

A FACTUAL REVIEW

of

The Whittaker Chambers—Alger Hiss Controversy

by

Wm. Marshall Bullitt

[A Trustee of The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace]

(Written in Nassau, Bahamas, November 27-December 4, 1948,
while convalescing from pneumonia.)

There is no evidence now available to prove directly:

First: Whether Whittaker Chambers told the truth when he testified that Alger Hiss had been a member of a small underground Communist "group" whose object was to infiltrate (into higher levels of the Government service) persons of sympathetic views, who could be useful to the Communist Party; or

Second: Whether Alger Hiss told the truth when he denied all connection with Communism, or such a "group", or any interest in its objectives.

The respective credibilities of Chambers and Hiss may be evaluated from (1) Public and private records; (2) Testimony of disinterested third parties; (3) The conduct of a number of persons more or less personally, socially, or officially acquainted with Chambers and Hiss; and (most important of all) (4) The attitudes and characteristics of Chambers and Hiss deducible from their testimony.

The purpose of this "Review" is to aid in such an evaluation, based solely upon a study of the Official Hearings.

Outline of the Preliminary Congressional Hearings¹

[August 3—September 9, 1948]

1. *August 3, 1948: Chambers' initial testimony:* On Tuesday, August 3, Whittaker Chambers testified before an Open Session of the Committee regarding (1) his own life as a former paid Communist functionary; (2) a small Communist "underground" group (which had been developed by Harold Ware,² son of the Communist leader known as "Mother Bloor"), the head of which group was, *first*, Nathan Witt,³ an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board, and *later*, John Abt;⁴ the others being Lee Pressman,⁵ Alger Hiss,⁶ Donald Hiss,⁷ Victor Perlo,⁸ Charles

¹ Page references are to the printed "Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities", pages 501-1378, 80th Congress, 2nd Session; and will be cited by number only, *i. e.* "(565)", etc.

A few events occurring *after* December 4, 1948 are also mentioned.

² (565-6). Apparently in the Department of Agriculture; accidentally killed in Pennsylvania (575); Hiss knew Ware (652, 1147, 1169, 1353); and Chambers "believes" that it was Ware who first introduced him to Hiss (1178, 1180).

³ Witt had seven and a half years (1933-1940) of important service in the Government (1029).

⁴ Abt had five years (1933-1938) in important positions in the AAA, WPA, SEC, Senate Committee, and Attorney General's Office (1016).

⁵ Pressman had two years (1933-1935) in AAA and as General Counsel of WPA (1022).

⁶ Alger Hiss had fifteen years (1929-30, 1933-46) of important Government service (644-5, 656-7).

⁷ Donald Hiss' connection with the Government was very incidental (Cf. 929-30, 1351).

⁸ Victor Perlo's numerous Governmental positions (1933-1946) were in the NRA, Home Owners Loan Corporation, Department of Commerce, OPA, WPB and Treasury Department (678-681).

Kramer,⁹ Harold Ware,² Henry Collins,¹⁰ and J. Peters,¹¹ with the object of "Communist infiltration of the American Government" (565); (3) a general description of the group's *personnel*, activities, etc.; and (4) his own repudiation of Communism in late 1937 and early 1938 (564, *et seq*; Cf. 565, 1178, 1196-7, 1285, 1289).

His few references to Alger Hiss (565, 567-8, 572, 576-7, 578-580) did not specifically state that Hiss was a Communist,¹² but did identify him as one of the "group", with his various former official Governmental positions and his present office as "head of the Carnegie Endowment"; described Chambers' unsuccessful effort in 1938 to persuade Hiss "to break away from the [Communist] party" (572); and, in late August, 1939, Chambers' warning to Assistant Secretary of State Adolph A. Berle of "Communist activities in Washington", naming Hiss among others (580; Cf. 1293).

2. *August 5: Hiss' initial testimony:* Hiss promptly read the newspaper accounts of Chambers' testimony of August 3 (646); and, at an Open Meeting of the Committee

⁹ Charles Kramer's thirteen years (1933-1946) were in the AAA, NYA, NLRB, OPA and various Senate sub-Committees (819).

² See Note 2.

¹⁰ Henry Collins' several years were in NRA, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Labor, and House and Senate Committees (802).

¹¹ J. Peters (*alias* Goldberger and Alexander Stevens) introduced Chambers to Ware and to Hiss. For Peters' record as a Communist leader see 1267-1277, 1278-1283.

Recently J. Peters left the United States.

It is unnecessary to go further into the details of the "group's" *personnel* and their individual histories as Communists, subsequently developed in the Hearings.

¹² It was not until four days later (August 7) that Chambers said that "Mr. Hiss was a member of the Communist Party" (662-3).

held the following day (August 5; 642-659), Hiss voluntarily and emphatically,

- (a) *Denied* having known, seen, or even heard of, Chambers¹³ (643);
- (b) *Denied* Chambers' statements as "complete fabrications" (643, 647, 649, 650).

Hiss then gave lengthy, impressive, and apparently convincing, testimony (Cf. 659) upon the following lines:

FIRST: His own complete freedom from Communism or its influences¹⁴ (643, 648);

SECOND: His personal high level of (i) education (643-4); (ii) important public and private positions held (644-5, 656-9); and (iii) his close friends in high public life (644-5, 648);

THIRD: His obvious and voluntary depreciation, disassociation, and minimization of his connection with a number of undesirable persons (with whom his acquaintance was undeniable), who were later identified as Communists or associated therewith, such as Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt, John Abt, Charles Kramer, Harold Ware, Henry Collins, Frank Coe, Nathan Silvermaster, Abraham Silverman and J. Peters (643, 649-659)—most of whom subsequently (on the ground of *self-incrimination*) refused to say whether they were Communists, or

¹³ Until in May, 1947, when two F. B. I. men had asked him whether he had ever known or heard of anyone named Whittaker Chambers, and he replied that he had not (643, 647-650; Cf. 936-8).

¹⁴ At the end of his initial testimony (658-9), Hiss was evasive; and he relied on the technique of an "iffy" question to avoid committing himself on whether it was safe or desirable for the Government to employ Communists. In view of the subsequent disclosures of his Communistic acquaintances, to some the term "fellow-traveler" might come to mind.

even knew Hiss or Chambers (Cf. 802, 804, 810; 819, 1018; 1023; 804, 809; 821; 1019; 1024; 1032; 805, 820-21; 1019; 1024; 1032; Cf. Hiss 970-1);

FOURTH: Hiss denied knowing that (in August, 1939), Chambers had told Assistant Secretary of State Adolph A. Berle that Hiss—then in the State Department—was, or had been, a member of an undercover Communist "group" (646, 649; Cf. 1292, *et seq.*).

But Hiss has admitted:

(i) That as far back as 1938-1940 he was summoned to the F. B. I. office in Washington for questioning—apparently being accused as a Red (971);

(ii) That in March or April, 1946, Secretary of State Byrnes (former Mr. Justice Byrnes)

"called me into his office. He said that several Members of Congress were preparing to make statements on the floor of Congress that I was a Communist. He asked me if I were, and I said I was not.

He said 'This is a very serious matter. I think all the stories center from the F. B. I. I think they are the people who have obtained whatever information has been obtained. I think you would be well advised to go directly to the F. B. I. and offer yourself for a very full inquiry and investigation.'

He also said he thought it would be sensible for me to go to the top man, and I agreed"; (648, 937)

(iii) That he saw the F. B. I., who asked him if he knew Lee Pressman and others, but they did not mention Chambers' name (Id);

Hiss did not tell Carnegie Endowment's Trustees, nor Mr. Dulles (nor any of the other Trustees who urged Hiss' election as President, 645-6, 659, 1133, 1135) anything about either the F. B. I. questioning, or even the

shortly previous Secretary of State Byrnes—Members of Congress—F. B. I. belief in, or investigation of, Hiss as a Communist (1133-1135), with an evasiveness, or lack of frankness, in his answers quite calculated not to reveal the facts (Cf. 646, 1133, 1135, see pp. 25-29, *infra*).

(iv) That in December, 1946—*after* his election as President of the Carnegie Endowment, but *before* assuming that office—Mr. Dulles told him “that he [Dulles] had heard reports that people had called me [Hiss] a Communist” (1133). That admission was *not* in Hiss’ initial testimony of August 5, and was not elicited from him until August 25 (1133-1135);^{14a} the fateful day, page 7, *infra*.

(v) That in May, 1947, two F. B. I. men called on him at his “Carnegie Endowment” Washington office, and asked him (a) if he was a Communist, (b) a number of questions not unlike the points Mr. Chambers had testified to, and (c) whether he knew a number of named people, one of which was Whittaker Chambers, whose name he had never heard before (647-8, 936-7);

(vi) That last winter [1947] he had “heard indirectly that a man named Chambers was calling me a Communist” (647);

(vii) That on the night of August 2, 1948, a New York newspaper reporter said he had a tip that on the next day (August 3), Chambers would testify before the Committee and “call me a Communist” (647).

^{14a} Mr. Dulles fixes the time of that interview as on, or more likely *after*, January 2, 1947. (See “Statement of Relations between Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Mr. Alger Hiss” pp. 3-4; hereafter cited as “Statement of Relations”.)

This “Statement of Relations” was written by Mr. Dulles and circulated among the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment during early 1949.

Hiss’ admissions thus established these facts:

(a) That when he was elected President of the Carnegie Endowment, Hiss knew he had been, or still was, under serious investigation by the F. B. I., by Members of Congress, and by Secretary of State Byrnes, in whose office he was, as to whether he was a Communist (647-8, 971). The Carnegie Endowment was not told those facts on the day (December 9, 1946) when its Special Committee first mentioned Mr. Hiss’ name for President, nominated him therefor, suspended the rules, and elected him—all with probably not more than ten or fifteen minutes’ consideration.

Mr. Hiss had not even told Mr. Dulles, or anyone else, of the then very recent F. B. I.—Byrnes investigation (1132-3, 1135).

(b) That *after* his election as President of the Carnegie Endowment on December 9, 1946—but *before* he assumed office—Mr. Dulles told him that he [Dulles] “had heard reports that people called me [Hiss] a Communist” and “I [assumed] that Mr. Dulles was satisfied that there was nothing to the reports” (1133-1135); again, Hiss did not reveal to Mr. Dulles the Secretary of State Byrnes—members of Congress—F. B. I. investigation of his Communism; and his answers to the Congressional inquiries on that subject were not frank, but were obviously evasive (Cf. 1133-1135).

(c) That shortly *after* he assumed the Presidency of the Carnegie Endowment, Hiss *knew* he was still under continued investigation by the F. B. I., and also by outside gossip, as to whether he was a Communist; but he still did not tell Mr. Dulles, or the Trustees, or the Executive Committee (936-937, 1133-1135).

The Congressional Committee criticized that silence of Mr. Hiss towards the Endowment (1133-1135).

In February, 1948 there was again a report "that Mr. Hiss had had communist contacts". Mr. Dulles searchingly questioned him on that point. Hiss denied it, but admitted that he had just been questioned by the New York Grand Jury on that subject. Some [unnamed] State Department Official, peculiarly in a position to know the facts, reassured Mr. Dulles of Hiss' loyalty and reliability.^{14b}

Six months later, August 4, 1948, the newspapers blazoned the news of Chambers' previous day's hearing before the "Un-American Activities" Committee, containing the charge that Hiss was a Communist.

Despite (1) Mr. Dulles' prompt, semi-official suggestion that Mr. Hiss should voluntarily resign and relieve the Endowment of embarrassment, and (2) the transfer of its administrative direction to other hands, Hiss did not do so. ("Statement of Relations" p. 6.)

In view of the apparent contradictions between the initial testimonies of Mr. Chambers and Mr. Hiss, the Congressional Committee began thereafter to caution each of them, and some other witnesses, that their testimony was subject to the penalties for perjury.

^{14b} In view of (1) Mr. Acheson's public statement of December 10, 1946 that Mr. Hiss' State Department work was of "outstanding devotion and ability", for the previous ten years, as "one of its very best men" who was one of the "really basic causes for the success" of the United Nations San Francisco Conference; and (2) the subsequent 1948 State Department endorsement of Mr. Hiss, mentioned in the text, Mr. Dulles doubtless felt it unnecessary to report the matter to the Carnegie Trustees, though he did mention it to some of the New York Trustees.

The Carnegie Endowment thus remained in ignorance of the 1946-1948 reports or rumors of Hiss' alleged Communism connections (see "Statement of Relations" pp. 4-5, *supra*, p. 7).

3. August 7: Chambers' further testimony concerning his alleged acquaintanceship with Alger Hiss.¹⁵ In reply to the Committee's 176 pointed questions [concerning Chambers' alleged acquaintance with Hiss], Chambers' answers were short, clear and positive, never ambiguous, and rarely even qualified as "I think" (covering, all told, only 11 printed pages, 662-672).

Instead of summarizing separately the testimony of Chambers and Hiss at their fifteen appearances as witnesses,¹⁶ it is better to give a chronological statement of the facts as told by Chambers and by Hiss, respectively—supplemented by some facts conclusively established by independent and impartial third party testimony and records.

This procedure will simplify the reader's task in contrasting the contradictory stories told by Chambers and Hiss.

¹⁵ On account of the initial direct contradiction between Chambers and Hiss as to even knowing each other, and in order to test their stories, the Committee thereafter held Executive Sessions, so that neither Chambers nor Hiss would know what the other (or some other witnesses) might have said, so as to prevent a witness from shifting his story to meet unexpected evidence. That procedure was followed at the subsequent Hearings on August 7, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 26, 27, 30, and September 8, 9. During the Public Hearing of August 25, the Committee released the testimony taken at the Executive Sessions of August 7, 16, 17, 18, 24; and later that of August 26, 27, 30, and September 8, 9.

It is important to bear that procedure in mind, when contrasting Chambers' testimony (which was rarely, if ever, subsequently modified) with that of Hiss (which was constantly modified to conform to unexpected and uncontradicted evidence of entirely impartial and disinterested third parties).

¹⁶ 1948	Chambers	1948	Hiss
Aug. 3	(563-584)	Aug. 5	(642-659)
Aug. 7	(661-672)	Aug. 16	(935-974)
Aug. 17	(986)	Aug. 17	(975-986)
Aug. 25	(1078-1079)		(986-1001)
	(1176-1206)	Aug. 25	(1076-1078)
Aug. 27	(1255-1266)		(1079-1111)
Aug. 30	(1271)		(1115-1176)
	(1278-1290)		

STATEMENT OF FACTS

I. Chambers' Testimony.

In 1924, Whittaker Chambers,¹⁷ at age 23, joined the American Communist Party in New York. He continued in it for about 13 or 14 years (1924-1938), during which period he wrote for, and was editor of, the "Daily Worker" and "New Masses"—Communist papers; he was a paid functionary of the Party, acted as courier between New York and the Washington "underground" Communist "cells" or "groups", and was himself a leader of the "underground" organization (564, *et seq.*, 986, 1176-8, 1180, 1263).¹⁸

In late 1934, Harold Ware² and J. Peters¹¹ [leaders in the "underground" of the Communist Party, 565, 569, 1271, 1278, *et seq.*; Cf. 1267-1277], introduced Chambers (a) to Alger Hiss (1078, 1178-1180, 1280) as a fellow-Communist (662-664, 669, 1181, 1189); and (b) to the "underground group" of the Communist Party in Washington (1180, 1181, 1280). The seven or eight members of that "underground" group (including Hiss, pp. 2, 3, *supra*) would meet in Henry Collins'¹⁰ Apartment in St. Matthews Court (568-9, 575, 1180, 1181, 1284; Cf. Hiss' dubious denial (651, *et seq.*, 938-9, 1171-2).

Hiss was not present more than five times at Collins' Apartment, "because we separated Mr. Alger Hiss from that group rather early" in order "to set up a parallel

¹⁷ Born in Philadelphia; a member of the Episcopal Church; and now at age 47, he is "a Quaker by conviction" (1198-1199).

¹⁸ On July 1, 1934 Alger Hiss (who previously lived at No. 3411—"O" Street), rented, fully furnished, Apartment No. 42 at 2831—28th Street, Washington—the lease to expire June 28, 1935. This Apartment will be referred to as the 28th Street Apartment.

group of men whose opportunities for penetrating into the Government and arriving at positions of power and influence seemed best" (1181, 576, 579); as Hiss was rising in the Government (576-7, 644-5).

Not long after first meeting Hiss, Chambers was "constantly" a visitor at Hiss' 28th Street Apartment (986, 992, 1178-9, 181, 1182)—at least twenty times (1178).¹⁸ Soon thereafter, Chambers became one of Hiss' closest friends (572, 670, 986, 1190, 1199; Cf. 662, 1178, 1078-9).

For several years Chambers collected Hiss' Communist Party dues (569, 571, 663, 670, 1181-2). Neither Hiss, nor the "underground" group, knew Chambers by his real name, but only by the Communist code name of "Carl" (662, 670, 953, 1193-4, 1205, 1257, 1259, 1260, 1263).

*Hiss' Dilapidated "1929 Ford" Roadster.*¹⁹ In 1934, when Chambers first met Hiss, the latter owned a black, dilapidated 1929 Ford Roadster, with hand worked windshield wipers (666, 1183). Hiss never sold, gave, leased, or loaned the 1929 Ford to Chambers (1179, 1182); and Chambers never used or drove the 1929 Ford, except to go to Westminster, Md., with Hiss who drove the car (p. 14, *infra*); but Hiss continued to own the 1929 Ford long after September 7, 1935, when he then purchased a new Plymouth Sedan (1095, 1120, 1183).

On May 1, 1935, Hiss rented (until June 15, 1936) No. 2905 P Street, which was a fully furnished house (1085, 1044, 1046, 956, 983). At some undetermined date late in

¹⁹ On September 19, 1933, shortly after Hiss first entered official Government service, in 1933 (644), he registered a 1929 Ford, Model A, Register No. 2188811, Tag No. 245647, in the name of Alger Hiss, No. 3411 O Street N. W., Washington, D. C. (hereafter called the "1929 Ford") (1064, 1065, 1115, 1118).

May, 1935, Hiss vacated the 28th Street Apartment; and moved into the P Street house (1085).

1935 Plymouth Sedan, Model PJ. On September 7, 1935 (nearly a year *before* Hiss disposed of the 1929 Ford on July 23, 1936, and while Hiss was still living in the P Street house), he bought from the Smoot Motor Company a new, two seated, two door Plymouth Sedan, Model PJ (959, 1095, 1119-1120). [See pp. 19-20, 22, *infra*, for the vital significance of the September, 1935 *date* of that Plymouth purchase.]

The intimacy between Chambers and Hiss (and their families).

(a) Chambers first stayed a couple of nights with Hiss in the P Street house²⁰ (949, 956-8, 983, 1087, 1151);

(b) At Hiss' invitation,²¹ Chambers and his family then moved into the vacated (but furnished) 28th Street Apartment, which they occupied for three or four weeks in May-June, 1935 (980, 982, 983, 986, 1178, 1179, 1181, 1182);

(c) Chambers' occupancy of the 28th Street Apartment for those several weeks in May-June, 1935, was without any lease, sub-lease, or other financial arrangement whatever (665, 986, 992, 1178, 1179, 1182, 1185, 1189, 1190). This was because Chambers and Hiss were both Communists (665, 986, 1182, 1183, 1185, 1189), and that was part of the Communist pattern (665, 1182, 1189);

(d) Chambers and his family again stayed for a few days with Hiss in the "P" Street house (1182), which Hiss confirms (984).

²⁰ This is according to Hiss' testimony.

²¹ When Hiss moved from the 28th Street Apartment into the "P" Street House, the unexpired lease on the 28th Street Apartment still had four or five weeks yet to run.

(e) In 1935-1936-1937, Chambers constantly saw Hiss both (i) At the P Street house; where, from time to time, Chambers stayed overnight for a number of days and as long as a week at a time (665, 1184, 1185); used Hiss' home as a kind of headquarters (1184); and saw Hiss at least fortnightly, except when Hiss was absent on vacation (1185, 1205); and also (ii) At No. 1241—30th Street;²² where Chambers saw him at least once a week, often stayed overnight, and got his meals there (957, 1184, 1185, 1205), except when Hiss went on vacation (665, 1185).²³

(f) Chambers' knowledge (i) of the "nicknames" by which Mr. and Mrs. Hiss always referred to each other, and to their stepson (664), which Hiss confirmed (960); (ii) that Hiss had first met Mrs. Hiss when she was a Mrs. Thayer Hobson, at the Rand School—a Socialist institution (668, 1262); (iii) of the locations, interiors, etc., of Hiss' several homes (665-6, 671-2); (iv) that they had a brown Cocker Spaniel as a family pet (665), confirmed by Hiss (961); (v) of Hiss' hobby as an ornithologist (666, 1201-2), confirmed by Hiss (961-2), and his sight of a prothonotary warbler (666), confirmed by Hiss (961-2, 1168); (vi) that as a small boy Hiss took a little wagon a long way off to Druid Hill Park (Baltimore), filled bottles with spring water, took them back, and sold the water (666, 668), verified by Hiss (963); and (vii) of their discussion about Chambers helping to lay rails on W, B & A lines (995, 1128, 1130, 1195).

(g) About 1936, Chambers and Hiss discussed how much each would like to have a small place in the country. Hiss

²² Into which (after leaving the P Street house), Hiss moved about September, 1936 (957-8).

²³ Hiss admitted that Chambers stayed a couple of times at the 30th Street house (957-8).

unearthed a sale advertisement of a small, dilapidated farm house near Westminster, Maryland. Hiss made a "down payment" and motored Chambers (in the 1929 Ford) to see the farm; Mr. and Mrs. Hiss did not like the place, and called off the deal (1256, *et seq.*). A good deal later, Chambers bought the place²⁴ in his own name, but did not wish Hiss to know about it, as Hiss would have thereby learned Chambers' real name (1256, *et seq.*).

Chambers' initial (and quite casual) account, on August 7, 1948, of how Hiss, on July 23, 1936, had secretly disposed of his 1929 Ford Roadster. In 1936 (more than a year after Hiss testified he had "sold" or "thrown in" the Ford car, in June, 1935, to Crosley), Hiss disposed of the old 1929 Ford by taking it to a service station, or car lot, and simply leaving it there with someone whom the Communist Party had there to take care of such matters (666-7, 1183-4)—all of which was subsequently, and unexpectedly, confirmed by a certificate of title for the 1929 Ford, dated July 23, 1936, signed and verified by Alger Hiss, by which he sold the 1929 Ford Roadster to the Cherner Motor Company; and, simultaneously, the Cherner Motor Company sold or assigned it to a William Rosen,²⁵ of a fictitious address at 5405—13th Street, N. W.

²⁴ That is the same place which (since this Review was written) has become well known through Chambers' revelation of the "pumpkin" filled with microfilms.

²⁵ See testimony of Joseph Cherner, Samuel Mensh, Henry J. Gertler and W. Marvin Smith (1052-1074); William Rosen (1207-1221, 1329-1341); Leon Cherner (1223-1227); Henry Cherner (1227-1229, 1319-1328); Rhoda Brewer (1229-1232).

Rosen has since been held for contempt of Court for refusing to answer questions before the grand jury regarding his knowledge of Hiss and the Ford car (see opinion of Circuit Court of Appeals, 2d Circuit in *U. S. v. Rosen* decided April 25, 1949, Fed. (2d) p.).

That transaction was a wholly fictitious assignment and sale, with no record kept of the transaction, except the official document signed and verified by Hiss.

It is unnecessary to review the testimony of the numerous third party witnesses cited in the margin.²⁶ The incident was an unanticipated verification of Chambers' prior testimony that in 1936, Hiss got rid of his 1929 Ford, by leaving it at a service station, to which the only real party was Hiss; and the 1929 Ford disappeared without leaving any other record behind it²⁶ (666-7, 1183-4).

Chambers' "break" from Communism. In late 1937, and during the early months of 1938, Chambers finally decided to break with Communism (564, *et seq.*, 1178, 1285, 1289). To aid the transfer of his identity from "Carl" into his real identity as Chambers, he at once secured (through Communist influence) a \$6,000 a year Government job in the Federal Research Project, which lasted for a few months (1285-1289). He told Hiss of his new "cover job", but did not tell him the purpose for which he wanted it; and Hiss remarked (at least in paraphrase): "Well, I expect you will turn up in the State Department one of these days" (1288).

Chambers last saw Hiss in 1938 (671, 1079, 1178, 1190); but before finally going into hiding Chambers called on Mr. and Mrs. Hiss (then living on Dent Place), and tried to persuade Hiss to break away from the Communist Party; but Hiss absolutely refused to do so (572, 1190).

Chambers then fled into hiding (1187-8) and completely disappeared (1287, 1288) for the time being (1186-1189, 1191, 1196-1200, 1256); but in 1939 was employed by "TIME" and was receiving a \$25,000 a year salary (1197-1198).

²⁶ The following brief references might be profitably consulted: 1110-1123, 1124-1126, 1157-1160, 1349.

Chambers' 1939 statements to the Government of (1) his own Communistic career and (2) the infiltration of Communists (including Hiss) into important Government positions. In the summer of 1939, Isaac Don Levine learned something of Chambers' experience with, and flight from, Communism (1005, 1006). A few days after Stalin and Hitler signed their "Non-Aggression Pact" of August 23, 1939, Levine (failing to see President Roosevelt), was referred by the President's Private Secretary, Marvin McIntyre, to Assistant Secretary of State Berle (1007).

On or about August 29, 1939, Chambers and Levine dined with Mr. Berle at the latter's Washington residence. Chambers revealed to Berle his whole story of the Communist "underground" in Washington (1007-8, 1191-2, 1292-4), and particularly mentioned the names of Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Nathan Witt and Lee Pressman (1292-1294).

Mr. Berle was both worried and disturbed, because he "believed that Chambers was telling the truth as he saw it" (1294). Berle at once took the following precautionary steps: (i) Established very close relations between the State Department and the F. B. I.; (ii) Organized a special section in the State Department to follow any Communist activities; (iii) Arranged to have a weekly liaison meeting with the F. B. I. for the exchange of information; (iv) Worked with the Department of Justice in passing needed legislation for the Government's protection; and (v) Twice checked with Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, who had Alger Hiss as his executive assistant; and Acheson vouched for both the Hisses absolutely (1294, *et seq.*).

Sometime later, Levine conveyed the Chambers revelations to William C. Bullitt, then Ambassador to France, and

to Lloyd Henderson, in charge of the Russian Section of the State Department (1008). Since then, the State Department has removed 134 members of the State Department, for disloyalty reasons (1176).

In 1943, and again in 1945, Chambers reported the facts about Hiss to the F. B. I. (671).

Chambers never got in touch with the "Committee on Un-American Activities", which has been carrying on the "Hearings" (1189); but the Committee sought out Chambers in New York, and then, without any advance notice, subpoenaed him to testify (1189, 1191).

Let us now consider the testimony which Mr. Hiss gave in August, 1948, before the "Un-American Activities" Committee.

II. Hiss' Testimony.

Hiss denied he was, or ever had been, a Communist, or a member of any "underground" group (643, 942); denied ever knowing Whittaker Chambers,²⁷ or anyone who went solely by the name of "Carl" (643, 646, 647, 938, 991); but, after long questioning about many personal incidents in his own life, and after being shown both old and recent photographs of Chambers, Hiss said there seemed to be some familiarity in the face (940, 946, 953, 985, 1079, 1128, 1131, 1145). Upon a personal confrontation of Chambers and Hiss before the Committee, Hiss then identified Chambers as a man whom he had known in 1934-1935 under the name of George Crosley (977-8, 979, 986, 987, 988, 991, 998, 1078, 1128, 1130).

²⁷ First heard the name Whittaker Chambers from the F. B. I. in May, 1947 (936-7, 991).

While Hiss admitted close friendship with Collins (970), and that he personally knew Chambers, Pressman, Witt, Abt, Kramer, Ware, Collins and Coe (pp. 2-3, *supra*, Notes ², ³, ⁴, ⁵, ⁷, ⁹, ¹⁰; 987-8, 998, 1130, 643, 653, 970), Hiss denied meeting with them in Collins' Apartment in St. Matthews Court (997, 998, 1171-2); and denied paying Communist dues (941 991, 997).

HISS' STORY OF HIS ALLEGED SLIGHT PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE
WITH AN APPARENTLY FICTITIOUS GEORGE CROSELY, WHOM
HE LATER POSITIVELY IDENTIFIED AS WHITTAKER
CHAMBERS.

1. *Hiss' first acquaintance with George Crosley.*

In the fall of 1934, while Hiss was a legal assistant to the Senate Munitions Committee [Nye Committee], he claimed to have met one George Crosley, who represented himself as a married man with one baby, and as a free lance writer for magazines, preparing articles about the munitions investigation for sale to, or publication in, some magazine (955-6, 981, 1082, 1084). Except for himself and Mrs. Hiss, he has been unable to find anyone—not even his brother, Donald Hiss, or Senator Nye—who ever heard of Crosley (1090-2, 1117), although he said Crosley was for many months a free lance writer around the Capital. There is no Congressional Library record of Crosley ever writing anything (1090-3).

Hiss' continuing acquaintance with George Crosley. In late May, 1935, Hiss vacated his furnished 28th Street Apartment, and moved into the fully furnished P Street house (pp. 12, 13, *supra*; 982, 1085, 1087). This left the 28th Street Apartment on Hiss' hands for the few weeks' unexpired term until June 26 [or July 1], 1935 (1086-8).

Hiss testified that shortly thereafter, to-wit: In June, 1935 (980), Crosley said he was planning to spend the summer in Washington on the Munitions Committee researches; and Hiss sub-let the 28th Street Apartment to Crosley at its actual cost to Hiss for "just the summer months" until September or October (949, 956-7, 980, 981, 1085-8, 1089, 1108, 1150, 1151; Cf. 986); that Crosley and his family spent "a day or two in my (Hiss') house (P Street) when he moved in" to the 28th Street Apartment (949, 1151), while Crosley was waiting for his furniture to come by van ²⁸ (956-8, 980, 983, 1087, 1151); and that he (Hiss) left some of his own furniture in the 28th Street Apartment for Crosley's use (956, 980, 1087); and that Crosley "stayed there (in the 28th Street Apartment) all summer" "until the lease expired in September, 1935" ²⁹ (964, 981).

Hiss further testified that when, in June, 1935, he sub-let his 28th Street Apartment to Crosley for the summer until September, 1935 (949, 956, 964, 980, 981, 1085-1089, 1108), Crosley had no automobile, but wanted one (957, 982, 1098); that he [Hiss] "sold", "gave" or "threw in" his 1929 Ford, as a part of the sub-letting, by which Crosley would pay the rent for the four weeks unexpired term of the lease (957, 958, 1097-9); and that his reason (in June, 1935) for getting rid of the 1929 Ford was that he already had "another car" (957, 1093-1095, 1119), namely, a two-door "Plymouth" Sedan (959).

²⁸ Chambers says he brought no furniture to the 28th Street Apartment (986, 1182, 1192-3).

²⁹ The inconsistency of Hiss' testimony is obvious, as the lease expired June 26, 1935 (1086-7); and, hence, it was impossible for him to have rented it to Crosley for "the summer months" or for Crosley to have "stayed there all summer" (981). This is so because the gas and electricity were both turned off in the apartment June 26—June 29, 1935 (1090), and "Mr. Hiss vacated on June 28, 1935" (1087, 1088), and "This apartment was vacant for the month of July. On August 1, 1935, it was rented to W. E. Iseman" (1087, 1088).

It quickly developed that Hiss did not have "another car". He did not get the "Plymouth" until September 7, 1935 when he bought one from the Smoot Motor Co. (1095, 1120-1121).

Hiss has never explained that discrepancy.³⁰ The last time Hiss saw Crosley was in 1935, and, even at that, only two or three times after June 26, 1935^{30a} (984, 1121, 1170-1).

Mr. Hiss' story of his voluntary termination of his acquaintance with George Crosley. Hiss testified that Crosley never paid the rent for the 28th Street Apartment, but gave Hiss a rug as "part payment" which Hiss described as "the damned thing"³¹ (964, 969, 984, 1153-1154) and borrowed \$35 or \$40 from Hiss but never repaid it (Id. 981); that by September, 1935 he realized that Crosley had "welshed" on him, was a "deadbeat", "four flusher" and had made a "sucker" out of Hiss, who thereupon, in September, 1935, ended his acquaintance with Crosley, and practically ordered him out of the house (957, 969, 970).

³⁰ There is a complete collation of his various contradictory statements about "selling" or "throwing in" the 1929 Ford to Crosley (1100-1102, 1104, 1106, 1119-1121, 1124-1126, 1158-1160).

^{30a} Hiss later advanced the possibility that he might have seen Crosley in 1936 (1170-2).

This is one trifling instance of the very large number of times, when, after making a positive statement, Hiss would throw out an anchor to windward to take care of the possibility that his statement might be contradicted—with the result that, on almost every important issue, he always left a loophole through which to escape from any future inconvenient contradiction or otherwise established fact.

³¹ Hiss' statements with respect to the *period* of the oral lease, Crosley's rental *occupancy* of the 28th Street Apartment, *loans* and their *non-payment*, *non-payment of rent*, the "rug" payment on account, and possible payment of "\$15 or \$20" on account, are so incomprehensibly inconsistent and contradictory that neither the Congressional Committee nor a reader of the testimony can know which of the statements Hiss desires to stand on (Cf. 949, 956, 964, 969, 980, 981, 984, 1087-8, 1150-1, 1153-4).

Hiss insisted that from the time he first met Crosley in the fall of 1934, he had only seen him from four to seven times before Crosley moved into the 28th Street Apartment in June, 1935 (1153; *contra* 982); that after June, 1935 he only saw Crosley two or three times (1121); last saw him in 1935³² (1170, 1171); and that he had never thought of Crosley since (948, 964).

The foregoing review substantially covers Hiss' testimony upon to August 24, 1948.

Until August 24, 1948, the Committee's fourteen hearings—July 31-August 20, 1948—and the testimony of its twenty-seven witnesses [533 printed pages] dealt almost entirely with two specific questions, to wit, (1) Did Hiss know Chambers?; and (2) Was Hiss a Communist?

The testimony developed some incidental matters of no apparent importance. Later those matters became of major importance in testing the credibility of Chambers and of Hiss, to wit:

(1) When Hiss disposed of his 1929 Ford car to Crosley, did he do so because he had "*another* car" and no longer had any use for the old Ford (Cf. pp. 19, 20, 22, *supra*)?

(2) Did Hiss really dispose of the old Ford to Crosley in June, 1935,[?] and never see it again as he claimed (p. 19, *supra*)?

³² Hiss' statements on that subject are so contradictory that it is impossible to tell which version he stands by (Cf. 1121, 1170, 1171, 1172, bottom and top of page 1173).

August 24, 1948—A Fateful³³ Date for Hiss

Suddenly, without warning, and beginning on August 24 and continuing upon August 25, 26, 27 [omitting Saturday and Sunday], 30, September 8-9, the Committee introduced seventeen new witnesses, who answered the above two questions directly contrary to Mr. Hiss' sworn testimony.

1. *Hiss did not have "another car" in June, 1935, as he did not acquire "another car" until September 7, 1935.* On September 7, 1935 Hiss purchased, from the Smoot Motor Co., a new, 1935, Plymouth Sedan, Model PJ (959, 983, 1095, 1100, 1101, 1104, 1106, 1119-1121). That definitely proved that Hiss' explanation that, in June, 1935, he disposed of his Ford car to Crosley, *because* he then also had a new Plymouth Sedan was not true.

2. *Hiss did not dispose of his 1929 Ford car to Crosley in June, 1935; but he kept it for himself, and did not dispose of it until July 23, 1936, when he disposed of it under very mysterious circumstances.* On July 23, 1936, Hiss' 1929 Ford mysteriously disappeared—something which Hiss has never explained. Hiss repeatedly stated that, in early June, 1935, he sold, gave, or threw in his 1929 Ford to Crosley, and handed him the certificate of title therefor (957-9, 963, 983, 991, 1094, 1095, 1098-1108, 1152); that he did not know what Crosley had done with the old Ford (1095); and that he never saw Crosley more than two or three times after June 26, 1935, and last saw him in 1935 (984, 1121, 1170, 1171).

³³ "Fraught with destiny, bearing with it or involving momentous consequences; decisive, important. Masked by the influence of fate; controlled as if by irresistible destiny." *Century Dictionary*.

Of the Committee's seventeen new witnesses, seven³⁴ of them proved (by introduction of official Government records) that on July 23, 1936 [*more than a year after* Hiss claimed to have "sold", "given" or "thrown in" the Ford car to Crosley, and had never seen or heard of it again] Alger Hiss personally signed, wrote in his own handwriting, swore to, and delivered to the Cherner Motor Co., an Assignment of Title #245647 to his 1929 Ford car;³⁵ that on the same date, July 23, 1936, the Cherner Motor Co. mysteriously sold, and transferred, the car to William Rosen, at a fictitious address, "No. 5405 13th St." (1067-1068); but that no record was kept of the transaction, which was contrary to every sale or other transaction in the Cherner Motor Co.'s business (1110-1119, 1121-1123).

Wm. Rosen refused to tell whether he was a Communist (1209, 1213, 1216), or ever bought a Ford car (1130, 1209) or owned a 1929 Ford (1212, 1339) or on July 23, 1936, bought a car from Cherner Motor Co. (1212, 1213) or signed "Wm. Rosen" to the transfer of title (1213) or stayed at the fictitious address given as "5405—13th St." (1213).³⁶

Hiss admitted his own signature, handwriting in, and oath to, the transfer of title, before his long-time fellow attorney in the Department of Justice; but he denied all knowledge of disposing of the car or of the purchaser "Wm. Rosen" (1071-1074, 1095, 1115-1125, 1127).

³⁴ Joseph Cherner (1052-1060); Leon Cherner (1223-1227); Henry Cherner (1227-1229)—brothers; Samuel Mensh (1060-1063); Henry Gertler (1063-1070); Floyd Brewer (1229-1232); W. Marvin Smith (1071-1074).

³⁵ 1929 Model "A" Ford Roadster, No. A-2188811; original date of registration 9-19-1933 (p. 11, *supra*, note #19).

³⁶ For other references to Rosen's testimony (see 1214-1217, 1330-1338, 1340; *U. S. v. Rosen*, C. C. A. (2nd) No. 209—October Term 1948, decided April 25, 1949).

During the taking of the testimony of the Committee's seventeen sudden and new witnesses, Hiss testified three times (1076-1078, 1115-1176, 1118), so that he had every opportunity [66 pages] to explain away the overwhelming evidence that his many previous statements were not true.

The whole incident [involving Hiss, the Ford car, the motor company, the purchaser and fictitious address] is an amazing corroboration of Chambers' initial, and very casual, account of how, in 1936, Hiss deliberately disposed of the Ford car (p. 14, note 25, *supra*).

This episode is the most convincing proof in the record of Chambers' truthfulness and accuracy, and of Hiss' utter unreliability.³⁷

The Committee got in touch with Chambers, who gave it all his data, including that which he had long before revealed to the Government (pp. 1189-1191).

Chambers was willing to submit to a lie detector test (671); answered freely a number of written questions which Hiss propounded to him (pp. 1199-1200); never qualified his answers nor asked for a copy of his own testimony, and was never accompanied by counsel (pp. 1195-1196); but Hiss refused to submit to a "lie-detector" test (965-967).

On August 24 [the fateful day] the Committee introduced Martha Pope [whom Hiss had vouched for as "practically a member of the family" at p. 960]. She testified that she worked for Hiss about 5 years (1045) both in the 28th Street Apartment and at P St. (1044); that Hiss left the 28th Street Apartment "furnished" (1044) and took

³⁷ There are several valuable summaries, by members of the Committee, of Hiss' varying, inconsistent, and contradictory statements (1100-1106, 1124-1126, 1157-1160, 1353).

no furniture with them (1046); still had the Ford car *after* he moved to P St. (1048) which was the only car he had (id.). Hiss then broke apart from almost everything which he had previously testified to with great positiveness. It is hardly worth while to analyze the many subjects³⁸ concerning which his testimony then began to be shifty, mixed, confused, and uncertain (1085, 1086, 1087, 1089, 1090, 1094, 1095-1098, 1100-1103, 1104, 1105-6, 1107, 1111, 1112, 1119, 1120-1123, 1135, 1136, 1151, 1155, 1170-1172).

*Hiss' evasiveness, lack of frankness, and double-entendre.*³⁹ This is easily shown:

(a) Hiss said (1134):

"In the late fall or early winter [1946] when I was *preparing to accept* election as president of the Carnegie Endowment, I *checked with him* [Byrnes] *specifically*, as to whether he thought the issue had been laid to rest . . . or whether he thought there was still a fight. *It was his impression, as I recall it*, as it was certainly mine . . . that the matter had been entirely *laid to rest*."

³⁸ Whether Crosley and his wife were guests before or after the spring and summer of 1935; Crosley was waiting for a furniture van; ride with Crosley, Hiss and Mrs. Hiss to New York in Ford car for 7-10 hours; Crosley's stay overnight with Hiss after expiration of lease; never saw Crosley in 30th Street House; left furniture behind in 28th Street Apartment for Crosley's use; expiration of 28th Street Apartment lease; length of Crosley's stay in 28th Street Apartment; ownership of two cars when he let Crosley have old Ford; final disposition of old Ford; acquisition of new "Plymouth"; loans to Crosley; time relation of finding Crosley to be a "dead beat", "four flusher" and "welsher" to Crosley's leaving 28th Street Apartment, and loans to him; circumstances of selling old Ford to Cherner Motor Co. on July 23, 1936; when he last saw Crosley re possession of old Ford.

³⁹ See "ambiguity (3)" "ambiguous (2)" "ambiguousness", "double (adj) (5)", "double-entendre", "double-facedness", "double-dealing", "double-heartedness", "double-meaning", "duplicity (1)", *Century Dictionary*.

(b) Hiss also said (1134):

"At the time when I accepted election as President of the Carnegie Endowment [January, 1947 (645)] *I particularly checked with Justice Byrnes* as to whether I had my work in the Department in sufficient shape . . . for me to leave.

I particularly reminded him that at the time when these charges had just come up in March [1946 (648)] I had said to him 'If there is any embarrassment to the Department about any of this, Mr. Byrnes, I will [immediately resign]. I don't like to resign under fire or in a fight. He agreed with me."

Those were not statements about ancient events, nor made on the spur of the moment (without any opportunity for thought or investigation); but, on the contrary, they related to two vital conversations with Secretary of State Byrnes less than two years before; and Hiss' statements were made *after* he had already testified five times (135 printed pages) before the Committee, within the preceding three weeks.

Hiss thus stated that on *two separate occasions*⁴⁰,

"I *checked with him* [Byrnes] specifically", and
 "I *particularly checked* with Justice Byrnes";
 "I *particularly reminded him*"; and
 "He *agreed with me*"

Hiss meant the Committee to believe that he had twice *personally* seen and talked with Byrnes; "*particularly*" (twice), "*specifically*" (once), "*checked with Byrnes*", and Byrnes "*agreed with me*".

⁴⁰ As thus defined by himself: *First*, in late 1946 when he was "preparing to accept"; and, *Second*, in January, 1947 [but *before* January 20th when Byrnes resigned as Secretary of State].

The Trustees present at the dinner [Beekman Hotel, 575 Park Ave.] on Sunday evening, December 12, 1948 will recall that, after dinner, Mr. Bullitt asked Mr. Hiss these two questions:

First: Did you testify before the Committee [as above stated]?

Mr. Hiss answered "Yes".

Second: When, and where, did you personally see Secretary of State Byrnes? and "particularly" and "specifically" "check" with him, about the propriety of accepting the Presidency of the Carnegie Endowment?

Mr. Hiss answered substantially as follows:

"I did not personally see, 'check with', or communicate with Secretary of State Byrnes. But I asked Mr. Acheson to do so; and I understood from him that Secretary Byrnes said it was all right for me to accept the Presidency of the Carnegie Endowment."

Further: Mr. Hiss testified several times that Mr. John Foster Dulles especially recommended him to the Carnegie Endowment for its Presidency (645-646, 659).

In response to a Committee question whether he had told Mr. Dulles, or any one else, about the Secretary Byrnes interview in 1946 regarding the F. B. I.—Congressional charge that Hiss was a Communist, Mr. Hiss replied (1133):

"Shortly after I had been elected but before I had assumed office I had a conversation with Mr. John Foster Dulles in which he said that he had heard reports that people had called me a Communist. We discussed those reports at that time.

I can only assume . . . that Mr. Dulles was satisfied that there was nothing to the reports, as I was my-

self . . . Before I assumed office, the matter was discussed between me and Mr. Dulles, as I testified. It was some time in December. I assumed office February 1, 1947. Some time in December, 1946, the matter was discussed between me and Mr. Dulles.

MR. MUNDT: Did you bring it up with Mr. Dulles or did Mr. Dulles bring it up with you?

MR. HISS: Mr. Dulles called me and said he had had a report. I said 'I thought that had been laid to rest' and I discussed it with him then.'

From that testimony every one would assume that Hiss and Dulles had a personal "conversation" and "discussed" the reports about Hiss being a Communist.

At the Trustees' dinner of December 12 (*supra*) Mr. Bullitt asked Mr. Hiss *where* his meeting with Dulles took place. Mr. Hiss replied that he did not see Mr. Dulles, who had only telephoned from New York and Hiss had denied the reports.

In short, Hiss withheld from Mr. Dulles, Mr. Ballantine, and the Trustees—until the whole scandal burst forth before the "Un-American Activities" Committee in August, 1948—all information about the ten-years investigation (1938-1948) that had been going on by the F. B. I., members of Congress, and Secretary of State Byrnes, concerning Hiss as a Communist.

His testimony before the Committee was a *double entendre* which did not tell the facts—until they were forced out at the Trustees' dinner on December 12, 1948.

But that is not all.

Mr. Hiss never told anything whatever about the following two long subsequent interviews he had with Mr. Dulles.

One in February, 1948, when Mr. Dulles "searchingly questioned" Mr. Hiss about his "Communist contacts" (p. 8, *supra*). The second one August 18, 1948, when Mr. Dulles suggested that Mr. Hiss voluntarily resign as President; and the Trustees will recall the dinner on Sunday evening, December 12, 1948 and the circumstances of the resignation tendered the next morning.

Further examples seem superfluous.

Conclusion

This "Review" has far exceeded its intended length.

* * * * *

Mr. Chambers' testimony appears as a blunt, straightforward, positive, unqualified statement of facts, unsupported by legal assistance or anything else, except an unaided memory of facts within his personal knowledge—none of which have been shown to be inaccurate; but, on the other hand, unexpectedly corroborated by Mr. Hiss himself, and by many disinterested third party records and oral evidence.

Mr. Hiss' testimony appears as that of an able, highly educated man, of professional training, with an amazingly accurate memory of every detail of the testimony heard at each prior Committee Meeting, with great dialectical skill and mental alertness; but cautious in expression, always with an anchor thrown to windward to cover any inconsistency or proven contradiction; and yet his statement of facts within his own personal experience has been constantly contradicted and torn to shreds by indisputable third party public and private written records, and disinterested oral evidence. His longtime Communistic friends and associates have refused (under plea of self incrimina-

tion) to answer the very questions which, if answered, might easily have contradicted Chambers and largely exonerated Hiss.

WM. MARSHALL BULLITT

Nassau, Bahamas.
December 4, 1948

Mr. Chambers' production of micro films and typewritten copies of confidential State Department documents which he claims Hiss gave him, and the Federal Grand Jury's indictment of Hiss for perjury before it, do not relate to any of the facts stated in this "Review"; and are not considered in it. (See footnote p. 14, note 24, *supra*.)

At the May meeting of the Trustees of The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Mr. Hiss was not re-elected as its President, but is still one of its Trustees.

Louisville, Ky.
May 26, 1949

Statement of Relations
between
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
and
Mr. Alger Hiss

At the December 1945 meeting of the Trustees, it was generally felt that the Endowment should have a full-time, paid President, to succeed Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. It was understood that the Executive Committee would explore this further and it was suggested that the Trustees should suggest possible nominees.

At their May 1946 meeting, the Trustees appointed a Committee of three to propose nominations for President, the Committee consisting of Mr. John E. Davis, Mr. Arthur A. Ballantine and Mr. Eliot Wadsworth. Mr. John Foster Dulles, as prospective Chairman of the Board, occasionally met with the New York members of the Committee.

The Committee met on several occasions and had frequent exchanges of views, and a number of names were put forward by various Trustees. About ten persons were seriously considered. One of these was Mr. Alger Hiss, then Director of the State Department Office on Special Political Affairs (United Nations matters). Of those on the considered list, three were approached, but indicated that they would not be available. It then seemed that Mr. Hiss was the next most available person. He was personally known to several of the Trustees. He had been with the Department of State upwards of ten years and, while there, had been given ever-increasing responsibility. The Committee

accordingly took steps to check his record with the State Department, with the law firms with which he had been associated in private practice and with others, including several Trustees of the Endowment who knew him. The reports were uniformly laudatory and indicated that Mr. Hiss was well qualified to head up the work of the Endowment.

Members of the Committee then met personally with Mr. Hiss and discussed with him the problems of the Endowment. He showed a quick grasp of these problems, and his intimacy with the United Nations and its tasks impressed the members of the Committee. He indicated that he would be willing to resign from the State Department to take the position although his work in the Department was such that his superiors had asked him not to resign at that particular time. Later on, about October 1946, Mr. Hiss advised that he had finally gotten clearance from the Department so that he could leave by January, 1947.

At the meeting of the Trustees held on December 9, 1946, the Committee proposed that Mr. Hiss be elected President and reported on his qualifications and the several Trustees present who had known Mr. Hiss personally, also expressed their high opinion of him. Thereupon he was unanimously elected President on the understanding that he would take office early in 1947. At the same meeting Mr. John Foster Dulles was elected Chairman of the Board.

Following the announcement of Mr. Hiss' election by the Endowment, the Endowment received many laudatory and congratulatory statements. The Acting Secretary of State - now the

Secretary of State - on December 10, 1946 issued a statement which referred to Mr. Hiss' work with the State Department as representing "outstanding devotion and ability" ever since he went to the Department in 1936; which credited him with being "one of the really basic causes for the success" of the San Francisco Conference; and which said that with his departure the Department "would lose one of its very best men."

That judgment was typical of the judgments regarding Mr. Hiss which had been expressed to the Committee during the preceding months and which were expressed following the public announcement of his election as President of the Endowment.

Prior to Mr. Hiss' election, no suggestion had come to the Trustees that Mr. Hiss was, or had been, a communist or that there was any suspicion of his loyalty. However, among the communications received following Mr. Hiss' election, there were certain suggestions that Mr. Hiss might once have had communist affiliations. The intimations were similar to rumors then prevalent regarding several highly placed persons and it did not seem that they justified credence as against the overwhelming verdict, by those who had known Hiss, as to his loyalty to American traditions. However, since one of the persons who made that suggestion was in New York City, and known by reputation as an able and zealous opponent of communism, the Chairman of the Endowment talked with him on January 2, 1947. He told him that since Mr. Hiss had actually been elected President, there was nothing that the Trustees could now do on the basis of mere rumors, but that if

he would be eager to get it and lay it before the Trustees, with a view to possible action.

The Chairman then told Mr. Hiss that he had heard rumors that he was, or had been, a communist. Mr. Hiss denied in the most categorical terms that he was or ever had been a communist or "fellow traveler". He said that he had satisfied the F.B.I. on that point.

After nearly two months, the New York informant above referred to wrote that, while he believed that there was information in the files of the F.B.I.

"In view of the fact that these files are not available for reference, I could not, and I do not believe that you, could accept the available evidence uncorroborated as definitive. I am therefore dropping the matter."

Later, on May 19, 1947 he wrote as follows:

"Sometime ago I called on you to tell you that I had learned of a man who claimed to have information about Mr. Alger Hiss. After investigating it further, I wrote you that what this man claimed to know, I could not believe and did not think you would believe without corroboration, and so I thought the matter should be considered as idle rumor."

During this period, Mr. Hiss was, as President, carrying on his responsibilities with ability and he was a strong

supporter of national measures, such as economic aid to Western Europe, which were being violently opposed by the Soviet Union.

In February, 1948, there came to the attention of the Endowment another report that Mr. Hiss had had communist contacts. In the light of this report, the Chairman again asked Mr. Hiss to see him and again questioned him searchingly. Mr. Hiss denied that he had had any communist affiliations except that, when he was practicing law and when he was in the Department of Agriculture, he was thrown into casual association with some persons who had communist sympathies. He went on to say that he had just appeared before the Grand Jury in New York and had been asked questions about these and a few other people, most of whom he did not know. The Chairman then rechecked with an official in the Department of State who was peculiarly in a position to know the facts, and was told by him that he was completely satisfied as to Mr. Hiss' loyalty and reliability.

The Chairman communicated the substance of the foregoing to some of the Endowment Trustees in New York and it was their common feeling that there was no basis for any Endowment action.

On August 3, 1948, at a Hearing before the House Committee, Chambers named Mr. Alger Hiss as having been in 1937 or thereabouts a part of the underground communist apparatus in Washington and that charge initiated a series of events that are a matter of public knowledge.

While the Chambers-Hiss Hearings were pending before the House Committee, the Department of State announced that Secretary of State Marshall had appointed Mr. Alger Hiss to be one of the two Vice Chairmen of the National Citizens' Committee for United Nations Day.

On August 18, 1948 the Chairman asked Mr. Hiss to see him, and told him that while he was confident that the Trustees would not themselves want to take action that might imply judgment against him or be prejudicial to him in relation to disputed facts, he thought that Mr. Hiss, out of consideration for the Endowment, should voluntarily resign and relieve the Endowment of embarrassment. Mr. Hiss said that he was prepared to do this, but wished to defer such action until after the hearings before the House Committee were concluded, but that he would have in mind resigning during September.

On September 3, 1948 the Chairman, who was about to leave for Paris, arranged for Mr. Shotwell to assume administrative direction of the affairs of the Endowment as from September 1, 1948.

On December 13, 1948 at the regular semi-annual meeting of the Trustees, Mr. Hiss offered his resignation. The Trustees voted that no action be taken at that time on the resignation; that Mr. Hiss be granted leave of absence for the period of three months, and that Mr. Shotwell be appointed Acting President with all the authority and duties pertaining to the office of President under the By-Laws.

On December 15, 1948, Mr. Hiss was indicted for perjury in connection with testimony given by him in contradiction to that of Mr. Chambers.

The three months' leave of absence granted to Mr. Hiss by the Trustees will expire on March 13, 1949.

Washington Office:
 exp. fuel 13,100.⁰⁰
 Sec'y office Salaries 33827.50
 Misc Exp 2,000.
 Library & Documents 14,969.36
 Miss Exp 3609.⁰⁹
 Sundry Expenses 24412.54

 48796.86 43,121.63
 43121.63

 91918.49

 91918.49
 24653.59

 176572.08

Grants in Aid 7500.00
 41050.
 27500
 808630

 8413630

Publications
 Internal Circulation 24850.00
 Work thro Publications 14168.19
 Publications 2836.54
 2033.87

 43888.60

NY Office Salaries Exp.
 Rent & Heat 13,183.96
 Intercom. 22469.52
 Int. Com. 16508.17 1146.06
 Exec. & H. 20,556.85 2415.65
 P. Office 8333.38

 67867.92 16785.67
 16785.67

 84653.59

Necessary Exp. Salaries 176,572.08

 Grants in aid 8413630
 Publications 43,888.60
 Work thro Radio 25000.00
 Motion Pictures 10000.00
 Press & Public Relations 7500.00
 Regional Centers 35,661.26
 International Relations Club 22,008.37
 Work in Europe 25,371.51

 244,566.04

176,572.08
 248,566.04

 425,138.12

Martha
Pape
1109/1048
1050
1046
1109
1045
1044
1046
754

"Welsh" 1151

Miss acute fine memory
testimony of 1135-7 + 6x7-8.
+ mixed

Niss' Shift testimony after
Aug 24
on Aug 25

Subject matters

+ wife - 4 days
C guest in P St house
before C went into
56 apt

1st

Frank
maybe after
sp + summer 1935
(1151)

C was waiting
for furniture van

1151.

Ride to N. with
C + Niss wife
in Ford
7-10 Nov

1154-5

Stay overnight
"with Niss after
rental expires"

1155. Possible

John East Home
Aug 1936
never saw C
in it

1172
not sure 2d

Left furniture behind
in 28 St 1956
1057

of Pape
1046
1109

never saw Croody but 10 or 11 times
(153) saw 5 or 6 times before Croody
moved into 28th Apt (3d)

Review of Contradictions Communist.

Chambers "Confessions" p 3.

Who told me about Croody (Chambers) & his p.

length of entrance p 7-8-9 (665)

Side or left of 1929 Ford car p 8-9

Reason for Sale of Plymouth

See p 1100-1102 (See H p 11 mss)

Side of Ford car. 9

to circumstances.

Time of Plymouth purchase (1183)

Break of Chambers with Comm. 11.

Slight number of Chambers 12-13

Lease for summer to Croody, 13

Furniture left in 28th Apt (956, 980)

Length of Croody's stay 13 note H-15

Non payment of Rent

" (1153) leave 3-5-4 p 14

Previous San Angelo in 30th St Home (1172)

(which he took July 1936 (3d) Suburban (1173)

always require 2 (949-50, 93)

Denies Break of Comm. Chambers (9K8)

Never thought of Croody since 1935 until

Aug 16 L 964, 969. at 9K8.

Practically asked Croody to leave the

house (969)

Had wanted to take Lee detector

(965-7)

No contradiction
as to this

① agreement with
p. 12 many comments.

② agreement with
Chambers as Croody
list then
p 78
or as Carl.
2-12-14, 12

③ having been for
the past 11 yrs
under suspicion
& investigation as
a Red (970) 648
1133-5, 646, 1133.
1135. 647-8
971. 1132-5. 67/

④ July 1929 Ford
July 23. 1936

⑤ never told Carnegie
of the investigations
about himself p x-v

Disregard lease,
but Ford, (991, 981, 1084)

Chambers never wrote any
articles for the paper (994)

substance

C testimony at PSt (1184 &
1205).

PT mention of Croody
(948, 953) Aug 16

on
4 1/2
1936
1937

men

He was at p120

Henry Bernard (p1319 etc)
superiorly he wrote "H. Rosen" p1320
of 1322 or

He leaves it
1322

of 1326

of p1349

Use this for me
or have it typed in several
copies solely for you & me.

Very Confidential

To Elliot
Nasser Thanks giving

Does Nasser have no
References out-pose of the 1968
Printed Hearings.

(2) Dear Elliot: I am writing this on the
beach as Nora swims. A gorgeous day.
I have now re-read the 1360 printed
pages of the Nasser Chambers & Bentley
Hearings - again with different
colored - Black, Red, Purple & Green
pencils as aid & emphasis in my
study & for reference.

I am of the following opinion.

I Chambers' story is a very plain,
frank and apparently consistent
confession of a one time young
Communist - aged say 23 to 37 years old -
during the 20's & 30's - who, in about
1938, shifted his whole outlook on life.
His story might have been exaggerated,
fantastic, imaginary in parts, and may be
designed for publicity purposes.

But I must say I am convinced
of the truth of his story from the
following mutually exclusive and indepen-
dent considerations:

- (August 3)
- (1) Why should ^{he} at this late date ^{not} risk a \$200,000
gift with Time & its influence - for nothing.
 - (2) It is not a sudden invented tale. He had
at least as far back as 1939, told his story
to Isaac Don Levine (p 100 & seq), with
promise to pass it on to the President.

(8) passed on (including the reference to Alger Hiss) in 1939 to Secretary McEntyre, to Ex-Ambassador Bullitt (then close to Roosevelt), to Lloyd Anderson (p 1007-8); and to Joseph Berle (August 1939) then Asst Secy of State (p 1292 et seq) including the naming of Alger Hiss (p 1293) which disturbed Berle enough to pass it on to Dean Acheson + Frankfurter (p 1294 & 1297) also caused the organization of section in the State Department to look after such possibilities (p 1294-5). Chambers' story shows it was not a recent invention for present publicity or political purposes.

(3) Whitaker Chambers told his story in August 1948 - Aug 1, 4, 10, 15, 21, 30 -;

(Aug 3: Brief Open session (p 562-584)
7: Executive Session (p 661-672)
17: Executive " (p 946-949, 954)
25: Open " (p 1078-1079, 1116-1206)
27: Executive " (p 1255-1266)
30: Open " (p 1271-1280 only)

To me, the striking thing about Chambers' testimony ^{is} that at the ^{very} outset (Aug 3) Chambers told his ^{open} story re Alger Hiss in ^{very} short outline (p 565, 566, 567, 572, 576, 577, 579, 580); and the balance of his story was quite detailed ~~and~~ about many other persons of Communiste

Chambers

Memo of 7

601

Chambers 563-584.

Functionary p 180, 176 p.

about Aug 31 (1192)

Aug-1939 went to Govt Bldg 564-580-1,
989-990; 1191-2

Communist 1924-1937 ^{inc} p 1176

ditto, + writer on Daily Worker + New Masses 11747
+ much data re C. 1178. Write part time life 1188

Repudiation of Communism in 1937 p 1178

C's Break with Communism in 1937 or 8 (1285, 565, 566)

Year in hiding p 565 { Got at Hiss job with Go
see 1285 etc Hiss knew 1288

Intro due to Hiss by Ware + Peters p 1286, 1287, 1288
at 1279 re
Ware

Members of underground group Witt, Pressman, Hiss, Donald
Hiss, Perl, Krimer, alt Ware

each got one head of a "cell" 566

also Hiss' Record 568

Chambers paid functionary of Com. party 569, 568, 1280

Met with the group at Collins' apartment at
St Mathews Court 569-9, 575, 1180, 1181, 1284

Hiss denies seeing or meeting at Collins' or
Collins, or Chambers, Pressman with C. ditto with C.
Hiss denies seeing C with Ware or Peters p 998

① Chambers

62

Dues - ^{group} Colliers collected dues at his Apt & handed them to Chambers 569, 1184; Peters also collected dues from each cell, headed by one of the groups 566, 569, 571.

Dues collected ^{monthly} from Hess for 2 or 3 yrs p 663, 1184-5; Hess denies it p 995, 997, 1189.

1937 ^{or 1938} - Effort to get Hess to leave Com party; 1190

met Hess in 1934 p 1174-84; 1194

Very fond of Hess ^{friend} very close 1190, 1196

CSaw Hess constantly ^{Hess home} in 1935-36-37 until break in 1938 - 1195, 1195

Last saw Hess 1938 p 67, 1079, 1178, 1190

1936 members of group getting lost plus 1176

White & Hess riding in Govt. 576, 579

1934 p 1078-9

Chamberling 7 knew Hess 1935-7 p 662, 1196,

[and all others]

Hess knew me as Carl not as Chambers 953, 1193-4

I never Crossed 1195; Hess denies Carl 1099, 1195

only known as Carl in Washington 1205.

Hess was Communist because @ Peters said so (to) sub-

mittled Com. discipline for 2 or 3 yrs. 1166, 1181, 1189

Hess did not have party card, for security concept p 664 but was underground member p 663

Data re Hess family children & nick names p 664, 1192

Important Time spent in Hess home p 665, as guest, for guidance or insight p 665

③ Chambers

63

Description of Hiss several times p 66-6, 67, 1, 2

Omnibus p 66, 120 ✓; Hiss agrees p 66
Prothonotary Warbler p 66; " " 96 ✓
of 126

Ford Car: p 66-7 → 963,

Hiss says gave Car to C p 991; says "threw it in" p 991

C says Hiss never said Ford car to C p 120 ✓

C: " loaned it 1932

Hiss had it when C first knew him 1933

Hiss had Ford for some months before Hiss got Plymouth 1933

✓ Hiss said of Ford by leaving it at state street 1936

66-11, 110 Peters arranged it. 1280

Peters Full of Peters 127 set seq

C don't know McRosen 1284

Plymouth Car

666 Plymouth car 666 ✓ Got in Comp prob 1936

C says rose in it 1183 on trip DWY inf 36 or 37 ✓

Selling Water

C said Hiss selling water as little boy p 668; Hiss
agreed p 963

④ Chambers

6 ④

Reported to Govt of Hess in 1945, 1993, 1939
p 671

agrees to be best of 671

Chambers identified Hess p 118, just after p 118

Confrontation of Chambers & Hess

p 970, 981; & Hess's admission Chambers is
brosky, p 981, 982 + C identifies Hess p 986, 998

Hess' Testimony p 977, 981; identifies Whittaker as broodley

978, 987-8 Hess Both Committed 1986

28th St Apartment

C never sublet 28th St apt at p 986, 1178, 1179
C visited Hess in 28 St 1171, 1181, 1178, 1179

[wife & child]
but C spent time in 28 St apt after Hess

moved to P St p 986 [about 3 weeks] 1178
p 1179 [Enat over 6 weeks 1182] or maybe less 1182

no Rent at - usual
Commits method

Reason both were Committed p 986, 1182

C brought no furniture p 980, 1182, 1194

to broodley

Hess says no signed lease on 28 St p 991, purely
oral 981, began to discuss Spring 1935, p 981.

Hess says he fed C a couple of dogs p 992 *

met Hess at 28 St apt say 20 times 1178-9

C says he had no agreement place 1182

1084

⑤ Chambers

C never wrote for ^{other articles in} American Magazine
1994

Hess admits he never found anything written
by Crocker or Chambers 1994

C says

Hess + Mrs Hess met at P and School at 10:00
in 1962

Hess says C said he had rails on
Washington St Ry, 1994

Chambers says not P St Ry but W & A
Lines Baltimore 1994 11/95
11/28
11/30

Hess

"P" St Apart ment. ~~spent~~ C of family
spent few days there after Lee left 28th
St Apt 1182, 1184, 1185

Stayed over night at Hess' P St Home
constantly in 1936 & 1937 11/94 took meals
there 1184-5. 12/95 secured common 11/97

no business
relationship + no pay ment for staying in Hess' home 1955-11/99-90

Hess Home after Hess left P. St Home
in Georgetown + 2 or 3 weeks away from P St Home
Stayed there 11/85 (several occasions) Described (D)

⑥ Chambers

60

C residences

1930 Hunterdon County N.J. 1186 about 1902 or more
next Staten Island few months 1187
next Long Island with his mother 1187 1 yr at least
" Washylen in New York 1187
" back to L.I. 1187

1932 Hunterdon County near Glen Gardner 1187

approx J Baltimore - 2 yrs 1187
next Fled from Com. party 1187 into hiding
on Old Court Road near Baltimore
next St Paul St Baltimore 1187
" to his present (1948) address. 1187-8

1939 (early) to June 1197-8 \$2500 a year

Circumstances of Committee getting in
touch with ~~Quaker~~ who gave it
all his data revealing to Galt 1189, 1191
Hess is "lying" 1199

C never wanted to qualify any of his business 1195
nor asked for any copy of his testimony 1195
no counsel with him 1196

C's early life very full 1196-7

C discusses a lot of written matters Hess proposed
taking 1199-1200.

① Chambers

67

Adm Re Hiss' trying to get property near Westminster Md; + C got it later

C small farm house 1256 Baltimore News Post August 27, p 1256

describes differences in appearance 1256

Hiss made down payment 1256-7⁸ + called it off -
a year later C tried to get it 1257, 1259

(C + Hiss made a trip in Hiss' old car (C thinks) 1257⁸ describes house. ~~is~~ about 1936 or 1937 (1260)

C bought it a year later, under his real name + did not want Hiss to know his real name (1257). 1259, 1260, 1263

C identified J Peters 1271, 1278

8 Hiss Memo of Hiss' story 8

Aug 5. Knew all the 7 or 8 underground groups 643
served knowing Chambers 643, 646, 647

W. Hiss
Doubts if he went to Collins St Matthews Court
apt. 651-8

Yalta 657

subles recounted Hiss for Carnegie 659 ✓

never paid dues to Carl, Peters or Collins 941 ✓

Aug 16.

May 1947 1st hearing of C from 2 FBI D at Carnegie
office asked under oath if he knew W.C. 936-7, 991 ✓

✓ 1946 Byrnes interview in 2 FBI D 937 ✓
no use of C name; but did see Freedman D

never knew Carl 938 (1934-1945) nor Peters D

at Collins St Matthews 938-9. contradicts
whether formerly uncertain 651

Freedman may have been there 651, 939: no mention
meeting there with, etc, Kramer 939 ✓

Identity & knowing W.C.

uncertain from photo, but some familiarity in face
946, 963, 985

940, 1079, 1128, 1131, 1145; Contradicts 642-659

Positively identified WC as broadly 987-8, 991, 1128, 1130. ✓

never paid money to Carl, Peters, Collins or dues to
Com. party 941

Never a Com. with party 941

Hess' testimony is always vague, doubtful, ex post facto, suspicious
not very forthright positive at 949-950. fearful of confessing
he knew C 953.

Dennis connection with C to "break off 948"

⑨ Hess

Aug 16 Wrote secretly on pad [Crossley] name as one
he possibly knew - re mention of Crossley
✓ p 948; mentions Crossley's name ✓ 959.

In June (980) 28th Sept [1934-35] ✓
sublet to Crossley 1949 June 1935 ✓
thanks for summer months to Sept 980 ✓ 981; lease expired June 28/35 ✓

Sarge C spent "a day or two in my house when he
moved in" [26 Sept] 949 ✓ [PST]

Saw Crossley 10 or 11 times in 5 or 6 mos bet meeting him retinglet ✓
after taken PST, I had 28th Sept "on my
hands" + "I let him have it at 950 ✓
11/51 → 980, L # N per me 981 - 2150 for 2 mos 275 for 3 mos
C stayed all summer 981 ✓
Crossley was in my apt 26 Sept until that
lease expired in September" ✓

Hess says moved from 28th Sept to PST (982) ✓

1935

#13 or 20

Crossley did not pay his rent but paid on ✓
+ gave away 904, 969, 983 ✓
I loaned 969; paid no cash but borrowed cash 981 ✓
Lease ran out in Sept Oct 980, 981 ✓
" to Crossley included July & August 981.

Hess framed in
no. 4 to put to
C (1165 Sept)

Hiss

H

11

Ford - A Model 1929

Left occupation of
this house at 10/10/29
about 10/10/29, 90%
the car "I sold him an automobile 957, 10/98
Want 100 as to value 1099
"I had an old, old Ford we had kept for sentimental
reasons. We got it just before we married in 1929.
I threw [it] in with the apartment and had
been trying to trade it in and get rid of it" 957
Model A with trunk on back (D)
"I threw it in" quote 957-8; p 943, 10/95

Martha Pope says
Hiss had Ford Model
A car + while at 28 St
when he moved to
all the time she worked
for Hiss 10/50

[A. Cupper left car to Hiss 958: cf C 1668.]

[Chandler]

Turned over, stated certificate of title to Crossley 159
Hand operator windshield 959: Chandler
said same thing p 666
"gave car to Crossley 963."

might have gone riding with Crossley in it 963.
after giving Crossley the car 963.-X

Don't think ever took trips with Crossley out of town 964
once drove him to NY city 964, 1154-5
Don't recall driving Crossley to Baltimore 964
Hiss says that at or after first talk with Crossley release of 28 St Apt
Crossley wanted a car - that Hiss had two Ford + Plymouth
X 1093) 1094 + transfer of title to Crossley 1094 of 959
Don't know what Crossley did with Ford 1095
suggests Crossley may have borrowed it back then 1095

12
Hiss
Hiss

H

12

Plymouth Car

2 door Plymouth sedan 959 959, 1101
New Ford, + new car at same time 983, 1095 ✓
2905 PST 1104
1106 ✓
1119-20
1121

29-A Model

September 7, 1935 Alger Hiss purchased
a new Plymouth, model PT sedan from
Smyth Motor Co (last title p1095).
p1120 ✓

Family nicknames + c

Mrs Hiss "Pussy" p960
Mr "Hill or Hilly" Chambers said so p664
son Trimmer Chambers said so p664

Found pet + c

Brown cocker spaniel 467; Chambers said so p665
Hiss' older sister in Texas 20 yrs, before that in Baltimore
with their mother 967; apparently Chambers lived 669
Vocatives

WM Eastern Shore Md. p961: Chambers said so 665

close friends Calhoun et al.

(13) Kiss

Merle Sternman 1939

A

13

Levine 100 Tetsey

Both Kisses named 1008

Tell Bullock about it 1008 & copy him to tell
Rosenfeld

State Dept. reports 134 members for
Anthrax p1176
L. A. Kelly

Marka Pape

when Kiss moved to P St, he still had the Ford 1045
did not move any furniture to P St 1046

28th St furnished 1044

4th Floor 1045

P St " 1046

Ford car only one

954

Joseph Cherner - Cherner Motor Co

Don't know W. Rosen 1055

129 Ford in 1936 #15 to 1058

SAMENSK Cherner Motor Co.

Don't know W. Rosen 1060

H. J. Gertler

Notes, Purdie p1064 for Menck

Ford Roadster 1929 Model A 21888119-19-33

p1065, 1115

Purdie W. Rosen p1067

W. Kiss assigned title to C. Motor Co. & it
sold car to W. Rosen p1068

Smith notarized Kiss's signature p1068

(14) Hiss

H

(14)

Wm Marvin Smith

Atty Dept Justice 34 yrs 1071

Knows Hiss 1072

assignment title by Alger Hiss on July 23
1936 to Chrysler Motors & returned to
Smith 1072

would not have done so unless Hiss
travels there 1074

Aug 25 / Alger Hiss says begins to modify
his previous story

28th St apt

Martha Pope says Hiss did
not move any furniture from 28th St to Apt 1048, 1046, 1109

✓
CH 151 d*
vacate
Fitz memorial
Shifting
1135-8
1135-7
1135-6
1135-5
1135-4
1135-3
1135-2
1135-1
1135-0

2905 P at rented to his children for
1 yr from 1/35 to June 5/36 at \$105
a mo. rent p 1085.

Sublet 28th St to Crowley at beginning of
summer 1935 p 1086, June 35/ (1108)
no idea how long Crosby in apt. 1086

Hiss
On May 29/34 Hiss
at 2831 28th St. Bet in July 1934
for 1 yr p 1087 vacated June 28/35 (dd)
apt vacant July/35 (dd) Aug 1 rented to
W E Herman (1085+8)

left some furniture behind in 28th St apt for
Crowley (1087)

1155
1156
1157
1158
1159
1160
1161
1162
1163
1164
1165
1166
1167
1168
1169
1170
1171
1172
1173
1174
1175
1176
1177
1178
1179
1180
1181
1182
1183
1184
1185
1186
1187
1188
1189
1190
1191
1192
1193
1194
1195
1196
1197
1198
1199
1200
1201
1202
1203
1204
1205
1206
1207
1208
1209
1210
1211
1212
1213
1214
1215
1216
1217
1218
1219
1220
1221
1222
1223
1224
1225
1226
1227
1228
1229
1230
1231
1232
1233
1234
1235
1236
1237
1238
1239
1240
1241
1242
1243
1244
1245
1246
1247
1248
1249
1250
1251
1252
1253
1254
1255
1256
1257
1258
1259
1260
1261
1262
1263
1264
1265
1266
1267
1268
1269
1270
1271
1272
1273
1274
1275
1276
1277
1278
1279
1280
1281
1282
1283
1284
1285
1286
1287
1288
1289
1290
1291
1292
1293
1294
1295
1296
1297
1298
1299
1300
1301
1302
1303
1304
1305
1306
1307
1308
1309
1310
1311
1312
1313
1314
1315
1316
1317
1318
1319
1320
1321
1322
1323
1324
1325
1326
1327
1328
1329
1330
1331
1332
1333
1334
1335
1336
1337
1338
1339
1340
1341
1342
1343
1344
1345
1346
1347
1348
1349
1350
1351
1352
1353
1354
1355
1356
1357
1358
1359
1360
1361
1362
1363
1364
1365
1366
1367
1368
1369
1370
1371
1372
1373
1374
1375
1376
1377
1378
1379
1380
1381
1382
1383
1384
1385
1386
1387
1388
1389
1390
1391
1392
1393
1394
1395
1396
1397
1398
1399
1400
1401
1402
1403
1404
1405
1406
1407
1408
1409
1410
1411
1412
1413
1414
1415
1416
1417
1418
1419
1420
1421
1422
1423
1424
1425
1426
1427
1428
1429
1430
1431
1432
1433
1434
1435
1436
1437
1438
1439
1440
1441
1442
1443
1444
1445
1446
1447
1448
1449
1450
1451
1452
1453
1454
1455
1456
1457
1458
1459
1460
1461
1462
1463
1464
1465
1466
1467
1468
1469
1470
1471
1472
1473
1474
1475
1476
1477
1478
1479
1480
1481
1482
1483
1484
1485
1486
1487
1488
1489
1490
1491
1492
1493
1494
1495
1496
1497
1498
1499
1500
1501
1502
1503
1504
1505
1506
1507
1508
1509
1510
1511
1512
1513
1514
1515
1516
1517
1518
1519
1520
1521
1522
1523
1524
1525
1526
1527
1528
1529
1530
1531
1532
1533
1534
1535
1536
1537
1538
1539
1540
1541
1542
1543
1544
1545
1546
1547
1548
1549
1550
1551
1552
1553
1554
1555
1556
1557
1558
1559
1560
1561
1562
1563
1564
1565
1566
1567
1568
1569
1570
1571
1572
1573
1574
1575
1576
1577
1578
1579
1580
1581
1582
1583
1584
1585
1586
1587
1588
1589
1590
1591
1592
1593
1594
1595
1596
1597
1598
1599
1600
1601
1602
1603
1604
1605
1606
1607
1608
1609
1610
1611
1612
1613
1614
1615
1616
1617
1618
1619
1620
1621
1622
1623
1624
1625
1626
1627
1628
1629
1630
1631
1632
1633
1634
1635
1636
1637
1638
1639
1640
1641
1642
1643
1644
1645
1646
1647
1648
1649
1650
1651
1652
1653
1654
1655
1656
1657
1658
1659
1660
1661
1662
1663
1664
1665
1666
1667
1668
1669
1670
1671
1672
1673
1674
1675
1676
1677
1678
1679
1680
1681
1682
1683
1684
1685
1686
1687
1688
1689
1690
1691
1692
1693
1694
1695
1696
1697
1698
1699
1700
1701
1702
1703
1704
1705
1706
1707
1708
1709
1710
1711
1712
1713
1714
1715
1716
1717
1718
1719
1720
1721
1722
1723
1724
1725
1726
1727
1728
1729
1730
1731
1732
1733
1734
1735
1736
1737
1738
1739
1740
1741
1742
1743
1744
1745
1746
1747
1748
1749
1750
1751
1752
1753
1754
1755
1756
1757
1758
1759
1760
1761
1762
1763
1764
1765
1766
1767
1768
1769
1770
1771
1772
1773
1774
1775
1776
1777
1778
1779
1780
1781
1782
1783
1784
1785
1786
1787
1788
1789
1790
1791
1792
1793
1794
1795
1796
1797
1798
1799
1800
1801
1802
1803
1804
1805
1806
1807
1808
1809
1810
1811
1812
1813
1814
1815
1816
1817
1818
1819
1820
1821
1822
1823
1824
1825
1826
1827
1828
1829
1830
1831
1832
1833
1834
1835
1836
1837
1838
1839
1840
1841
1842
1843
1844
1845
1846
1847
1848
1849
1850
1851
1852
1853
1854
1855
1856
1857
1858
1859
1860
1861
1862
1863
1864
1865
1866
1867
1868
1869
1870
1871
1872
1873
1874
1875
1876
1877
1878
1879
1880
1881
1882
1883
1884
1885
1886
1887
1888
1889
1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
1899
1900
1901
1902
1903
1904
1905
1906
1907
1908
1909
1910
1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
1916
1917
1918
1919
1920
1921
1922
1923
1924
1925
1926
1927
1928
1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
1941
1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988
1989
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
1995
1996
1997
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
2020
2021
2022
2023
2024
2025
2026
2027
2028
2029
2030
2031
2032
2033
2034
2035
2036
2037
2038
2039
2040
2041
2042
2043
2044
2045
2046
2047
2048
2049
2050
2051
2052
2053
2054
2055
2056
2057
2058
2059
2060
2061
2062
2063
2064
2065
2066
2067
2068
2069
2070
2071
2072
2073
2074
2075
2076
2077
2078
2079
2080
2081
2082
2083
2084
2085
2086
2087
2088
2089
2090
2091
2092
2093
2094
2095
2096
2097
2098
2099
2100
2101
2102
2103
2104
2105
2106
2107
2108
2109
2110
2111
2112
2113
2114
2115
2116
2117
2118
2119
2120
2121
2122
2123
2124
2125
2126
2127
2128
2129
2130
2131
2132
2133
2134
2135
2136
2137
2138
2139
2140
2141
2142
2143
2144
2145
2146
2147
2148
2149
2150
2151
2152
2153
2154
2155
2156
2157
2158
2159
2160
2161
2162
2163
2164
2165
2166
2167
2168
2169
2170
2171
2172
2173
2174
2175
2176
2177
2178
2179
2180
2181
2182
2183
2184
2185
2186
2187
2188
2189
2190
2191
2192
2193
2194
2195
2196
2197
2198
2199
2200
2201
2202
2203
2204
2205
2206
2207
2208
2209
2210
2211
2212
2213
2214
2215
2216
2217
2218
2219
2220
2221
2222
2223
2224
2225
2226
2227
2228
2229
2230
2231
2232
2233
2234
2235
2236
2237
2238
2239
2240
2241
2242
2243
2244
2245
2246
2247
2248
2249
2250
2251
2252
2253
2254
2255
2256
2257
2258
2259
2260
2261
2262
2263
2264
2265
2266
2267
2268
2269
2270
2271
2272
2273
2274
2275
2276
2277
2278
2279
2280
2281
2282
2283
2284
2285
2286
2287
2288
2289
2290
2291
2292
2293
2294
2295
2296
2297
2298
2299
2300
2301
2302
2303
2304
2305
2306
2307
2308
2309
2310
2311
2312
2313
2314
2315
2316
2317
2318
2319
2320
2321
2322
2323
2324
2325
2326
2327
2328
2329
2330
2331
2332
2333
2334
2335
2336
2337
2338
2339
2340
2341
2342
2343
2344
2345
2346
2347
2348
2349
2350
2351
2352
2353
2354
2355
2356
2357
2358
2359
2360
2361
2362
2363
2364
2365
2366
2367
2368
2369
2370
2371
2372
2373
2374
2375
2376
2377
2378
2379
2380
2381
2382
2383
2384
2385
2386
2387
2388
2389
2390
2391
2392
2393
2394
2395
2396
2397
2398
2399
2400
2401
2402
2403
2404
2405
2406
2407
2408
2409
2410
2411
2412
2413
2414
2415
2416
2417
2418
2419
2420
2421
2422
2423
2424
2425
2426
2427
2428
2429
2430
2431
2432
2433
2434
2435
2436
2437
2438
2439
2440
2441
2442
2443
2444
2445
2446
2447
2448
2449
2450
2451
2452
2453
2454
2455
2456
2457
2458
2459
2460
2461
2462
2463
2464
2465
2466
2467
2468
2469
2470
2471
2472
2473
2474
2475
2476
2477
2478
2479
2480
2481
2482
2483
2484
2485
2486
2487
2488
2489
2490
2491
2492
2493
2494
2495
2496
2497
2498
2499
2500
2501
2502
2503
2504
2505
2506
2507
2508
2509
2510
2511
2512
2513
2514
2515
2516
2517
2518
2519
2520
2521
2522
2523
2524
2525
2526
2527
2528
2529
2530
2531
2532
2533
2534
2535
2536
2537
2538
2539
2540
2541
2542
2543
2544
2545
2546
2547
2548
2549
2550
2551
2552
2553
2554
2555
2556
2557
2558
2559
2560
2561
2562
2563
2564
2565
2566
2567
2568
2569
2570
2571
2572
2573
2574
2575
2576
2577
2578
2579
2580
2581
2582
2583
2584
2585
2586
2587
2588
2589
2590
2591
2592
2593
2594
2595
2596
2597
2598
2599
2600
2601
2602
2603
2604
2605
2606
2607
2608
2609
2610
2611
2612
2613
2614
2615
2616
2617
2618
2619
2620
2621
2622
2623
2624
2625
2626
2627
2628
2629
2630
2631
2632
2633
2634
2635
2636
2637
2638
2639
2640
2641
2642
2643
2644
2645
2646
2647
2648
2649
2650
2651
2652
2653
2654
2655
2656
2657
2658
2659
2660
2661
2662
2663
2664
2665
2666
2667
2668
2669
2670
2671
2672
2673
2674
2675
2676
2677
2678
2679
2680
2681
2682
2683
2684
2685
2686
2687
2688
2689
2690
2691
2692
2693
2694
2695
2696
2697
2698
2699
2700
2701
2702
2703
2704
2705
2706
2707
2708
2709
2710
2711
2712
2713
2714
2715
2716
2717
2718
2719
2720
2721
2722
2723
2724
2725
2726
2727
2728
2729
2730
2731
2732
2733
2734
2735
2736
2737
2738
2739
2740
2741
2742
2743
2744
2745
2746
2747
2748
2749
2750
2751
2752
2753
2754
2755
2756
2757
2758
2759
2760
2761
2762
2763
2764
2765
2766
2767
2768
2769
2770
2771
2772
2773
2774
2775
2776
2777
2778
2779
2780
2781
2782
2783
2784
2785
2786
2787
2788
2789
2790
2791
2792
2793
2794
2795
2796
2797
2798
2799
2800
2801
2802
2803
2804
2805
2806
2807
2808
2809
2810
2811
2812
2813
2814
2815
2816
2817
2818
2819
2820
2821
2822
2823
2824
2825
2826
2827
2828
2829
2830
2831
2832
2833
2834
2835
2836
2837
2838
2839
2840
2841
2842
2843
2844
2845
2846
2847
2848
2849
2850
2851
2852
2853
2854
2855
2856
2857
2858
2859
2860
2861
2862
2863
2864
2865
2866
2867
2868
2869
2870
2871
2872
2873
2874
2875
2876
2877
2878
2879
2880
2881
2882
2883
2884
2885
2886
2887
2888
2889
2890
2891
2892
2893
2894
2895
2896
2897
2898
2899
2900
2901
2902
2903
2904
2905
2906
2907
2908
2909
2910
2911
2912
2913
2914
2915
2916
2917
2918
2919
2920
2921
2922
2923
2924
2925
2926
2927
2928
2929
2930
2931
2932
2933
2934
2935
2936
2937
2938
2939
2940
2941
2942
2943
2944
2945
2946
2947
2948
2949
2950
2951
2952
2953
2954
2955
2956
2957
2958
2959
2960
2961
2962
2963
2964
2965
2966
2967
2968
2969
2970
2971
2972
2973
2974
2975
2976
2977
2978
2979
2980
2981
2982
2983
2984
2985
2986
2987
2988
2989
2990
2991
2992
2993
2994
2995
2996
2997
2998
2999
3000
3001
3002
3003
3004
3005
3006
3007
3008
3009
3010
3011
3012
3013
3014
3015
3016
3017
3018
3019
3020
3021
3022
3023
3024
3025
3026
3027
3028
3029
3030
3031
3032
3033
3034
3035
3036
3037
3038
3039
3040
3041
3042
3043
3044
3045
3046
3047
3048
3049
30

Hiss
(15) Hiss

PSt. Hance

H

(15)

Furniture partly furnished did not need all
their own furniture in order to furnish (1087)

broads & family stayed several days in PSt
before moving into 28 St (1087) because
they were waiting for Van to come down
with their own furniture (2d)

PSt lease began May 1/35 (1085) to
June 15, 1936 (2d) at \$10.5 per mo. (2d)
(1087).

28 St Apt

Hiss says that Crocker really agreed outside limit
for Crocker was May 1 - June 28/35 10/38, 10/87

Hiss says Did not leave 28 St to Crocker until Hiss had
moved into PSt (1087)

PSt lease began May 1/35 (1089) - 1090

Hiss suggests Crocker might have stayed on in 28 St after
June 28 + thru July (1090) until rented to Iserman
(1087) but gas was turned off June 26/35 &
electricity June 29/35 (1090)

(16) Hiss

Ford Car

H

16

no recollection of getting it ^{later} (1095)

~~Shifty mixed~~ surely 1101-1105-6

I don't know how he finally got rid of Ford car 1107?

to the best of my recollection of 1106
count No. of times

July 23/36

Hiss side of Ford Car 1110, 1111-1115
P. 1116, 1117

Assignment title No 245647 P

for Ford (used) model A 1929

no other A 2188811 [originally
registered in D.C. 19-33] in name
of Alvin Hiss # 3411 O. St NW
Wash DC

signed by Alvin Hiss (1115-1116)
couldn't recall signing it (1116)

to "Cherner Motor Co 1781 Florida
Ave N.W." in Hiss' handwriting; and
Notarized before Marvin Smith (whom Hiss
knew in 1936) who would not have
notarized it unless Hiss was
here (1115-1116) but Hiss has no
recollection of such disposition of the
Ford (1117)

by Cherner Motor Co to

certified inspection of Dept Vehicle Traffic
marked July 23/36 "OK" (1118)

Hiss assigns title ^{was} in his name July 23/36 (1123) 1123

Cherner had
matte on his Testy
or even his own
1110.
Sold by Hiss to Cherner Motor Co 1111
Sold by Cherner out same date to Person 1112
Person did not live at 5405-13 St 1112

all OK
just
broken down

1121-22

(11) Hiss

ford car cont

(17)

Hiss sure he ~~was~~ ^{never} ^{available} car to Hiss but whether he
great outgait, not came back to Hiss
from Crosby or came over else, no recollection
(1119) but says before car to Crosby for loan
or transfer (Id)

no recollection receiving any money for a sale to
Chrysler Motor Co July 1936 (1123)

H. D. Very valuable summary by Mr. Rosen at 1124-
1126, of all evidence re Hiss. also 1157-1160
Be sure to cite it to all by Mundt at

Hiss never heard of Rosen 1127

can see to Rosen of 5405-13th St 1111-1112

Mr. Rosen

born in Indiana in 1899 (1207) entered US

in 1901 at age 17 (1208) refused to answer

whether ① a Communist (1213/1209) or ② ever bought a Ford car 1130
or owned a 1929 Ford 11339

[never seen Hiss p 1212

Chrysler Motor Co Record consecutively numbered

do not show the sale to Rosen 1113-1114 evidently a
no missing invoice 1114
fake or unrecorded sale, as per Chambers' prediction 1110.

or subscribed to Daily Worker prog

or visited Washington 1936, 1240

1211, or Communist organizer in 1936 p 1211,

or knew Benj

Biallek p 1211

or any Biallek p 1212

or ever resided at 5405-13th St NW Wash DC p 1212

or bought a

car from Chrysler Motor Co p 1212, 1213 or owned a car that came from Chrysler

Motor Co 1213,

or signed "Mr. Rosen" to the transferring title 1213

or stayed at Benj Biallek's home 5405-13th St p 1213

(over)

McRosen also refused to answer whether he had consorted with or
been carried by Communist Party to refuse to answer 1214-1215 on
also a 1929 Ford Car 1217 or even purchased a 1929 Ford car
p1217 or had a Washington mailing address in 1936 p1217

Especially the same McRosen
on Sept 9 a McRosen testified & refused to answer ① whether
he ever bought a 1929 Ford p1330-1331, or owned one 1331-2,
But he said he did not sign the McRosen application for title July 23/36 of the
Misscar p1332 nor the address 5405 13 St. & never knew address

was not in Washington in 1936 (2d) never lived at 5405-13 St.
p1333 denied he was a Communist in 1936 p1335
but refused to answer as to 1948 (2d)
expelled from C party in 1929 p1335
not a member in 1936 p1338

says no Communist party in street but about
testify 1340, but refused to say whether any
Communist gotten touch with him 1340

Rosen's accompanying lawyer Brownman
represented C party 1345 but refused to say
if were a C 1344-5

Rosen seems to be in
the clear p1337 ok

8 Hiss

Carnegie Endowment

H

18

after
36

Elected Dec 1946 (1133) ~~did not~~ tell Carnegie about FBI 1946 interview & shifted by saying FBI hadn't then came to him (FD) whereas he had gone to FBI re Byrnes (p 648) after elected, Byrnes came to him re reports of Communism (1133) 1135
Hiss tried to get him "on my own initiative" to FBI (1134) whereas Byrnes advised him to go to FBI p 618

had

Never heard of C. & K. till C testified (1135)
Newspaper then August 1948 that one Chambers called him a Communist ⁶⁴⁷ 11356

By May 1947 Hiss 7-8 May '47 two FBI called 617-648
1947 4/8/1136 "last night" "postscript" heard C had called him a Communist p 64-1135-1136.

Communist Group

Hiss wants to know friendly 1169?

- Wore 1169 ✓
- Abt (1145) refused to answer (1146)
- Precman (1146) 1169 ✓
- Witt (1147) " 1146
- Perls 1146
- 938 Collins 1147 1169 ✓
- Kramer 1147

Hiss' referring letter to Committee 1162-3-5

Hiss doesn't know

1148. News reports that Hiss never knew C (1148-9)

M born 1917 H 19
Samuel Bialek lived at
5405 - 13th St p 1233
son of Benj B. p 1233

He is still

never a C 1237

Robert Bialek p 1240 - 1253
lived at 5405 - 13 St
1 Sam - This was smoke house
- 1936 about 14 or 15 yrs old
C 1247

Write Congressman Nixon to see
if I can get a copy of the Com-
mittee's booklet entitled "Soviet
Espionage within the United States
Government; Second Report of the
Committee on Un-American Activities
80th Congress Second Session dated
December 31, 1948.

200
- 16000
\$12800
200
80
16

{ This Record on Appeal
Testimony & Exhibits
where to purchase (cost? \$80.00 for 100)
[Mr. Wane]

Will Burton
Sec. to Chester Lane
of Beir, Richards, Lane & Haller
70 Pine Street
Tel. Whitehall 4-6747

11440

Howe's Testimony

Deed of Chambers

See many personal incidents

history of Crowley &

adaptation of hosts to body

of bodies and to diet

identification of Chambers

as Crookby

Subt feet

Therese Ford ~~Bar~~

Break with Crookby Sept 35

4- Thinks

Deed best

Smother

Wheeler

Aug 25, 1948 Jack's date

1. Did not own "see the car"

2 July 23/36 - W. Rosen

Chorner's

Rosen's conviction CCA

Howe's conviction - ~~But~~

I. Suggestional Structure 11440

1. Chambers - Very short

re Hisa canal

2. His - High level.

Devised knowledge of Chambers

Admitted knowledge of

Chambers of Connamien

1938-40 J.A.S.

1946 Rosen & J.A.S.

1947? ~~Deed~~ &

1947 - May J.A.S.

1948 July Deed.

Deeds

Chambers life story of Connamien

Antimony with Hisa secret

29 Ford Road to the airport

(a) 28th that

of the chance

info together

(b) Break with Connamien

(c) He is hiding

1939. (d) At Beale - Connamien to.

27 Sept 1948

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MARYLAND

ALGER HISS,	:	
Plaintiff	:	
-against-	:	CIVIL
WHITTAKER CHAMBERS,	:	No.
Defendant	:	

COMPLAINT

1. Plaintiff is a citizen of the State of New York and defendant is a citizen of the State of Maryland. The matter in controversy exceeds, exclusive of interest and costs, the sum of Three Thousand Dollars (\$3,000).

2. Plaintiff is, and was at all material times hereinafter referred to, an attorney at law duly admitted to practice at the bars of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of the State of New York and of the United States Supreme Court.

3. Plaintiff has been since about February 1, 1947, and now is, employed as President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a foundation established under the will of the late Andrew Carnegie for the purpose of promoting international peace.

4. During a substantial part of the time to which the publications hereinafter alleged have reference, plaintiff was employed by the following branches of the United States Government and held the following positions during the following approximate periods respectively:

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Approximate Period</u>
Department of Agriculture	Assistant to General Counsel and later Assistant General Counsel, Agricultural Adjustment Administration	May 1933 to April 1935
United States Senate	Legal Assistant, Senate Committee for the Investigation of the Munitions Industry	April 1935 to August 1935
Department of Justice	Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Office of the Solicitor General	August 1935 to September 1936
Department of State	Assistant to Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Sayre	September 1936 to September 1939
	Assistant to Mr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, Advisor on Political Relations	September 1939 to February 1944
	Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs	February 1944 to November 1944
	Deputy Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs	November 1944 to April 1945
	Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs	April 1945 to January 1947

By virtue of his positions as an officer and employee of the United States Government, plaintiff, as defendant well knew and as is generally known, was under a duty to and took an oath to support the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and to represent the United States loyally and faithfully at all times.

5. Defendant now is, and at the time of the publications hereinafter alleged was, a senior editor of "Time", a weekly magazine published in the United States and circulated in the United States and in numerous foreign countries.

6. On August 3, 7, 17, 25, 30 of 1948, the defendant testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the Congress of the United States or a sub-Committee thereof. The transcript of the testimony given on those occasions is too voluminous to be summarized here and the plaintiff begs leave to refer thereto at the trial of this case. The defendant then stated among other things that the plaintiff, while an employee of the Government of the United States in the capacities hereinbefore described was a member of the Communist Party and a leading member of a picked group of disloyal persons organized by the Communist Party for the purpose of infiltrating the Government of the United States, to the end that the policies of that Government might be influenced so as to serve the purposes of the Soviet Union, a foreign power, with espionage as an ultimate purpose. These charges were denied by the plaintiff under oath in testimony before said Committee on Un-American Activities and both the charges and the denial thereof were given wide publicity throughout the United States prior to the publications hereinafter alleged.

7. On or about the 27th day of August, 1948, defendant participated in a radio program known as "Meet the Press" at the studio of radio station "WOL" in the City of Washington, District of Columbia.

8. In the course of said radio program, defendant was interrogated by a "panel" of persons consisting of one Tom Reynolds, an employee of the "Chicago Sun", a daily newspaper published in the City of Chicago, Illinois; one Nat Finney, an

employee of "Cowles Publications", publishers of newspapers and periodicals circulated throughout the United States; one Edward Folliard, an employee of the "Washington Post", a daily newspaper published in the City of Washington, District of Columbia; and one Lawrence Spivak, editor of the "American Mercury Magazine", a monthly periodical published and circulated in the United States. One James B. Reston, an employee of the "New York Times", a daily newspaper published in the City of New York, New York, presided over said program in the capacity of "moderator".

9. During said program defendant was asked the following questions by such of the persons referred to in paragraph 8 hereof as are indicated opposite said questions respectively, and did then and there wilfully, falsely and maliciously, of and concerning plaintiff, give the following answers to such questions respectively:

Question (by Edward Folliard): "Are you willing to say now that Alger Hiss is or ever was a Communist?"

Answer: "Alger Hiss was a Communist and may be now."

* * * * *

Question (by Lawrence Spivak): "In your judgment, can a man be a loyal American citizen and a member of the Communist Party?"

Answer: "It is quite impossible."

Question (by Lawrence Spivak): "Why do you say that?"

Answer: "The Communist Party exists for the purpose of overthrowing whatever government exists under it."

* * * * *

Question (by Lawrence Spivak): "Mr. Chambers, did you ever have anything to do with the Nye Committee, or did you work on any members of the Nye Committee when you were a member of the Communist Party? You remember the Nye Committee was operating in 1934 and Mr. Hiss, himself, was one of its counsel."

Answer: "Except for Mr. Hiss, Mr. Spivak, I don't believe I knew any members of the Nye Committee."

* * * * *

Question (by Lawrence Spivak): "Was the Communist Party interested at that time in the Nye Committee and in the actions of the Nye Committee?"

Answer: "The Communist Party was interested in the Nye Committee because it was exposing or pretended to expose the so-called munitions industry."

Question (by Lawrence Spivak): "Was Mr. Hiss in there in the interest of the Communist Party? Did they have anything to do with his getting on to the Committee or was that accidental?"

Answer: "The Communist Party was very much interested in his getting on that Committee."

* * * * *

Question (by Lawrence Spivak): "Mr. Chambers, when you were a member of the Underground, was there anything of particular importance or significance to the Russians that you, yourself, did or accomplished, or were you just a member of an Underground that kind of played around Washington?"

Answer: "Well, I would hesitate to say that an Underground which was able to place people in the Treasury and State Department in such high positions was playing around; they certainly were not doing anything directly for the Russians.

Question (by Lawrence Spivak): "You didn't place them there necessarily for spying but to influence policy?"

Answer: "That is true; which is something very much more important than spying."

* * * * *

Question (by Tom Reynolds): "I was in Washington at the time that the Soviet Union was recognized by the United States. Liberalism, so-called, was the fashion and the fad. Oliver Wendell Holmes was the god of such young people as Mr. Alger Hiss. Mr. Alger Hiss was a leftist in the Holmes pattern. Did he have to go far to the left to be guilty of whatever you are accusing him of, which I am not quite sure of."

Answer: "I am accusing him of membership in the Communist Party. I am not even accusing him of that. I am simply saying that he was a member of the Communist Party."

10. Said questions and said answers of defendant were broadcast by radio simultaneously with their utterance, as defendant then and there well knew and intended, by said radio station "WOL", located in said City of Washington, District of Columbia, and by about 345 other radio stations located in the State of Maryland and in all other states of the United States and said questions and said answers of defendant were heard, and

were intended by defendant to be heard, by an audience of twelve million persons, more or less, in the District of Columbia and in the State of Maryland and in every other state of the United States.

11. Said questions and said answers of defendant, simultaneously with their utterance, were permanently recorded by means of a phonographic recording machine on a record disc; they were likewise reproduced or paraphrased in newspapers and periodicals having countrywide distribution and such reproduction and paraphrasing were the natural and probable consequences of the utterance of said statements by defendant.

12. By said answers to said questions broadcast and published as aforesaid, defendant meant and was understood to mean that plaintiff was a Communist and a member of the Communist Party while an employee of the United States Government, that plaintiff secured positions of importance in the United States Government in the interest of the Communist Party and for the purpose of influencing the policies of said Government in favor of Communism, that plaintiff, as such an employee of the United States Government, was disloyal and unfaithful to the United States and betrayed his duty and obligation, as such employee, to support the principles of the Constitution of the United States and to represent the United States loyally and faithfully at all times, and was loyal to Communism in betrayal of the interests of the United States; and further meant and was understood to mean that plaintiff, upon entering his various employ-

ments in the United States Government, made false oaths of office in swearing to support the Constitution of the United States, in violation of the criminal laws of the United States, and that plaintiff committed perjury in violation of the criminal laws of the United States in testifying under oath before said House Committee on Un-American Activities that he is not and never has been a Communist or a member of the Communist Party, as defendant then and there well knew plaintiff had testified; and further meant and was understood to mean that plaintiff was, and may now be, an advocate, abettor, adviser or teacher of the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence in violation of the criminal laws of the United States; and further meant and was understood to mean that plaintiff was, and may now be a person disqualified from holding an office of trust and confidence in the United States Government and unworthy of trust in his profession as an attorney at law.

13. The matter so uttered, broadcast and published is untrue, false and defamatory.

14. By reason of such utterance and publication plaintiff has been greatly injured and damaged in his professional reputation and office, has been brought into public odium and contempt, and has suffered great pain and mental anguish, to his damage in the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars (\$50,000).

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment against
defendant in the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars (\$50,000) and
costs.

September 27, 1948

Edward C. McLean

Debevoise, Plimpton & McLean

Of Counsel

20 Exchange Place
New York City, New York

William R. Marbury (Sgd)

Charles C. G. Evans (Sgd)

Marbury, Miller Evans

Attorneys for Plaintiff
1000 Maryland Trust Building
Baltimore 2, Maryland