, you served on the staff of the Young Women's Christian Association in China for 26 years, from 1917 to 1943. Is that correct?

Miss RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Why did you leave the Chinese YWCA in 1943?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I went to the national board in China, the Chinese, and I said, "Look, I am getting to be around 50 years old, and that is too old to live in China."

You see, the responsible members in China of the YWCA, they get to be executive directors when they are about 28, and I was feeling I was getting too old for the China YWCA, because most of our staff with whom I worked were very young, and to have to go around with an old lady, I felt, was a little bit hard on them, so this was the main reason.

I went to the various committees of the China YWCA, and said, "I think I ought to go home, because I am getting too old for the China YWCA."

Mr. NITTLE. This was in the course of World War II, was it not?

Miss RUSSELL. This was in 1943.

Mr. NITTLE. And, at that time, there was considerable activity between the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists for control of the Chinese Mainland.

Is that right?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. What year did you say?

Mr. NITTLE. 1943.

Miss RUSSELL. 1943. There was a "united front."

Mr. NITTLE. I say this was in the course of World War II.

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, that is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And, during the period when there was a struggle for domination of the Chinese Mainland?

Miss RUSSELL. There was a "united front" between the Kuomintang and the Communists at that time.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, their struggle was at that time expressed by the "united front." There is no doubt in your mind that the Chinese Communists were seeking to dominate China in 1943, is there?

Will you answer that, Miss Russell?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, of course, they were attempting to overthrow the feudal regime of Chiang Kai-shek. There is no question about that. That is obvious.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Now, did you have some reason, other than the fact that you were 50 years old—

Mr. JOHANSEN. Before that question, if I might interrupt, Mr. Nittle, you used the term "united front" in relation to existing relationship between the two factions. What do you mean, or how would you define that term?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes. Earlier, in the early 1920's, there was a united front between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang Party—that is Chiang Kai-shek's party—then in 1936 or '37—I forget which year it was—you remember General Chiang Kai-shek was taken prisoner by his own troops, and as a solution of that, he was not executed, they worked out this united front between the Communists and his party, because at that time the enemy was Japan, and they worked out this united front, so that was in existence in 1943, the united front between the Nationalists and the Communist forces in China.¹

¹ Miss Russell's description of the Sian rebellion of December 1936 and events which followed it is not quite accurate. When Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Chinese Nationalist Government, was visiting those Nationalist troops which had been posted near Sian in northwest China to oppose the Chinese Communist troops concentrated in that area, a number of the Nationalist army commanders in the area arrested Chiang Kai-shek and demanded that he agree to end armed struggle against the Chinese Communists and establish a coalition of all groups to resist Japanese aggression. These army rebels, who had previously established contacts with the Chinese Communist forces they were assigned to oppose, then brought Chinese Communist leaders to Sian for conferences with Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang refused to make any concessions to obtain his release, though he expected to be executed for his refusal.

Although the Chinese Communists had decided to support the Sian insurrectionists, they reversed themselves when disapproval of the rebellion was expressed by the Soviet Union, which was then secretly conducting negotiations with the Nationalist Government in the hope of obtaining a Sino-Soviet nonaggression pact in the face of an increasingly aggressive Japan. Chiang Kai-shek was therefore released unharmed and continued to resist Chinese Communist appeals for a cessation of hostilities against them and for a "united front" of Communists and Nationalists against the Japanese. In defense of his position, Chiang has stated that while he opposed Japanese aggression he also felt the Chinese Communists were more interested in promoting communism in China than in resisting Japan.

The Sino-Soviet nonaggression pact and the so-called united front of Nationalists and Communists came into being only after the Japanese began all-out war against China in July of 1937. Despite this truce, however, the Chinese Communists continuously utilized their military operations in Japanese-occupied China to bring additional troops and extensive land areas of China under exclusively Communist control. The number of Chinese living under Communist rule grew from 2 million in 1937 to an alleged 95 million by the end of the war. In view of the growing conflict between Chinese Communists and Nationalists during this period, which involved many direct military clashes between the two forces, the wartime "united front" actually became a dead letter by 1941, when the USSR ceased providing military supplies to the Chinese Nationalist Government.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you, in fact, at that time recalled to the United States at the direction of any Communist Party functionary?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I certainly was not. It was my own initiative. I felt I was too old. I went to the various committees and asked if I could be released from the China YWCA to come home.

Mr. NITTLE. After your return to the United States, did you in 1945 participate in the formation of an organization entitled Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. You say that you did not?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1949. Committee files indicate that you, in fact, served as the executive director of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Did you not serve the organization in that capacity?

Miss RUSSELL. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not present at the original organization meeting of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Miss RUSSELL. As I recall, I was not. I had nothing to do with the beginning of it. They called me in later as the director.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to your being called in as executive director, did you not have knowledge of the fact that this organization was in formation?

Miss RUSSELL. I think the initiative was well started before I knew anything about it, as I recall. I think I was out of the city. What year was that?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. What was your answer? Have you answered the question?

Mr. REIN. I think she has.

Miss RUSSELL. I answered it; yes.

Mr. REIN. I think she said she was not involved in the early period.

Mr. NITTLE. Dr. Max Yergan, who admitted his own Communist affiliations, testified under oath before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that you attended the first meeting of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, which took place in 1945 at Frederick Field's home in furtherance of the directive from Eugene Dennis, a member of the National Secretariat of the Communist Party, given to Frederick Field to form this organization. Did you not attend the first meeting of the Committee—

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. —for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you deny the testimony of Dr. Yergan?

Miss RUSSELL. I deny it, yes.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. The Attorney General on April 22, 1953, petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board for the purpose of citing the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy as a Communist-front organization.

Is it not a fact that you were a major witness during those proceedings, and that you testified that organization was then defunct?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I think it should be a matter of record that subsequently, on May 9, 1955, the Subversive Activities Control

Board issued an Order of Dismissal because the respondent was, for the purposes of the Act, allegedly nonexistent prior to the institution of the proceedings. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy reportedly had dissolved on August 1, 1952.

As a result of this and other proceedings our committee chairman on January 9, 1963 introduced H.R. 955, amending the Internal Security Act, which would prevent a termination of proceedings before the Subversive Activities Board because of a previous dissolution or reorganization of an organization against which a proceeding had been brought.

Miss RUSSELL, was not the *Far East Reporter*, of which you are the publisher, created to fill the void which occurred when the *Far East Spotlight*, the official publication of the allegedly defunct Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, ceased its existence?

Miss RUSSELL. I would say, no. It was formed because my interest was China. My background was China—my interests. And I went on doing something that I was already engaged in, and I am now doing it as a complete individual. It has nothing to do with that former publication.

Mr. NITTLE. Are not the policies and the purposes of the *Far East Reporter* substantially the same as those of the *Far East Spotlight*, namely, to advance the cause of Chinese communism?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, I hand you a photostatic copy of a passport application filed in 1959, marked for identification as Russell Exhibit No. 3. If you will kindly look at that passport application, perhaps you will tell the committee whether it is not a true and correct reproduction of a passport application filed by you in 1959?

(Document marked "Russell Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on this.

Mr. DOYLE. What was your answer, witness?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on this. I avail myself of my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In that passport application, you indicated that you would visit Great Britain, Scandinavia, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, India, and Japan. Did you also visit Communist China—

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE.—in 1959—

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE.—on the passport issued pursuant to that application?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. I call your attention to Russell Exhibit No. 4, an issue of the *Far East Reporter*, in which an article appears entitled "What about Christians in China?—The YWCA," in which at pages 15 and 16, you are mentioned as a visitor to China in 1959.

You appear on page 16 in a photo with other Chinese National YWCA committee members and staff—a photo reportedly taken at Shanghai in June of 1959.

Did you, in fact, visit Communist China in 1959 as your *Far East Reporter* reports?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you not included in the photo at page 16?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

(Document marked "Russell Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Why did you not originally indicate on your application form that your intention was to visit Communist China?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. How did you enter Communist China?

Miss RUSSELL. I continue to take the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you make application to the State Department for permission to visit China?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Was your visit to Communist China contrary to the policy and regulations of the United States Government?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you make any prearrangements with either Communists in the United States or abroad for your entry into Communist China?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Were these arrangements made with Soviet Communists?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet any high-ranking Chinese Communist officials during your visit in 1959?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Before we proceed, may I ask Miss Russell this? In each instance that you say you take the fifth amendment, you are invoking the safeguards and your rights under the self-incrimination provision?

Miss RUSSELL. I avail myself—yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Do you actually believe and apprehend that if you were to respond to this series of questions regarding your visit to Red China that you would make yourself liable to criminal prosecution?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that question.

Mr. DOYLE. May we see that copy of the *Far East Reporter* in which Miss Russell's picture appears?

Mr. JOHANSEN. I think the witness has it.

Mr. REIN. No, we have returned it. No, I am sorry, it hasn't been returned.

Mr. NITTLE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. DOYLE. Let's proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, I now call your attention to a copy of the leaflet I just handed you, marked for identification as Russell Exhibit 5, which announces your appearance on January 25, 1963, at the College Club in Baltimore, Maryland, where you were to speak at The Open Forum of Maryland on the subject of "The New China," described as a "Fascinating Color-Slide Lecture by Maud Russell, Noted Speaker on the Far East."

You did, in fact, appear and speak on that occasion, did you not? (Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. I did, and one of your agents came, didn't pay the admission fee, and served a subpoena on me. I think you might have a little of moral examination of some of your methods. I did speak there. It said very clearly "Admission \$1.00."

Mr. NITTLE. He advises me that he did pay.

Miss RUSSELL. The people there told me that he did not pay.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, you were primarily interested in communicating information, were you not, rather than receiving fees?

Miss RUSSELL. That is correct. This was a side remark to let you know.

Mr. NITTLE. But, you did receive your fee for this engagement?

Miss RUSSELL. Certainly.

Mr. JOHANSEN. By whom were you paid?

Miss RUSSELL. The Open Forum of Maryland. It is a group that has regular open forums.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Thank you.

(Document marked "Russell Exhibit No. 5" follows:)

RUSSELL EXHIBIT No. 5

Look...

Listen...

Learn...

The Open Forum of Maryland

INVITES YOU TO SOMETHING NEW... EXPLORE

"THE NEW CHINA"

via a Fascinating COLOR-SLIDE LECTURE by

MAUD RUSSELL

NOTED SPEAKER on the FAR EAST

As a Y.W.C.A. worker, Miss Russell, a Californian, lived and traveled 26 years in China (1917-43). Living in many major cities, she was close to student, labor and women's movements. Her fluent Chinese enabled her to learn about the Asian peoples' efforts to rid themselves of feudalism and colonialism.

For 3 months in 1959, she returned to travel some 10,000 miles through urban and rural China. Publishes the "Far East Reporter". Her color slides are from 1959-1962, inclusive.

FRIDAY, JAN. 25 • 8:30 P.M. (1963)

at The College Club 601 W. 40th ST.
BALTIMORE

Bring the entire family for a delightful and enlightening evening. Hear first-hand facts about the new China from one who long knew the old, too. Ask questions and discuss.

ADMISSION \$1.00

STUDENTS - 50¢

Mr. NITTLE. Did your fees cover all expenses incurred by you in presenting this lecture?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, if you take cleaning your clothes and buying new clothes, and gasoline, and all that, and bulbs for your projector, and all that, maybe, maybe not.

Mr. NITTLE. You say, maybe yes and maybe not?

Miss RUSSELL. Maybe yes and maybe no. If you do cost accounting on the job, it probably would be no. But what you actually spent that day to ride down and come back, and keep your clothes clean, that might have covered it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you sell any books, pamphlets or newspapers at your lecture in Baltimore?

Miss RUSSELL. I sold my *Far East Reporter*.

Mr. NITTLE. In addition to that, you also sold the *National Guardian*, which has been previously mentioned?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Who sold it on the premises?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, the Open Forum may have had it for sale, but I did not. It was not on my table.

Mr. NITTLE. You are not anxious to dissociate yourself from the sale of the *National Guardian*, are you?

Miss RUSSELL. I certainly am not.

Mr. NITTLE. It advertises your lectures.

Miss RUSSELL. I pay for advertising.

Mr. NITTLE. And, promotes your speaking engagements, doesn't it?

Miss RUSSELL. It doesn't promote my speaking engagements. It does when I pay them for something.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, now, copies of the *National Guardian* were on the same table with your *Far East Reporter*?

Miss RUSSELL. That has nothing to do with me. The Forum had their material there also for sale. Including that, probably.

Mr. NITTLE. Did they ask your permission to sell the *National Guardian* along with the *Far East Reporter*?

Miss RUSSELL. No, not that I recall. It was their forum. It wasn't my forum. It was their's. They just employed me to come to it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did they receive the compensation for the sale of the *National Guardian*?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Did they receive the compensation for the sale of the *Far East Reporter*?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I got that.

Mr. NITTLE. To your knowledge, have any articles in the *Far East Reporter* been written by identified Communists or individuals affiliated with the Communist movement?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. REIN. I think, Mr. Chairman, if I may say, I think that is a very vague question, impossible for this witness to answer the question of somebody affiliated with the Communist movement. How would she know?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well, Mr. Chairman, the question was worded as whether to her knowledge. Now, that is entirely within her competence to answer.

Miss RUSSELL. Well, to my knowledge, the answer would be no.

Mr. NITTLE. Were any articles written for the *Far East Reporter* by identified Communists or by persons reported to you to be Communists?

Miss RUSSELL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, among those who have recently written articles for, or whose articles have been distributed by, the *Far East Reporter*, are the following:

Israel Epstein, who contributed an article to an issue of the *Far East Reporter* entitled, "China Facts For American Readers." Mr. Epstein's contribution to that issue was entitled, "Real Life as Contrasted with 'LIFE'," which was a critical comment of an item which appeared in *Life* magazine October 17, 1961, entitled, "Red China in Trouble." Mr. Epstein seeks to refute the account of *Life* magazine.

Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley, who was also known as Mrs. Israel Epstein, and has utilized the pseudonym Edith Cromwell, contributed an article entitled "A Look at the People's Communes," which presents an attractive picture of the Chinese Communist commune system inaugurated by Mao Tse-tung.

Anna Louise Strong, who contributed an article to the *Far East Reporter* entitled "The Letter *Life* Would Not Print." The letter is dated at Canton, China, February 28, 1959, and includes likewise a critical comment on the January 5, 1959, issue of *Life* magazine dealing with Chinese communes. Anna Louise Strong's article alleged that the *Life* account was slanted and in some cases faked.

I hand you copies of the *Far East Reporter* items to which I have referred, marked for identification respectively as Russell Exhibits Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

Mr. NITTLE. You do not deny that these articles were contributed by the aforementioned writers?

Miss RUSSELL. It is obvious.

(Documents marked "Russell Exhibits Nos. 6, 7, and 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, these writers, Israel Epstein, Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley, and Anna Louise Strong, were also contributors to publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which was an organization investigated in 1952 by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The Senate Committee reported that the Institute of Pacific Relations was controlled by official staff members who were either Communists or pro-Communist, that the Institute was utilized by the Communists as a vehicle to orient American Far Eastern policy toward Communist objectives, and that the American Communist Party and Soviet officials considered that organization "as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda and military intelligence."

The Senate committee sets forth the Communist affiliations of those writers for your publication, as follows:¹

EPSTEIN, ISRAEL, writer (exhibit 1334):

Identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses.

Collaborated with agents of the Soviet intelligence apparatus as shown by sworn testimony.

Made one or more trips to Communist territory.

¹ Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report No. 2050 on the Institute of Pacific Relations, July 2, 1952, pages 153 and 158.

Writer for official publications of the Communist Party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services.

Subject of action by agency of American government or a foreign non-Communist government on grounds involving loyalty or national security.

Out of the country or otherwise unavailable for subpoena.

Affiliated with: Allied Labor News (p. 662); Amerasia (exhibit 1355); Friends of Chinese Democracy (p. 622); China Aid Council (p. 1513); Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (p. 2789).

FAIRFAX-CHOLMELEY, ELSIE (Mrs. Israel Epstein) (pseudonym: Edith Cromwell) (p. 50) writer: assistant to secretary-general (exhibit 801):

Subject of action by agency of American Government or a foreign non-Communist government on grounds involving loyalty or national security.

Out of the country or otherwise unavailable for subpoena.

Affiliated with Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (p. 2789).

STRONG, ANNA LOUISE, writer (exhibit 1334):

Identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses.

Collaborated with agents of the Soviet Intelligence apparatus as shown by sworn testimony.

Made one or more trips to Communist territory.

Writer for official publications of the Communist Party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services.

Affiliated with: Amerasia (exhibit 1355); Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (p. 56).

(At this point Mr. Ashbrook left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know these persons as Communists when you were associated with them on the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know these persons as Communists at the time their contributions were accepted by you for publishing in the *Far East Reporter*?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Had you known, Miss Russell, that they were affiliated with the Communist Party and that they had been identified as participating in or being connected with Soviet intelligence, would that have affected your decision to accept or not accept their material for your publication?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. I don't know. It would depend on the particular case, I should think, what they were publishing. If it was facts, I don't question what people's background is, if it seems to me facts to help enlighten the American people about the subjects I write about.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You would then consider it irrelevant that they, by having connection with Soviet intelligence, were engaged in, or preparing to be engaged in, espionage for the Soviet Government? That would have no relevancy? Is that your answer?

Miss RUSSELL. If they were writing facts that I considered valuable for the American people to know about China, I would publish material.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Regardless of this knowledge?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't question about people's other relationships. I examine things on whether it helps people understand what is happening on the particular subject on which I am writing.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. May I inquire at this point, then, Miss Russell, when you say, "If they were publishing facts," I assume that you mean that if they were publishing facts known to you to be facts?

Miss RUSSELL. What I considered facts, yes. What I considered helping the American people better understand the Far East.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, did you check these articles as to whether or not they were factual?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, what I publish, I think, are facts that help the American people understand what is happening in the Far East. That is my objective, and if I think this material is that.

Mr. DOYLE. I didn't make my question clear. As to these articles, that you published, three or four written by these folks—did you know to your own personal knowledge whether these facts which they alleged, were facts or not, or did you assume that these were facts and published them?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, first you asked me a theoretical question. Now you are asking me a concrete question, so you have mixed it up.

First, his question was a theoretical question, which you followed. Now you say, "What you did publish," so you have mixed it up.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, answer the question that had some concrete in it. That part of the question.

Miss RUSSELL. I published what I thought were the facts on China. That is what I published. What seemed to me to be illuminating facts on China.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Bruce.

Mr. BRUCE. Now, as I understand your testimony, you publish what you believe are only facts on China. Is that correct?

Miss RUSSELL. On the Far East. Not only China.

Mr. BRUCE. Well, on the Far East, all right.

In the *Far East Reporter*, you state as a fact, that the YWCA was liberated by the Chinese Communists?

Miss RUSSELL. I think that was in an article by the YWCA leader from Canada, wasn't it?

Mr. BRUCE. Is this a fact?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, I think I considered that a very good article on her reporting. Now, some of the things—

Mr. BRUCE. Is this the fact?

Miss RUSSELL. That is true.

Mr. BRUCE. You state as a fact that the YWCA was liberated by the Chinese Communists in China?

Miss RUSSELL. I wouldn't say liberated by the Chinese Communists. Is that what it says there?

Mr. BRUCE. Yes.

Miss RUSSELL. O.K., then, that is what they told her.

Mr. BRUCE. You then hold it as a fact that the church in China was liberated by the—

Miss RUSSELL. I should say what I saw of the church in China, and of the YWCA and of the YMCA, that they are very much more free than they ever were before to carry out their purposes, and in that sense they are liberated.

Mr. BRUCE. And, have you published the pictures of priests and clergymen who have come out of China in an emaciated condition, or aren't these facts?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I haven't. Some of them may and some of them may not be. I know of some cases where they are not. I can tell you one case.

One of my friends came from West China with a Roman Catholic priest who had been under house arrest, or under arrest, and he was then freed. When we travel in China, we take great big baskets with nets on top, and we carry our own bedding rolls.

When they got to Hong Kong, that priest got off that train carrying the basket and that bedding roll over his shoulder. Then, when he crossed over the line, he posed—and this picture is in the Hong Kong press—as though he were a poor, weak thing, and that picture was used to raise money for that mission.

Now, that is an absolute case.

Now, a good deal of the things that get published, I do have a question about.

Mr. BRUCE. You believe that the statement in this undated issue—so I can't tell you the date—that the Christian church in China is now keeping its theology pure, and has been purified since the Chinese Communist government has literally taken over, is a fact?

Miss RUSSELL. This is a statement that the Chinese church makes over and over, and as I saw it, I saw their publications, I read their publications, I read what the church here tells about their publications, and I would say that to my way of thinking, they are more strictly theological than they were before.

That is certainly true of the YWCA.

Mr. BRUCE. They have been purified, in other words?

Miss RUSSELL. And they publish church magazines, they have their evangelistic campaigns, but nowadays with the Communists, they carry on their work, and I would say that the YWCA and the church in China are freer today than they were before.¹

I would say that as a fact.

Mr. BRUCE. Do you think they have been liberated?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't think you can say the Chinese Communists liberated it. The situation in China has changed, and they are now freer to express themselves and to carry out their purposes, and are very evangelistic.

This is the thing that quite surprises me. The emphasis is on that. I was really, really surprised.

¹The issue of Maud Russell's *Far East Reporter*, under discussion here, contained a "report" on an alleged improvement in the status of the YWCA and the Christian church under the Chinese Communists, prepared by a Canadian social worker who spent 10 days in Red China in 1960. The Canadian writer, who was also described as having held various assignments on the YWCA staff and board in Canada, repeated what she was told by various individuals in Red China. The Red Chinese propaganda quoted in the Canadian's report included the following statement which shows in what sense the Red Chinese regime considers itself the "liberator" of the YWCA and Christian churches in China:

"... Christianity was introduced to China by foreigners; now, since Liberation, the YWCA and the Christian Church are really our people's, not managed or controlled by outsiders. It was a liberation for the YWCA as well as for the nation."

In an addendum to the same issue of the *Far East Reporter*, Maud Russell wrote that the Canadian visitor's account "substantiates Miss Russell's report of the YWCA of China as a going, energetic, patriotic and constructive participant in the building of the new China * * *." Miss Russell at the same time acknowledged that the "program work" of the YWCA in Communist China "centers on helping women understand and gear into the new society."

Testimony received by the committee from non-Communist refugees and defectors from Red China has described the combination of brainwashing and physical violence employed by the Chinese Communist government to eventually eradicate any sign of religious devotion or organization on the mainland. This campaign, insofar as Christian churches are concerned, began in 1950 with the Communist demand that the Christians sever all foreign contacts, purge themselves of "imperialist" American influences, and support government policy. The few Christian churches allowed to continue operations have been described as "propaganda" churches, controlled by the Communist regime and serving as instruments for advancing Communist ideology as well as the Communist program in economics and politics.

See *How the Chinese Reds Hoodwink Visiting Foreigners*, testimony by Robert Loh, April 21, 1960; and *Communist Persecution of Churches in Red China and Northern Korea*, testimony by four Chinese Protestant ministers on March 29, 1959. The persecution of religion is also detailed in a number of books written by Christian clergymen of various denominations who have lived under Red Chinese rule.

Mr. BRUCE. I have just read the article while you were talking. I am not impressed with their "evangelism."

Miss RUSSELL. That is right. They do.

Mr. DOYLE. Proceed, Counsel, please.

Mr. NITTLE. While you were in China during the period 1917 to 1943, did you have contact with Christian missionaries in China?

Miss RUSSELL. Oh yes, certainly.

Mr. NITTLE. Missionaries who were both in the zones occupied by Communists and the Nationalists?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, you see, most of the time, you didn't have the different areas of China until late in the 1940's. You had occupied China, where the Japanese were; you had free China, where the Chiang Kai-shek's were; and you had what we called the liberated areas, where the coalition of the Communists and the Kuomintang and the nonpolitical parties were, so you had three areas, and I was in free China during that time—Chiang Kai-shek's area.¹

Now, communication went back and forth all the time. Letters went back and forth, so in that sense, you were in communication with those other areas.

This was one of the amazing things, the way mail went back and forth, even to the liberated areas.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you ever communicate any information obtained through your discussions with Christian missionaries to representatives of the Communist Party in the United States?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I never did.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you ever communicate that information to Communist representatives or agents in China?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I did not.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. The Chinese knew far more about those things than I did.

Mr. NITTLE. The *Far East Reporter* has published a pamphlet entitled *The Real Tibet*, written by Susan Warren, which was disseminated and sold at your recent Baltimore lecture.

I hand you a copy of that issue marked for identification as Russell Exhibit No. 9.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Susan Warren?

Miss RUSSELL. I will take the fifth amendment on that.

(Document marked "Russell Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

¹ Actually, Chinese Communist guerrillas have seized and maintained control over various territories of China ever since 1927—the year the civil war between the Communists and Nationalists began. Before Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Army forced them to retreat into a far northwest Chinese province in 1934-35, Chinese Communists controlled more than 300,000 square miles of territory in south-central China.

Japanese incursions into Chinese territory beginning in 1931-32 resulted in Japanese control of all of Manchuria in addition to certain territory in north China. After Japan's assumption of all-out war against China in 1937, much of eastern China was occupied by the Japanese.

In order to obtain Chiang Kai-shek's approval of a "united front" action with Communists against the Japanese in 1937, the Chinese Communists, among other things, agreed to abolish the Soviet Chinese government in northwest China and introduce a government based upon democratic forms.

However, the so-called "democracy" which replaced the Soviet government in northwest China and in other areas to which Communists extended their control in the course of "fighting" the Japanese after 1937 provided no opportunity for non-Communist political activity, and Communist dictatorship was essentially unchaned.

The Communists' effort to give the impression that their regimes were "people's governments" with a democratic majority was aided by their subsequent adoption of a "one in three" rule.

Communist organizations were to limit themselves to 1/3 of the seats in representative bodies, thus permitting 1/3 to go to Nationalist representatives and another third to "nonparty" people. However, the "Nationalists" in Communist territory were a "sham party" willing to accept instructions from the Communists, as were many of the "nonparty" leaders. (See David J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia and the Far East*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948.)

Mr. DOYLE. Who is Susan Warren, Counsel?

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, according to committee records, Susan Warren was a delegate to the New York State Convention of the Communist Political Association in August 1945.

Our records further show that Susan Warren taught at the Jefferson School of Social Science from approximately 1948 until the winter term of 1956.

The *Subversive Activities Control Board Docket No. 107-53, Report and Order of June 30, 1955*, characterized the Jefferson School of Social Science as follows:

The Jefferson School * * * operates, primarily, to train its students, almost all of whom are Party members or potential recruits, in the Party's programs, strategy, and tactics * * *. Under rigid Party control, it is utilized as the Communist Party's principal training ground for effective membership and leadership therein. * * *

The Jefferson School of Social Science was subsequently dissolved because of the proceedings brought against it by the Subversive Activities Control Board, which declared that school to be a Communist front organization, and required to register as such.

After the closing of the Jefferson School of Social Science, Susan Warren lectured at the Marxist Forums which were initiated by the Communist Party to fill the Marxist training gap created by the closing of the Jefferson School.

Later, Susan Warren joined the teaching staff of the Faculty of Social Science, which was established in the fall of 1958 as a successor to the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well, Mr. Chairman, I want to make an observation, and I want the witness to understand, and the record to clearly show, that I don't in the remotest way question the witness' right to invoke the fifth amendment, but it strikes me as strange that when it comes to publishing materials allegedly stating facts which involve the Communist regime in China, the witness testifies that she has no interest in other activities or associations of the authors of such articles, and it is amazing to me that there is apparently some basis of interest in other activities and associations of persons such as this name that has just been mentioned, as evidenced by the invocation by the witness of the fifth amendment.

Mr. DOYLE. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Susan Warren to be a Communist?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of a pamphlet marked for identification as Russell Exhibit No. 10, entitled *India and China—a Contrast*, written by Helen Travis, who is also known as Helen Levi Simon. Did you not likewise cause this pamphlet to be sold and disseminated at your Baltimore lecture on January 25, 1963?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, I did.

(Document marked "Russell Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Helen Travis?

Miss RUSSELL. I have met her.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Helen Travis?

Miss RUSSELL. Maybe a little over a year, 2 years.

Mr. NITTLE. On August 4, 1955, Milton Joseph Santwire, former undercover operative for the FBI, who attended many closed Communist Party meetings with Helen Travis, identified her as a Communist Party member before this committee.

Helen Travis, in fact, had been formerly employed by the Communist *Daily Worker*, writing under the name of Maxine Levi.

A report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, issued in 1950, which related certain facts in connection with the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico on August 20, 1940, ordered by his political rival, Josef Stalin, noted that Helen Travis, under the name of Helen Levi Simon, transferred \$3,700 to one D. Enrique de los Rios, a "money drop" in Mexico City, to finance the release of Jacques Mor-nard Vandendreschd, who was charged with the murder of Leon Trotsky.

Helen Travis was also identified in hearings before the committee on November 14, 1962, as the secretary of the Los Angeles branch of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, which was the subject of our initial investigation in relation to proposed amendments to the Foreign Agent Registration Act. We are continuing our hearings today for the same purpose.

Now, do you know Helen Travis as a Communist Party member?

Miss RUSSELL. I do not.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. I note in your passport application previously referred to as Exhibit No. 3, you did not answer the questions contained in the application, namely, "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?", and, "Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

Why did you not respond to those questions?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. On June 27, —

Mr. DOYLE. May I interrupt, please? May I ask, Miss Russell, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, witness?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. I didn't hear you. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you filed this 1959 passport application?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. On March 19, 1958, Armando Penha, a former FBI undercover operative, testified under oath before this committee that you were on the national level of the Communist Party. Will you please deny or affirm this statement made by Armando Penha?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, it is true, is it not, that you have been lecturing in this country on the Communist revolutionaries in China and on the Chinese Communist regime since the end of World War II?

Miss RUSSELL. I have been lecturing on China. People's Republic of China.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Would you repeat that question, Mr. Nittle?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Miss Russell, is it not true that you have been lecturing in this country on the Communist revolutionaries in China and on the Chinese Communist regime since the end of World War II?

Mr. JOHANSEN. And what was the witness' answer?

Miss RUSSELL. I say, I have been talking about China, yes. The People's Republic of China.

Mr. JOHANSEN. That is the Communist regime?

Miss RUSSELL. Which is under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, that is true. This is the current China, the People's Republic of China. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. JOHANSEN. So, you have been lecturing about the Communist regime?

Miss RUSSELL. I have been lecturing about China. There are many elements of China that are not included in that particular question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Of course, there are other elements not included, but what you have been lecturing about does include the Communist regime?

Miss RUSSELL. I have been talking about the current China, which we all know is the People's Republic of China, which is led by the Chinese Communist Party. That is obvious.

Mr. JOHANSEN. So among other matters, the answer is yes, that you have lectured regarding the Communist regime in China.

Miss RUSSELL. I have given my answer.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it not also true, Miss Russell, that you have, both prior to the Communist seizure of power and since its seizure in 1949, consistently defended, praised, and promoted the Communist government of China, and distributed propaganda material favorable to it? (Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. NITTLE. Would the reporter kindly read that question back?

(The reporter read the question.)

Miss RUSSELL. I certainly have reported on what has been happening in China, the people's struggle, and, of course, that includes what is the people's China becoming a part of the Socialist world.

Of course, my material speaks for itself. That is what I am reporting about, present China.

Mr. NITTLE. I have before me, marked Exhibit 11, a letter to the editor, published on the editorial page of the *Daily Californian*, which reports the substance of one of your lectures attended by the authors of the letter. Among the remarks made in the letter the following appears:

Finally, we were treated to a few pearls of prognostication from Miss Russell's obviously as yet crude and untutored oyster bed. Taiwan, she said, should be left to itself—until, that is, it falls "like a ripe peach" into the waiting hands of the patient People's Republic. Red China needs the atom bomb, it appears, strictly for its own protection, particularly against "certain reactionary elements" in India, who have gone to the warmongering excess of dragging Chinese troops across the Himalayas onto Indian soil. However, all of these events of world scope actually affect the confidence of the Chinese people very little, because the wonderful and desirable process of "brainwashing" has wiped out all traces of fear and insecurity in their minds; they are no longer harassed, as we are in our decadent democracy.

Miss RUSSELL. What is the date of that?

Mr. NITTLE. December 2, 1960.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the *Daily Californian*?

Miss RUSSELL. It is the student publication on the campus in the State of California.

Mr. DOYLE. I know it is. I want the record to show.

Miss RUSSELL. I absolutely deny that. I never said those things, and anyhow, in 1960, who was talking about the Himalayas and India? I mean, on the surface of it, it is a phony. They must be quoting somebody else, because I did not say those things.

(Document marked "Russell Exhibit No. 11" appears on following page.)

Mr. NITTLE. Why are you amazed that that should be mentioned in 1960?

Miss RUSSELL. Because the question of India and the Himalayas wasn't up then, as that indicates.

Mr. NITTLE. When was it up?

Miss RUSSELL. It is up this last year, 1962.

Mr. NITTLE. But, were there not border wars?

Miss RUSSELL. No, there were not border wars. There were some patrol clashes at that time, but this, they must have been quoting somebody else, because I did not say those things.

It is not in my kind of presentation.¹

Mr. DOYLE. How is that letter identified as reporting Miss Russell? To what extent does the letter identify our witness?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not say those things. I don't talk that way.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand a copy of that letter to you, Mr. Chairman, and I think you will see it reflects the writer's attendance at a lecture or lectures given by Miss Russell.

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I did lecture on the campus of the University of California, and I have said—quoting that—Taiwan will fall like a ripe peach, from the *New York Times*. I was quoting that from the *New York Times*, but I did not add that other that they said, and I didn't talk about pearls, or anything like that.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, you have an article against India, haven't you?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I have not.

Mr. NITTLE. You have an article in the *Far East Reporter*, which is—

Miss RUSSELL. This is not against India. This is a presentation of facts. You will note—

Mr. NITTLE. In Miss Travis' article, she was—

Miss RUSSELL. She was comparing conditions in India and China, and you have only to read the *Christian Science Monitor* today to find even worse characterization of the situation in India. She was characterizing that.

¹ Armed conflict between Indian and Chinese Communist forces in disputed border areas broke out in the fall of 1959 and again in the summer and fall of 1961. It was renewed in the fall of 1962.

In response to Indian protests against Chinese Communist occupation of border territory which India claimed as its own, Chinese Communist Premier Chou En-lai informed the Indian Government on September 8, 1959, that his government claimed approximately 40,000 square miles of territory also claimed by the Indians. In September 1959, Chinese Communist troops crossed the McMahon Line, which India recognizes as its border with Communist Tibet and Communist China, and captured the Indian outpost of Longju. In October 1959, Chinese Communists captured 10 Indians and killed 9 others in a border clash in the Kashmiri state of Ladakh. The Chinese Communists blamed both clashes on "provocations" by the Indians.

The authors of the letter in the *Daily Californian* of December 2, 1960, were obviously making a satirical reference to these events when they stated the Indians "have gone to the warmongering excess of dragging Chinese troops across the Himalayas onto Indian soil."

RUSSELL EXHIBIT No. 11

[Daily Californian, December 2, 1960]

Daily Californian

DEC - 2 1960

EDITORIAL PAGE

Editorials reflect the Daily Californian's views and make no claim to represent student or University opinion

One Man's Opinion

Miss Maud Russell had a pin stuck into her neck in the People's Republic of China in 1959 and hasn't been quite the same since. The pin-sticking is part of the "acu-puncture" treatment for Arthritis which, according to Miss Russell, is one of the greatest advances in Red China since brainwashing -

In Miss Russell's Tuesday-night speech describing her State Department-condemned inspection tour of Potemkin villages and model communes, we were brought to wonder how she could ever have gathered her 109-odd slides up and forced herself to leave that land of unalloyed promise and opportunity, and return to our dismal "parasite-infested" (as she put it) capitalistic desert. To a rather esoteric and receptive audience at the State Forum, Miss Russell expounded a line which hardly seemed to differ from that of the Communists themselves.

Bringing us a picture of Communist China replete with tremendous red-flagged parades and drawing to a close with a bigger-than-life-size image of Comrade Mao, Miss Russell told us, among other things, how the Chinese people really detest American policy but actually love the American people. The Chinese people, according to Miss Russell, do not identify American foreign policy with the desires of the Americans themselves, a judgment reasonable from the production of their own experience—and the common experience of millions of other people in what Miss Russell blithely called the "Eastern Democracies."

We were told of the 7,500,000 peasants who "volunteered" to work without wages to build a reservoir outside of Peking. But it is well known that "voluntary" labor is easy to find in Communist dictatorships, especially since those who do not volunteer lose their lodgings, ration cards, and

jobs, and are branded as reactionary parasites.

We were told of the overwhelming success of the backyard blast furnaces, part of an "earn, learn, improve" program in which each commune was charged with making its own steel. Children were pictured building toy blast-furnaces. Blast-furnaces were painted on walls as blast-furnaces were the sign of a commune's status. But the blast furnace program is, according to official Chinese sources, a miserable failure; one in which the labor of 50 million peasants has been wasted.

We were told of the incredible amount of leisure time available to Chinese workers, who are able to dally away whole days in phantasmagoric parks "liberated" from capitalist parasites. And yet, according to The Reporter, a commune worker has "... a working day of 14 to 16 hours—and not less than 22 working days a month."

We were told of the complex systems set up to transport workers to their factory jobs, and the efficient nurseries established to care for the children of working mothers. But Miss Russell added (perhaps inadvertently) that the children in the nurseries often come home to their working parents' homes only once a week.

We were told that "all food is under the control of the Central Ministry of Finance," thereby minimizing local shortages and oversupplies. But it was only hinted that this food was made available to commune workers only in mess halls, in which entire families were fed, thus freeing the otherwise domesticated Chinese farm women for labor in the fields. Incidentally, the mess halls pictured by Miss Russell appeared so overcrowded and decrepit that, should a Campus Commons be erected along similar lines, State would surely have yet another issue to protest.

Finally, we were treated to a

few pearls of prognostication from Miss Russell's obviously as yet crude and untutored oyster bed. Taiwan, she said, should be left to itself—until, that is, it falls "like a ripe peach" into the waiting hands of the patient People's Republic. Red China needs the atom bomb. It appears, strictly for its own protection, particularly against "certain reactionary elements" in India, who have gone to the warmongering excess of dragging Chinese troops across the Himalayas onto Indian soil. However, all of these events of world scope actually affect the confidence of the Chinese people very little, because the wonderful and desirable process of "brainwashing" has wiped out all traces of fear and insecurity in their minds; they are no longer harassed, as we are, in our decadent democracy.

We are doing no more, here, than asking: Just whom does Miss Russell think she is fooling? Surely, in this country, Maud Russell resembles nothing so much as that mother, who watching parades, observed that everybody was out of step but her son. Miss Russell was a missionary in China for 28 years; could it be that her overzealous enthusiasm for the People's Republic can be attributed to a desire to be allowed to return and continue her work?

—Jeffrey Fray,
grad. E.E.
—Vladislav Bevç,
grad. E.E.

Mr. NITTLE. What did she say about that?

Mr. DOYLE. This letter certainly identifies you.

Miss RUSSELL. Well, that is surprising to me, because I did not say those things.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, it shows, doesn't it, that maybe some of your writeups that you copy from other papers are not accurately reported?

Miss RUSSELL. I didn't say those things. I didn't report those things. They must have added a lot, you know. I was on the campus talking, and the person there reporting has added his own——

Mr. DOYLE. This is a letter, you see, and it says here, "Editorial Page" of the *Daily Californian*.

Miss RUSSELL. That is all right, but I disclaim it completely.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well, now, Mr. Chairman, if I may interrupt, you say now that you disclaim it completely. I thought I understood you to say a moment ago that you did use this phrase regarding Taiwan falling "like a ripe peach."

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, that is right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And you said it in this speech, and it was one of the——

Miss RUSSELL. I don't know if I said it in that.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And it was one of these factual statements from the *New York Times*?

Miss RUSSELL. An observation from the *New York Times*.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Pardon?

Miss RUSSELL. An observation from the *New York Times*. This was some maybe 5 or 6 years ago that this was in the *New York Times*.

Mr. JOHANSEN. But that much that is referred to here you do not disclaim?

Miss RUSSELL. I said that in my talking, I do say that. Now whether I said it there, I don't know. I don't know; I may have. Now that I say. I do say that, but I am quoting from the *Times*.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Bruce?

Mr. BRUCE. Have you ever taken the approach that what you referred to as the "People's Republic of China" needs the atom bomb as a matter of self-defense?

Miss RUSSELL. I probably have said China has the perfect right to it if she wants it for protection. I would say that.

Mr. BRUCE. For defense?

Miss RUSSELL. I have not. I think in all the talking I have done, I have only given one talk on which I even touched on the question of China and the atom bomb. That was a very small group.

Mr. BRUCE. But your position was——

Miss RUSSELL. And I would say that China has the right, as any country has, to develop defenses.

Mr. BRUCE. Now, the context in which it is said is something else again. Are you saying that you have said, then——

Miss RUSSELL. I have said China has the right to develop——

Mr. BRUCE. Let me finish.

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. Are you saying that you have said that China should have the atom bomb as a means of her own defense?

Miss RUSSELL. I doubt if I said that. I said China has the right to develop the atomic bomb as a matter of her defense.

Mr. BRUCE. As a matter of her own defense?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, she has the right to. I would certainly say that.

Mr. DOYLE. May I inquire, What meeting did you speak to, of which this appears to be a report?

Miss RUSSELL. It was on the campus, in one of the big auditoriums there. I don't think there were very many people, maybe 60 or 70 people, but it was on the campus in one of the buildings.

Mr. DOYLE. You showed your slides?

Miss RUSSELL. I showed slides, that is right, showed slides and talked and answered questions.

Mr. DOYLE. This apparently, as I now view it, is a written report to the *Daily Californian* of persons who heard you speak.

Miss RUSSELL. That is right; the reporters don't always report completely correctly, you know.

Mr. DOYLE. What?

Miss RUSSELL. Reporters don't always report completely correctly.

Mr. DOYLE. I know that, but you apparently rely on newspaper reporters as always reporting accurately.

Miss RUSSELL. Did I say that?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Miss RUSSELL. I studied this question. I study China morning, noon, and night and I don't take just one fact. There are many things.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I state that, is that you quote these articles, these five or six American newspapers.

Miss RUSSELL. That's right.

Mr. DOYLE. And other writers as accurately reporting facts. Now you say this isn't an accurate report.

Miss RUSSELL. There are two different things. One is, if you have a student of a subject and you find facts that you use, that is one thing; but regarding this meeting, this is just reporting a meeting, and he is injecting what his reactions were.

Mr. DOYLE. Here is what this student who heard you speak, and saw your slides, says about your report, in part:

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. "Miss Russell expounded a line which hardly seemed to differ from that of the Communists themselves."

Miss RUSSELL. Well, that was his reaction to it.

Mr. DOYLE. That is his estimate of your talk?

Miss RUSSELL. That is his reaction. He has a right to have any reactions that he wants.

Mr. DOYLE. Why, surely, I understand that.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. BRUCE. Miss Russell, you have stated several times that you—I think you generally or always base your statements upon what has appeared in the Western press?

Miss RUSSELL. The Western press. I would say the Western press.

Mr. BRUCE. Now, have you ever used, for example, something taken out of a letter to the editor, and then attributed it to the *New York Times*?

Miss RUSSELL. I would identify it as in a letter. Yes, I use that sometimes, but I identify it.

Mr. BRUCE. But you would associate the *New York Times* and the prestige of the *New York Times* with a letter to the editor and then use this as fact?

Miss RUSSELL. If this is a point of view, for instance, on this question of India and China, one of the Kuomintang people in this country wrote a letter to the *Times*, agreeing with the present reports on China.

This was quite significant, because this man was Vice President of China under Chiang Kai-shek. That was quite a significant letter.

Mr. BRUCE. But you do use letters to the editor and then say the *New York Times* says this?

Miss RUSSELL. I indicate it as being published in the *Times*.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Miss Russell, as I understood the very early part of your testimony, you stated that you told what was good or what were the facts regarding Communist China. That, I believe, is correct, isn't it—

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN.—in your lectures? Am I correct in my understanding that the present leadership in Communist China rejects the doctrine of peaceful coexistence and advocates the rapid advancement of communism by force?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't want to get into a discussion of this theoretical thing, but I would say the answer there is "No."

Mr. JOHANSEN. This is not theoretical. This is about as concrete and practical a question—

Miss RUSSELL. I don't want to get into this, because this is a whole new field of relationships between the Communist parties, and I don't want to get into that question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Would you think that if Red China leaders did so advocate, that would involve the security and possibly the survival of the United States?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't see the meaning of it.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I beg your pardon?

Miss RUSSELL. I don't see the relevance of your question, or the meaning of it. I don't get it clear.

I don't want to get into a discussion of that ideological subject, so I take the fifth amendment on the question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You are doing what?

Miss RUSSELL. I will take the fifth amendment on your question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. Let the record very clearly show that on the question relating to the facts about Communist China which relate directly to the security of the United States, the witness took the fifth, and I raised this question because of the witness' admission that she advocates the right of Communist China to have the atom bomb and nuclear weapons.

Mr. DOYLE. I am wondering. As I think of the question Mr. Johansen asked you and your answer, you have allegedly claimed that all you have reported in your lectures and in your publication is fact.

Now, I am sure Mr. Johansen was not interested in what your philosophy is on that subject. We are not interested in your philosophy. It is a question of facts we are interested in.

Now, manifestly, you were thought of by many people and by yourself as considerable authority on the facts in China. It is on the basis of trying to get the facts that we are questioning you.

Mr. JOHANSEN asked you a question, based on your knowledge of whatever the facts are, if you know—and I assume you know, from your own claims of authorship and reliability and selling your own publications.

I just assume that I am not doing you an injustice. Therefore, I think the question Mr. JOHANSEN asked is very relevant.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. This is a very deep question of political theory and this is a thing in which I am not an expert. I do study it and try to understand it, but I am not an expert on that.

I am not even—I try to keep off that subject, because it is not something that I understand, and I don't want to get into a discussion of it here.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, we are not interested in philosophical discussion. We are only interested in what the fact is.

Miss RUSSELL. Well, this is being discussed very thoroughly among the various Communist parties of the world, and I certainly can't speak for them, and they themselves don't know yet, they are working on the thing; how can I speak for it? I just don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. You know what the facts are with reference to the claim of Red China's leadership, don't you?

Miss RUSSELL. I say this is a subject I do not want to get into a discussion of.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, you don't claim to have knowledge, then, of what the fact is on that subject. Is that correct?

Miss RUSSELL. I do not have a full knowledge. I am studying it. I am trying to understand it, but I do not. I cannot speak for them.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, do you know what the fact is?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I do not.

Mr. DOYLE. Go ahead, Counsel, please.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, there is abundant evidence that would justify the conclusion that the Communists usually lay a propaganda base for future action or aggression.

We recognize that the incidents on the Chinese-Indian border have recently come to a head. Now, the *Daily Californian* reports your discussion of border conflict between India and China in 1960.

We would, therefore, like to inquire of you whether you received instructions from any Communist Party functionary to conduct propaganda on this subject in 1960?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, to return to your recent talk in Baltimore on January 25, 1963, we would like to note that you not only exhibited slides displaying life in Communist China, but you also told the audience that you could obtain from Communist China any type of slide or any information they might want.

Would you tell the committee from whom you obtain these slides?

Miss RUSSELL. It is true I can get material from China. Anybody can write to China, and my friends there send me slides if I write and ask for them.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, the witness did not reply to that question. She went beside the question.

Miss RUSSELL. I say, I do obtain slides from China.

Mr. BRUCE. Would you have the reporter reread the question?

(The reporter read the question.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Would you name the persons from whom you obtain these slides—

Miss RUSSELL. No, I will not.

Mr. NITTLE.—which were exhibited in the Baltimore lecture?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I will not.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, to direct the witness to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question.

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Edwin S. Smith, of New York City, is registered with the United States Department of Justice as an agent of the China Photo Service, of Peking, China, a propaganda agency of the Red Chinese Government.

Did you obtain any of your slides from him?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. DOYLE. May I make this observation? Witness, I don't understand how you can consistently go before a public group in Baltimore and assert your ability to get any information—

Miss RUSSELL. I didn't say that. I said I could get slides. I didn't say any type of slide, either. I said I could get—

Mr. DOYLE. Well, you made a public offer to get slides.

Miss RUSSELL. I get them. I write to China and I tell people what pictures I want and I get them.

Mr. DOYLE. Perhaps we would like to write to China and get some slides.

Miss RUSSELL. You write me, and I will get them for you.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, you are saying you decline to tell the sources which could conceivably have some relevancy on the reliability and credibility of these slides themselves. Is that correct?

Miss RUSSELL. The slides speak for themselves.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Not necessarily.

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, they do.

Mr. DOYLE. Could we pay you a fee for that information?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Would you give it to us?

Miss RUSSELL. If you were an individual or if you were a friend of mine, and you wanted some slides, I could give you some, but certainly not in business.

Mr. JOHANSEN. If anyone of the public not connected remotely with this committee asked for such slides and asked for information—in order to form their own judgment as to the credibility of those slides—as to what the source was, would you disclose that to them?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I would not. I am not in the business of supplying slides to people.

Mr. BRUCE. But you made a public offer, didn't you?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I did not. I said I could get them for illustration. What I said was, "If you ask me questions about a specific subject, I can get slides to illustrate that." I did not make a public offer to get them for people.

That is quite correct. But, you know, I asked the audience, and I welcome questions—I consider that the gravy of my meeting, because I like questions—and I say, “If you ask me a question that I need an illustration for, I can get a slide from China.”

I did not offer it to the public.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, the committee is being discriminated against, because the witness says she welcomes questions, but there are some here that she obviously did not welcome from us.

Mr. DOYLE. May I suggest to your counsel, I am sure you are familiar with the fact that Congress has enacted legislation that offers immunity to a witness.

I would like to suggest that we might be interested in that offer now to this witness if she will reveal the source from which she gets the slides, and not subject her to having to appear in court on the subject of this question in any way for pleading the fifth amendment. (Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. REIN. The witness has indicated she is not interested in an offer of immunity.

Mr. DOYLE. All right, thank you.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt to ask a question?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, Mr. Pool.

Mr. POOL. Have you ever written and gotten slides from Communist China for anyone here in the United States?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I get them for myself and I sometimes exchange with people here who also have slides from China.

Mr. POOL. You have gotten them for yourself. Have you given them to other people?

Miss RUSSELL. Various people who have slides exchange with each other.

Mr. POOL. You have distributed them here in the United States?

Miss RUSSELL. I wouldn't say distributed, no. I wouldn't say distributed.

Mr. POOL. What do you call it, then?

Miss RUSSELL. This is quite a different thing, if I give to somebody who gives me a slide and I give them a slide. That is quite a different thing from distributing.

Mr. JOHANSEN. It is an exchange. I will save my colleague referring to her testimony.

* * * * *

Mr. POOL. Have you told your audiences here in your lectures that you approve of the Red Chinese system of government?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I have explained what is happening to the life of the people, and they make their own judgment whether they think it is good, or not.

Mr. POOL. You haven't answered my question, though. Have you told your audiences?

Miss RUSSELL. I have told them what is happening in China. I have tried to show the changes in the life of the Chinese people, and whether they approve it—now I get criticisms. Some people approve of it and some don't.

Mr. POOL. Have you ever made the statement that you approve of the system of government in Red China? That is all I ask.

Miss RUSSELL. I have made the statement that I approve of it for the Chinese people, yes.

Mr. POOL. You have made that statement to your audiences?

Miss RUSSELL. I have just now made it to you. I approve of it for the Chinese people. It is such an improvement over what they had before that I certainly approve of it.

Mr. POOL. And you have told that to your audiences at your lectures?

Miss RUSSELL. It is implicit, I think, in the kind of things that I have shown them about the life of the people in China.

Mr. DOYLE. What year were you in Red China last?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you afraid, or do you have fear of a criminal prosecution if you honestly told this committee—

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. —what year you were there?

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, if the witness is stating that she feels that this is a good thing for the people of China, how, then, do you explain the thousands of refugees who stream into Hong Kong to the extent that they had to actually, from the Hong Kong side, literally put up barriers and stop them from coming in?

Why would they be coming away from this workers' paradise?

Miss RUSSELL. Do you know the figures on it?

Mr. BRUCE. It is several hundred thousand. I think these figures are quite well understood.

Miss RUSSELL. The biggest figure that has been given is 150 million, but the latest figures that the *National Geographic* and in the *New York Times* and other publications, is 1 million people have left, and that is about one-fifth of 1 percent of the population of China; and besides that, according to CBS reports, *New York Times* reports, and European reports, a great number of those returned.

Mr. BRUCE. Many of them were forced to go back.

Miss RUSSELL. They were not forced to go back. Those that came to the border that did not get in, they were kept out, but they go back all the time.

Mr. BRUCE. Why would a million people want to leave?

Miss RUSSELL. What is a million out of 670 million?

Mr. BRUCE. A million people aren't important?

Miss RUSSELL. They are important, but the extent of the people going—in fact, I would call them migrants rather than refugees, because they go and then many of them come back.

Even in our press reports, those that go back.

Mr. BRUCE. Oh, I see, in one issue of your publication, *Far East Reporter*, your headline is, "Why Do Chinese 'Refugees' 'Escape' to Hongkong?" [This was previously introduced as Russell Exhibit No. 8.]

Miss RUSSELL. "Why Do so-called Refugees Escape," if you will read it correctly.

Mr. BRUCE. Well, I have not had the opportunity to read it, but counsel has, and he informs me that in this publication your approach

is that these are really capitalists and exploiters of the people who can't stand it in this freed, liberated society. Is that accurate? Is that a fact?

Miss RUSSELL. That is part of the people that go. The people who earned their living by exploiting others and who couldn't bear to live in the cooperative society; they have gone, that is true.

The other people have gone because they have relatives in Hong Kong and there are many new jobs opening up. There is a tremendous industrial development, and even our press says they have to get the laborers from the Mainland in order to carry out these new developments, and the fields look a little greener over there, and so people go there.

There are reasons for that.

Mr. BRUCE. You mean the fields look greener——

Miss RUSSELL. In Hong Kong.

Mr. BRUCE. I wonder why?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, there are jobs there.

Mr. BRUCE. Well, why would the fields look greener just over the line?

Miss RUSSELL. Because there are still jobs there for which they get paid, and there are relatives. Why does a person go from New York to another city to work? Because he thinks he is going to get a little better thing, that kind of thing.

Mr. BRUCE. Just that easy, that simple?

Miss RUSSELL. No, but if you read the comparison there, I think you will get it.

Mr. BRUCE. Oh, I will.

Mr. POOL. Have you ever received money from any source other than admission fees charged for your lectures in the past 10 years?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I have. I get money for subscriptions to my magazine; I get money for speaking; I get money for selling the literature; and I also carry pamphlets and books on the Far East that I sell, that I buy from the importer.

* * * * *

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well, Mr. Chairman, has the witness ever received any money from the Communist Party, either in the United States or in Red China, or from any branch of the international Communist movement?

Miss RUSSELL. I have not. I am very careful about where my funds come from. If any of you want to look at my books, you may at any time study my books. It is reported. I make regular reports as a business person.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did I understand correctly that the advertisements for your lectures and appearances, at least on the Pacific Coast, your paid ads that you cause to be placed, are limited to the *People's World* and the *National Guardian*? I want to clear the record on that. I wasn't sure.

Miss RUSSELL. I think so. I think those are the two. That is what I pay for. Now, some of my subscribers, when they are arranging meetings, they may be paying for others. I don't know.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I realize the distinction involved. What is the particular audience you hope to reach, or what is the basis for your limitation of your advertising to these particular media?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, they are both progressive papers; and the groups that I speak of are all kinds of groups, but a great many progressives in the groups, and a great many of my subscribers also subscribe to those magazines.

It is one way of my letting them know I am on the way.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Did I understand you to testify earlier that you deny any knowledge that either of those is a Communist medium?

Miss RUSSELL. I did; that is right, yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Pool, your question of any other income to the witness was intended to go to the area of which Mr. Johansen has inquired, from Communist sources, wasn't it?

Mr. POOL. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Before returning to the United States in 1943, did you confer with any officials of the Chinese Communist Government and agree to serve as a propagandist for Red China in the United States?

Miss RUSSELL. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it not a fact, in accepting the key post of executive director of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in 1945, after your return here, you did so with the aim of using that organization as a propaganda agency for the Chinese Communists?

Miss RUSSELL. No. Your figure is wrong. It is 1946.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, during your visit to Red China in 1959, confer with any officials of that Communist government and agree to serve as a propagandist for Red China in the United States?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever received any compensation from the Chinese Government or its representatives for your propaganda efforts?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever received any compensation from the Chinese Government or its representatives for your propaganda efforts?

Miss RUSSELL. I have received no compensation of any kind.

Mr. NITTLE. Who paid your expenses for your travel in China in 1959?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a guest of the Red Chinese Government?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Were you, on any prior visits to China, a guest of the Chinese Communist Government?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. May I just say this. I am quite sure from your long experience as a YWCA executive in China and those Christian church affiliations—some of us are familiar with what they entail—I have your application for a passport before me, and I just cannot—I wish to emphasize I cannot—understand how a person with your background and training and former affiliations would hesitate in 1959, when you made this application, to answer any and every question on your application.

I can't help but notice that you refused the United States Government any information on your application whether or not you were, or ever had been, a member of the Communist Party.

Though I recognize your constitutional privilege—and thank God we have it in our Constitution—I can't help but conclude that there is something about those questions that you did not want the American people to know, including your own Government, which gives you safety and protection.

Miss RUSSELL. Is that an observation or a question?

Mr. DOYLE. I did not intend it as a question. However, if you will answer it, I will make it a question.

It is too bad that there is an area of secrecy in the experiences of some people, so they can't share when it comes to the protection of their own Nation.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I might add, Mr. Chairman, that that area of secrecy seems to emerge always when we get to the really crucial, basic questions.

Mr. DOYLE. That's right.

Go ahead, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Did not the Chinese Government pay all of your expenses of travel and visitation in the year 1959?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Was not this a form of compensation for past propaganda assistance and any that you might give in the future?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Since your return to the United States, have you made reports relating to your itinerary and speaking engagements to any representative or agent of Communist China?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. To no functionary of the Communist Party in the United States?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Are your speaking engagements directed or assisted in any way by functionaries of the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. Not that I know of.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you ever register with the United States Department of Justice as an agent of Red China?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Russell, the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 defines the term "publicity agent" as including "any person who engages directly or indirectly in the publication or dissemination of oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of

any kind, including publication by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or otherwise."

You will agree, I believe, that your activities clearly fall within that definition of publicity agent?

Mr. REIN. Mr. Chairman, I don't think it is fair to ask the witness a legal question as to whether or not. I don't think she is competent to answer the question and I don't think her answer, to say that she is or is not within the scope of the Foreign Agents Act, is a significant answer.

It is obviously a legal question, and there is no sense in putting it to the witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course, she can plead her constitutional privilege.

Mr. REIN. I don't think it is a question of pleading constitutional privilege. She is not a lawyer.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, she may have had advice by lawyers.

Mr. REIN. Well, she might be asked that question, as to whether she has ever consulted a lawyer on this subject, but I don't think she should be asked to give a legal opinion.

Mr. DOYLE. Ask that question, would you, Counsel?

Mr. REIN. I will give a legal opinion that she is clearly not within the scope of the Act, if you want it. I think I am competent to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course, you aren't the witness.

Mr. REIN. Well, I don't think the witness is competent to answer the question. That is my point.

Mr. NITTLE. But you are advising the witness not to answer the question, nonetheless. Let me pass to another question. Perhaps she may agree to cooperate in this respect.

The Act also defines the term "foreign principal" as including "an individual affiliated or associated with, or supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized, in whole or in part, by any foreign principal."

There remains a question of whether you are acting for a foreign principal as defined in the Act.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Are you acting for any individual associated or affiliated with, or supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized, in whole or in part, by any foreign principal?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. The term "foreign principal" also includes a government of a foreign country and a foreign political party. Are you acting for a government of a foreign country?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Or a foreign political party?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you receive instructions or information from representatives of the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that, as I did previously.

Mr. NITTLE. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Johansen?

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have just one question, to sum up what I understood to be the witness' position, in the interests of clarity, having the record straight.

As I understand it, the witness denies acting in any way as an agent of any foreign power or of the Communist Party in any of its international branches, but she is, on her own volition, stating the view to American audiences and the American people that the present Communist regime in China is good for the Chinese people.

Is that a fair and accurate statement?

Miss RUSSELL. I am reporting the facts about China, which I think are very good facts for the Chinese people.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And, as I understood it, you said that included the statement you believed that the present regime was good for the Chinese people.

Miss RUSSELL. I did, yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Thank you. That is all.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr Pool?

Mr. POOL. I have no questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Schadeberg?

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I have just two questions.

Miss Russell, you stated, I think—and if I am not correct, you can inform me—that your purpose in the lectures and the publications that you have was to help the American people understand what is going on in China.

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Well, on that basis, do you feel that, in order to understand what is going on in China, the people ought to know some of the adverse conditions that are taking place in China, also?

Miss RUSSELL. I also report that, because there is a great deal of information in the Chinese press and in the foreign press about that.

As I said earlier, there is reported in the foreign press, and when it is in the foreign press, it comes from the Chinese press, and that is also reported.

They do have problems. They have very serious problems. They make mistakes, and these are reported.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. They are reported in lectures?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I have one other question.

Do you possess, or have you published, any facts on the increase or decrease in Christian church membership and in what age groups such increase or decrease might have taken place in China?

Miss RUSSELL. No, I haven't, because the church groups put out bulletins on that, and that goes out quite widely, and I get those bulletins, too. I mean, the National Christian Council furnishes bulletins on that. When I talk about it, I quote from those.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Is it your knowledge that it has increased or has decreased?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, the number of Christians in China have decreased. They figured before that they numbered about four million. That includes both Roman Catholics and Protestants.

I think the figure today is three million or less. There are no more "rice" Christians in China. Do you know what a "rice" Christian is?

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Yes.

Miss RUSSELL. The people who are in it to get something out of it, and the people who are in it to get something out of it certainly have evaporated.

I think the people who are in the church in China today are real believers. I mean, they really believe in their Christian and their religious philosophy, so I think the church is stronger, though smaller.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Yes, I yield.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You mentioned an organization that was the source of these statistics.

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. What was the name of that?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, it is under the National Christian Council, you know. They have their headquarters on Riverside Drive in New York.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Is it the National Council of Churches?

Miss RUSSELL. The National Council of Churches, I guess, and then there is a China division of it, which publishes a regular bulletin giving facts from China about the Christian movement in China, quite full.¹

Mr. SCHADEBERG. May I just make one other comment? And, that is, It is your understanding, then, that it has decreased by about a million?

Miss RUSSELL. It has decreased in numbers.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. And the population of China probably has increased?

Miss RUSSELL. That is right. It is a small segment of China. It always has been a small segment, but quite an important segment, I would say.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. So you think that the atheist Communist government of China has done a great service to the Christian church in purifying the church?

Miss RUSSELL. Well, I think that the members of the church are people that really believe in it now, really believe in it, and that, of course, is a strengthening, and I went to some of the cities. I visited quite a number of the churches, and where you had before quite a number of churches scattered all over the cities, you now had maybe

¹ The Far Eastern Office of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches issued a *China Bulletin*, superseded in 1962 by *China Notes*. In response to an inquiry from this committee, NCC staff members stated they were unable to locate through indexes to NCC publications, statistics similar to those given by Maud Russell.

Evidence with respect to the persistent persecution of Christian churches under the Chinese Communist regime is contained in NCC publications, however. The NCC pamphlet, *China Consultation—1958* carried an article by Francis P. Jones, editor of the NCC *China Bulletin*, which declared, in part:

“* * * It is estimated that the Protestant membership in Communist China dropped from about a million in 1949 to not more than 600,000 in 1952. * * *

“Life has been difficult for these Christians. They have been harassed and discriminated against in both official and unofficial ways. * * * the stories have multiplied of Christian students not allowed to continue studies, Christian nurses in hospitals being assigned to the most menial and distasteful duties, and humiliations heaped upon pastors just because they are pastors. * * *

“* * * During the period of land redistribution 1951-1953, all country churches were officially closed. * * * today, five years after the land redistribution program came to an end, many of those country churches have still not been allowed to reopen * * *

“The Communist Government's control of the life of every citizen in Red China is so complete that it is difficult to find time for church activities. * * *

“The corporate life of many of the churches of China has been still further disturbed by the ruthless arrest and imprisonment of many of their leaders. * * * None of those released from prison has been able to resume his former work. * * * In Hunan * * * the outstanding preacher in each of [the three major] churches was condemned as a rightist during the past year and dismissed from his post. * * *

“The Communist system adds another difficulty to church life in the fact that the new economic system makes church support very difficult. * * * indeed the present demand is that every pastor support himself by manual labor, and he is being ridiculed as a parasite if he does not make his contribution to the economic building up of the country.”

four or five, which I attended one Sunday morning, and quite a number of them had educational directors and other programs, a great strengthening of the church in that, you see.¹

Mr. JOHANSEN. When was that?

Miss RUSSELL. That is when I was in China.

Mr. JOHANSEN. When was that?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. 1959?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. May I ask another question, if I may, please?

Are these Christian pastors supported by the Communist Party?

Miss RUSSELL. They are supported by their members.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. By free-will offering?

Miss. RUSSELL. Yes, by free-will offering, and all the Christian groups in China are considered people's movements. I mean, all the religious groups.

You have Buddhists, Taoists, Christians, and Mohammedans. They are all considered people's movements, and facilities for services are available to all these groups. To that extent, the Christian group is aided, as are all the people's movements in China.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman?

When, Miss Russell, did you leave China at the termination of your work with the YWCA?

Miss. RUSSELL. 1943.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Have you been there since?

Miss. RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well, now, I make the point, Mr. Chairman, that the witness has opened up this line of questioning by referring to a trip made to China, or a visit to China, when she visited all of these churches and saw these things that she testified to; and I suggest that she has waived her privileges under the fifth amendment with respect to her 1959 trip.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I think there is no question about it. Therefore, I will instruct the witness to answer that question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. And do it, as Mr. Johansen says, on the basis that you yourself volunteered that you had seen a change in the attendance in the churches and all. You visited the churches.

I instruct you to answer the question.

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. You understand the question Mr. Johansen asked you, Witness? You understood Mr. Johansen's question?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you answer his question? I saw you shake your head, but I didn't hear any answer.

Miss RUSSELL. Which question are you referring to?

Mr. DOYLE. Will you read the question, Reporter?

(The reporter read the question of Mr. Johansen as follows: "Have you been there since?")

Mr. DOYLE. Did you hear the reporter read that question?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

¹ See footnote, p. 30.

Mr. DOYLE. Your answer was you pleaded the fifth amendment?

Miss RUSSELL. That is right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. You understood my question?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You understand now that the question you have pleaded your constitutional privilege to is Mr. Johansen's question as to whether or not you have returned to China since you left there, according to your own testimony, in 1943.

You understand that that is the question Mr. Johansen asked you, do you not?

Miss RUSSELL. Yes, and I took the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. You took the fifth amendment. And you still take the fifth amendment, in spite of my instruction to answer the question?

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Very well.

Mr. POOL. Give the witness another direction.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, so that we will have the record perfectly clear, I direct you again to answer that question by Mr. Johansen of whether or not you have returned to China since you left there in 1943.

Miss RUSSELL. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. All right.

Anything else, any Member of the Committee?

Thank you, Counsel. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1 p.m., Wednesday, March 6, 1963, the subcommittee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

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