

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you sat in closed party meetings with Herbert J. Phillips?

MR. ETHEL: I decline to answer that question, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you sat in closed Communist Party meetings with Professor Harold Eby?

MR. ETHEL: I decline to answer that one, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you step aside? I wish to advise you that the entire—the unanimous opinion of this Committee is that we should cite you for contempt on your refusal to answer these questions. Now, if you will step aside we will—

MR. ETHEL: May I make one request, sir?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may have your counsel—

MR. ETHEL: —state it—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, I think not. You have refused to answer the proper questions of this committee—

MR. ETHEL: Yes, sir, uh—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will step aside and have nothing more to say in this hearing.

(Witness Excused)

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD RUSHMORE Newspaperman

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Call your next witness.

HOWARD RUSHMORE, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Rushmore, as you testify, that you answer audibly and not with a nod of the head or a gesture as we are recording these entire proceedings, that you speak as directly into the microphone in front of you as possible, and that when you have an unusual name or one not put in evidence that you spell that name for the records that it may be correct.

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. RUSHMORE: Howard Rushmore, Rushmore.

MR. HOUSTON: Of what city are your a resident, Mr. Rushmore?

MR. RUSHMORE: New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Rushmore, are you, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, for a period of five years, 1935 to '39.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Rushmore, if you have ever been an official of the Communist Party?

MR. RUSHMORE: I have in the capacity of a newspaperman and writer.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Rushmore, will you, in your own words, tell us how you joined the Communist Party and detail some of your duties and experiences in that?

Details Activity in Communist Party

MR. RUSHMORE: I first became acquainted with the Communists in Missouri where I was living at the time and in newspaper work. I met some Communists in Kansas City, Missouri, I believe it was in 1934 where a committee had been organized by Abner Berry, Berry, who is now on the national board of the Communist Party. Berry at that time was the—known as the section organizer of Kansas City, and a few weeks before that, a young Negro boy by the name of Tom Gunn, Gunn, had been very brutally lynched in Marysville, Mo. As a reporter I covered this story and was quite incensed by the entire matter, including the burning to death of the young lad who was quite innocent of any crime. The Communists very cleverly seized on this as an excuse to form an anti-lynch committee in Kansas City. I became acquainted with this committee and, as a rather young lad then, admired the stand they took without investigating what was behind them. Gradually I became interested in their work and also through the medium of a person name of Jack Conroy, Conroy, a writer living at that time in Missouri, editor of a magazine called The Anvil, Anvil. Being also interested in writing, Conroy had me submit several short stories to this publication which was completely controlled by the Communist Party.

Through the two media, I gradually became drawn into the Communist movement and joined it in St. Louis and the early part of 1935 joined the Young Communist League at that time.

Then I went to New York to the first convention of the American Writers' Congress. I believe that was in May, 1935, and was asked, while there, to go on the Staff of the Young Worker, the official organ of the Young Communist League. They needed someone with professional newspaper training and I went there in the summer of 1935 to become their managing editor.

The paper was discontinued in 1936 to become the Cabinet Youth at a later date.

I have a letter here which I would like to insert into the record for, shall we say, purposes of creditability.

On the letterhead of the Young Communists League of the United States, a section of the Young Communists' International, the address 35 E. 12th St., New York City.

"To whom it may concern:

"Howard Rushmore worked on the Young Worker from February the 1st, 1935 until the paper ceased publication, May, 1936.

"During the time that Mr. Rushmore worked for us in the capacity of Managing Editor of our publication, we profited by his services, for he is both a capable writer and newspaper man.

"It was only due to the fact that our paper ceased publication that we were forced to dismiss him. We can vouch for his capability and energy.

"Sincerely, Joseph Cohen, National Educational Director of The Young Communist League; former Editor of The Young Order."

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Let's take just a moment here for the Public Address system here, so that it can be extended into a downstairs room where I understand there is quite a large group of people—people who have not been able to get into the hearing room. Shall we proceed?

MR. HOUSTON: Now, will you proceed Mr. Rushmore?

MR. RUSHMORE: Following the staff of the Young Worker and a member of The Young Communist League, I had occasion to note a number of interesting things: that at that time the Communist Party Line was gradually changing from the avowed Revolutionary Program to one of what Browder—Earl Browder, called the "Communism is the Americanism of the Twentieth Century." But looking back on some of the documents that were sold, even in 1935, by the Young Communist League, we find that the switch had to be rather rapid, and their literature—hundreds of thousands of pamphlets—had to be recalled and destroyed when the Line changed.

But the basic Line of the Young Communist League, which had been followed from 1921 until the present time—no matter what name the Y.C.L. may have taken—is contained in this booklet, "The Program of The Young Communist International," bears the imprint of The Young Communist League of America; 43 East 125th street, New York City.

It was printed in England and distributed in this country. The date is 19 and 29. It is interesting now to take this theoretical bible of the Young Communist League and compare some of the changes in the Line and how the Line always swings back to this basic program.

I quote from page 47 of this Program of The Young Communist International which says: "Revolutionary work in the bourgeois army, through the organization of nuclei, nuclei, nuclei, revolutionary circles and groups work among the recruits and regular troops; among the reserves and Colonial occupation troops; among organizations for military training; educational propaganda against war; militarism, and the utilization of the army in the service of Capitalism."

The Y.C.L. combats both compulsory and voluntary forms of bourgeois military training of the youth, not in the spirit of pacifism but from the standpoint of the class struggle.

MR. HOUSTON: What period of time did you say that was for?

MR. RUSHMORE: This was 1929.

MR. HOUSTON: I thought it was really in 1948.

Students for Wallace Program Same as Young Communist League

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, the Students for Wallace had the same program. The wording is a bit different, but you will find the Students for Wallace throughout the nation—I imagine here in Seattle—I know it's particularly true in New York, that **The Young Communist League, later known as the American Youth for Democracy and now known as the Students for Wallace, had identically the same program;** a little more skilled in their use of language, but the program was the same. And quoting further, "The Y.C.L. tells the young workers called up for service in these organizations—speaking of the Army and Navy—to join them and to carry on educational and disintegrative work there."

By disintegrative work the Communists mean about this. In 19 and 35 I met a girl at the Y.C.L. headquarters on the ninth floor, 35 East 12th street in New York. Her first name was Marian—I don't recall her last name, except that she was in charge of correspondence for what the Young Communist League called the Military Commission.

This Military Commission was a super-secret organization which had its headquarters at an apartment in Brooklyn, entirely removed from the center of Communist operations.

Marian, incidentally, was from Seattle, and told me that before coming to New York she had done some what they call "underground work" among the Navy boys, here.

MR. HOUSTON: Who was this?

MR. RUSHMORE: Her first name was Marian. I don't remember her last name, but she was in charge of correspondence and detail work for the "Military Commission" of The Young Communist League—and the plan worked something like this: that members of The Young Communist League, stationed in various Army areas or Navy ports, had contacts aboard ships or in the Army. They would supply, through a rather involved series of mail drops, Party directives, Party literature, to these contacts in the Navy and Army.

This work has been carried on consistently and very, very secretly, by the Communist Party and Young Communist League since—well, for two decades. It is interesting to note that in spite of this sort of activity the Young—the Communist Party issued in 1945 a leaflet called "Buddies, Patriots, Communists" issued by the New York State Election Campaign Committee, Communist Party. I quote from this pamphlet or leaflet:

"The Communists have a proud tradition of fighting in the ranks of the anti-fascist people. Three thousand American Communists fought in Spain in the Lincoln Battalion against the axis attacks on democracy there. After Pearl Harbor more than fifteen thousand New York Communists served their country in the armed forces within the Merchant Marine. We who fought side by side with our fellow Americans for the victory, want a lasting peace," so forth and so on.

Will Enter Armed Services

The Communist Party welcome this opportunity to enter the Armed Forces, and since they have been mustered out they have publicly declared that they intended to join the American Legion, work within that organization; they have captured large forces of the American Veterans Committee; and they still have comrades in the Armed Services who are carrying on espionage work for Stalin in our own Navy and Army; but they have maintained these contacts, these comrades in the various armed services, as I said, off and on for twenty years.

In connection with military work carried on by the Young Communists League and the Communist Party, around 1937—at that time I was on the staff of the “Daily Worker”—**a comrade came on the staff by the name of Lowell Wakefield, from Seattle.** Wakefield had not had previous newspaper experience, as far as I could determine, and he was broken in with the help of myself and some others who had had considerable experience in the game.

Wakefield’s job on the staff was as the general assignment reporter, but he had told me that he was—had a special assignment for the Party and that he was receiving training while in New York. Now, often on the staff of the “Worker,” were people—

MR. HOUSTON: You mean the “Daily Worker.” You refer to the—

MR. RUSHMORE: The “Daily Worker,” the official organ of the Communist Party.

—were people who were sent there to do ostensibly a job of reporting, or where he might do makeup or copy-desk work, who actually were being trained for much more important activity in the Party.

Now what Wakefield was being trained for, I do not know. However, on two occasions, I was with Wakefield at the apartment of James S. Allen, Allen, whose real name is Sol Auerbach, Auerbach, or Allen, was a member of the Soviet underground, although posing as an American citizen—he may now be, I do not know—who, whose assignment was underground work for the Communist International in the Philippines, Hawaii, and in Alaska.

On one occasion at the apartment, Auerbach said that Wakefield was very promising and he looked forward to a long and successful career for Wakefield in the Party activities. Now what happened to Wakefield after that I do not know, but I do know that he is not on the “Worker” staff any longer and not in the East as far as I know.

MR. HOUSTON: **That is Lowell Wakefield, who formerly was in the City of Seattle?**

MR. RUSHMORE: **He told me that he had come from Seattle, yes.**

MR. HOUSTON: And can you fix the date, approximately, that this was—that is, the year?

MR. RUSHMORE: He was on the “Worker” staff I would say, in ’37 and ’38.

MR. HOUSTON: ’37 and ’38.

MR. RUSHMORE: That’s right.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you subsequently hear whether or not that was the Lowell Wakefield that came back to Seattle and published a publication known as the “Voice of Action”?

MR. RUSHMORE: No, I don’t.

MR. HOUSTON: You don’t recall.

MR. RUSHMORE: As I say, I—I lost track of him. I left the Communist Party and the “Daily Worker” in ’39 and I haven’t seen his by-line in the “Daily Worker.” That’s my only indication that he isn’t on the staff.

MR. HOUSTON: All right, thank you, Mr. Rushmore.

They Would Expose Bourgeois Morality

MR. RUSHMORE: Another interesting change in the Communists League—if I can find the reference here—quoting from the same program of the Young Communists International, “The Young Communist International, and the Young Communist League, energetically combat hypocritical, bourgeois morality, and expose it as one of the means of maintaining the system of exploitation.”

Now that, of course, is typical Communist jargon, but translated we might say that under capitalism morality is a tool in the hands of the ruling class; so in 1929 the Young Communists International, of which the Y.C.L. of the United States was a section, and a very loyal section, was against bourgeois morality.

Then we turn to the constitution of the Young Communists League of the U. S. A., adopted May the 11th, 15th, 1939 in New York City. “Grounds for expulsion,” this document states, “were two—were a number of them. One, if he or she advocates the use of force and violence,” which is amusing, of course; but here, in connection with this subject, “If his or her personal actions or morals are such as to bring discredit upon the Young Communists League, U. S. A., or the Progressive Movement. . . .”

We have here another pamphlet by John Little, published in 1939, entitled, “Life for America’s Sons and Daughters.” On page 22, Comrade Little says, “Another problem that affects the whole future of America, is marriage. Tens of thousands of young people in our cities have been forced to postpone, and even forego, marriage and the raising of a family because of economic reasons. What effect this has upon the morals of our generation and the hope of the future, can be too easily imagined. Why should not our state provide for a marriage subsidy for young couples who desire to enter into matrimony?”

There within a period of ten years is a rather rapid switch in the Young Communists League line. At the 1938 convention of the Young Communist League, Mother Bloor, who is quite an old character in the Communist Movement in this country, who has had, I would say, at least five official husbands, and around 100 unofficial ones, called a meeting of the girl delegates to the Young Communist League and gave them the line that if you are living with the boy, marry him, and if you are living with more than one, just stick to one. This was told me by a girl delegate who attended the meeting and was a little bit perplexed being a new member of the Young Communist League.

However, during this new line, so-called, the Young Communists League had a contact with a doctor living on Washington Square, New York City, a member of the Communist Party. **I know of my own knowledge of at least three girl friends of Young Communists league leaders who went to him for abortions and that this doctor was kept rather busy performing abortions for the wives and mistresses of the various Communist leaders in New York.** I cite that merely as an example of the actual fact that the 1929 declaration,

the attack on bourgeois morality, felt good despite the proclaimed changes in these two pamphlets and that the morality still within the Youth Movement of the Communist Party is predicated and based upon the program of the Young Communist International, the attack upon bourgeois morality, quoted in 1929, nineteen years ago.

Was Ruby Bates Raped?

MR. HOUSTON: Now, speaking of this question of morality, were you a member of the Communist Party during the period of the so-called Scottsboro case?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, a member of the Young Communist League at the time.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have any knowledge as to any of the characters involved in that case?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, I was assigned to the unit in Harlem while I was on the Young Worker. All staff members of the Daily Worker or the Young Worker had to belong to a party unit whose activities—the unit's activities were quite a—different departure from newspaper work and this particular unit in Harlem of the Young Communist League I attended—oh, about once a month, and one night I met a girl there who identified herself as Ruby Bates.

Now the famous Scottsboro case in Scottsboro, Alabama, had as one of the plaintiffs a girl by the name of Ruby Bates who charged that nine Negro boys had raped her and her friend, I believe on a freight train somewhere in Alabama. **The thing that startled me was that this was the same Ruby Bates that I met at this Young Communist League meeting who identified herself as a member of the Young Communist League and who is married to a Negro organizer for the Communist Party. Which may indicate, I do not know, I have no proof of this, that the Scottsboro case was quite cleverly handled by the party from the beginning and although Ruby said she joined the party after it happened I often wonder if this was not a rather clever propaganda move to stir up, not only an agitational issue and a racial issue, but to raise money for the Communist Party.**

MR. HOUSTON: You have, of your own knowledge, experienced this philosophy of theirs of immorality?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, I was oddly enough married at the time that I was on the Young Worker and I wouldn't say that all of the members of the staff of that paper—

MR. HOUSTON: I didn't ask you if you'd been immoral—

MR. RUSHMORE: I am quite willing to admit it. I'm trying to refresh my recollection.

There were a few Y.C.L.'ers who were married, and quite legitimately, but it seems to me that the immorality was part of the basic philosophy of the Young Communist League in the sense of living in an artificial condition in a country which they had been taught to hate; that immorality went hand in hand with denial of all the things that they had been brought up on, of customs and traditions, that the—a complete abandonment of the very healthy things that this country stands for.

MR. HOUSTON: Yesterday we had the testimony of a father, that he had to bar his son from his home because the boy was preaching to his mother and to his younger sister that there was no such thing as immorality, that it wasn't wrong, that it was just a violation of the moral code and all you need

to do was to abolish the moral code which the Communists have done, and in so, they wiped out any wrong of that.

Would you say that that was the correct philosophy of the Young Communist League?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, as I have quoted from their own document, which as I say—said has been consistently their bible, **they not only advocated it but they practiced it**, which I have seen personally within the Young Communist League, but that is the philosophy, the abolition of the bourgeois moral code went hand in hand with the abolition of all bourgeois society, including the—I might add—the church, significantly, the—on the same page with a quote urging the abolition of bourgeois morality. I quote from the same document saying:

Y.C.L. Against Church and Religion

"The Young Communist League pays special attention to the struggle against the church and religion by means of unkind educational work. **Religion is the opium of the people.**" That went hand in hand, attacks upon morality, religion, customs and traditions, and I would say—I didn't hear this father's testimony—but his son undoubtedly had picked that up within the Young Communist League. What period was that?

MR. HOUSTON: That was in the early '30's.

MR. RUSHMORE: Oh, yes, definitely.

MR. HOUSTON: Fine, all right, we will proceed with the next phase of the hearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have any knowledge of the movement and work of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, that was a reactive out in our part of the country here. Do you have any personal knowledge of that?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, I do. I wonder if—before we go into this, Mr. Houston, there's one thing I neglected to add in connection with the attack upon religion.

Y.W.C.A. Official Member of Young Communist League

The chief of publications, editor-in-chief is her title, for the Young Women's Christian Association for the United States, the Y.W.C.A., is Rose Terlin. Rose Terlin is a member of the Young Communist League, I know of my own knowledge, later joined the Communist Party.

Terlin, Comrade Terlin, in the Y.W. publications which hundreds of thousands of very clean and very non-Communist Y.W. girls read every month or every week, has managed consistently to sneak in the party line for ten years, even daring to use official Communist Party songs in the Y.W. song books.

The Y.C.L. has managed to plant other important comrades such as Rose Terlin in religious groups, not only the Y.W.C.A. but in Jewish organizations, Jewish Youth organizations which are quite religious and quite anti-Communist, into certain Catholic groups. They have done a magnificent job of the Trojan horse within certain religious bodies. At the same time having in their own documents the declaration that religion is the opium of the people.

I just wanted to get that in.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade a Communist Movement

Now, on the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. That was organized by the Communist International as a world-wide movement to raise military strength to help the Loyalists in Spain. I might add that by the time the International Brigade, which was the World-Wide Brigade and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American section of this brigade, had reached Spain and were fighting for the Loyal—Loyalists, it was no longer a fight, as the Communists call it, between Democracy and Fascism. It was a fight between two forms of Fascism, one red and one brown. By that time Stalin and the commissars, the GPU men in Spain, had firmly seized control of the Loyalist Army and were fighting, with one Fascist fighting another by that time. The first year of the war there was some genuine democratic elements who were opposed to Franco but not after the Communists took over.

This brigade, I have a little personal knowledge of this, I was in Iowa during—getting some material for the Daily Worker when a Communist member that's in the committee, I'm trying to think of his name, Mills, I don't remember his first name, Mills, came through and gave orders in Des Moines that the Communist Party in Iowa had to recruit, I think, forty young able-bodied party members or sympathizers to be sent to Spain and he left in cash with the district organizer of Iowa, James Porter, who later became a Lt. Colonel in the Army, I might add.

MR. HOUSTON: Army of the United States or the Spanish?

MR. RUSHMORE: That's right. The Army of the United States in the second war.

I gave Porter in cash \$500 a piece, I think, for 20 recruits for their expenses.

Gives Porter \$500.00 for Each Recruit

The Communist Party, during the period of organizing the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, had endless funds some of which, I am sure, came from abroad and of course quite a bit from Hollywood, New York and other cities where various Loyalist committees were set up by the party. And of course the Communist Party will let the—back in thirty—in the spring of 1937, I returned to New York and went on the staff of the Daily Worker and placed there largely by Clarence Hathaway, Editor of the Daily Worker and member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and a charter member of the party. And during the time—during that summer and that fall the Daily Worker devoted endless space to the fight in Spain and we were under instructions—I served part time as assistant city editor among other jobs, and in that capacity I was instructed how to play certain stories, how to handle certain stories. I had been assigned, and also did quite a bit of interviewing myself, on stories that were halfway considered of rather major importance, and interviewed a number of people to work up sympathies for the Loyalists' cause, and also the Communists had a number of people coming back and forth from Spain in '37 and '38, quite prominent people whom I interviewed and quoted them at length along the line of the Daily Worker and the Communist Party Policy.

Jerry O'Connell Identified as Communist

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall, or—that two members of Congress went to Spain and made some speeches there?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, I recall the occasion. I think we gave them—the "Daily Worker" when I say "we"—the "Daily Worker" gave them quite a bit of space. In fact, both Congressmen got a lot of space, anyhow.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall who the Congressmen were?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, John Bernard, Farmer-Labor, of Minnesota.

MR. HOUSTON: John Bernard, of Minnesota.

MR. RUSHMORE: And Jerry O'Connell, Democrat, of Montana.

MR. HOUSTON: Jerry O'Connell, Democrat, of Montana. Did you interview these two?

MR. RUSHMORE: The date, I think, was around November or fall of '37, as I recollect. I was assigned by Hathaway, Clarence Hathaway, the "Daily Worker" editor, to go out on the cutter and meet one of the big ships to interview Bernard and O'Connell. In New York the newspapermen go down to the bay and board the ship before it comes into port, so they have more time aboard.

Hathaway said that both of these boys are Party members, get them away from the other newspapermen after the regular interview is finished, and tell them that I sent you in to ask them certain questions. The questions dealt with particular policies that were being played up in the "Daily Worker" in regard to Spain, at the time; and I did that and introduced myself, after the other reporters had finished, and talked to Bernard and O'Connell; and as I recollect, if I wrote the story or I turned in a report to Hathaway, I don't know, but it seems to me as if the interview appeared in the "Daily Worker" around that time.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you—at the time Clarence Hathaway told you both of these Congressmen were members of the Communist Party—

MR. RUSHMORE: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: —he was editor of the "Daily Worker," and you were acting as City Editor, is that right?

MR. RUSHMORE: Assistant City Editor, among other things.

MR. HOUSTON: Among other things, assistant. **And on his instructions that these two men were members of the Communist Party, you did proceed down and met the boat and interviewed them?**

MR. RUSHMORE: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you inform them that you were a member of the Communist Party, and that Hathaway had instructed you to get them aside, that he wanted some special questions?

MR. RUSHMORE: As I recollect, I worded it something like this: "I am Harold Rushmore of the 'Daily Worker' and Clarence asked that I see you." We used little terms like that. Instead of saying Clarence Hathaway, we would say Clarence or Earl, meaning Earl Browder. There was a chance you might be overheard, there might be a "mike," a microphone stuck somewhere, you see.

MR. HOUSTON: Was there any doubt in your mind that you were addressing members of the Communist Party?

MR. RUSHMORE: Of my own knowledge, I did not know them.

MR. HOUSTON: No, but after you had been furnished this information by Hathaway.

MR. RUSHMORE: On previous occasions, a number of times, Hathaway had told me on certain stories and interviews which I did, that so and so was a member of the Party, and I knew how to act accordingly, naturally.

MR. HOUSTON: **Had he ever given you a bum steer?**

MR. RUSHMORE: **Never. Never.**

MR. HOUSTON: And to the best of your knowledge and belief, was this steer correct this time?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, the reaction of the two Congressmen was, shall I say favorable, and you know, newspapermen sometimes when they want a certain quote which follows the policy of their paper, have a way of getting that quote. Well, I had no trouble with these two Congressmen. They quoted the line without any prodding, and I didn't have to throw an adjective around or a verb, to get the line across. They had it very well done, and my guess would be that they were well briefed by the GPU Commissars in Spain before their return.

MR. HOUSTON: **In other words, you were told by the editor of the "Daily Worker" that they were members of the Communist Party, and as such, would act a certain way.**

MR. RUSHMORE: **That's right.**

MR. HOUSTON: **And you informed them and they did act that way.**

MR. RUSHMORE: **That is correct.**

MR. HOUSTON: **As an expert witness, having been a member of the Communist Party, you believed that they were members of the Communist Party at that time?**

MR. RUSHMORE: **I had no reason to doubt it whatsoever.**

MR. HOUSTON: All right, that's—if you will proceed.

MR. RUSHMORE: I would like to point out to the Committee a couple of things that, on the basis of my experience, both as a Communist newspaper man and as a newspaperman investigating Communism for the past eight years.

Morris Schappes Sent to Sing Sing

We had a hearing in New York in 1941-42, which I covered every day during that time, called the Rapp-Coudert investigation, that's Rapp dash Coudert, a state legislative body set up to investigate Communism in the New York schools. They called a witness by the name of Morris Schappes, that's S-c-h-a-p-p-e-s, a tutor at City College in New York, a public college in the—and asked him whether or not he had been a member of the Communist Party. Schappes said, yes, he had been a member of the Communist Party. Was he still a member? He said, no, he had resigned a few months before. He had quit paying dues, or something like that. I know that he said he was not in the Party any more.

Now, they thereupon asked him what professors he knew in City College were members of the Communist Party. He named two, one of whom was by that time, by the time Schappes testified, in private industry; the other of whom was dead; and Schappes said he was the chairman, and that constituted the entire Communist Party at City College. Whereupon the Committee called witnesses who had been in the Communist Party at City College, who named I think twenty or thirty Communist Party members at City College, including Morris Schappes.

Now, thereupon Morris Schappes was brought to trial for perjury and convicted and served, I think, two and one-half years in Sing Sing. This same Schappes who had said on the witness stand he was no longer a member of the Communist Party, after he left Sing Sing became State Educational Director of the Communist Party. I am not making any veiled inference here

regarding the testimony yesterday afternoon of Professor Polonius, as I like to call him. Professor, what is his name?

MR. HOUSTON: Ethel. Garland Ethel.

MR. RUSHMORE: Ethel. **But it struck me as rather interesting that Professor Polonius, when he left the stand, received the typical applause that a comrade gets when he has defied a legislative committee. I am not saying that he is still a member of the Communist Party. I'm saying that if he isn't that he should rejoin them. He did a wonderful job for the Party yesterday.**

Professors as Espionage Agents of Russia

I also might point out to this Committee that professors in colleges—we won't go into the obligation they have toward their students, to the parents of students, to their own Government. I would like to touch on a little thing called espionage, and how a professor can become a tool of what I consider the most dangerous spy ring in the history of the world. This spy ring was set up back in 1943, in this country, by a man named Arthur Adams. Adams was born in Canada, in 1930 he went to Russia. By that time, Adams was a member of the Canadian Communist Party. He received careful training in Russia at various schools, including the Lenin Institute, and other special schools of sabotage, espionage; in other words, he had to get the "works." He came back in 1939, entered this country at that time, and was very quiet and unobtrusive. He was first picked up in 19— I think the early part of 1944 in Chicago. He was picked up in the following fashion:

A professor working on Manhattan project—as you know, that is the name of the atom bomb project—a professor working in the Chicago laboratory of the Manhattan project was seen handing a package to a stranger in a Chicago park. He was seen because the Military Intelligence had a "tail"—they call it a "tail" or a "trail"—on this professor for a number of weeks, suspecting his past Communist connections, even though he was a top-ranking scientist and was doing a good job at Manhattan project. So, when they saw this scientist hand this package to this stranger in the Chicago park, the two G-2 men, the Military Intelligence men, split up; one followed the scientist, one followed the stranger, tailed him to his Chicago hotel, and then they called the F. B. I.

The F. B. I., through methods of their own, obtained some of the contents of this stranger's room. They found in this room data on the atom bomb, which was rushed to Washington; General Groves and the Manhattan project leaders in Washington identified it as top-drawer secret material. This stranger was then identified by the F. B. I. as this Arthur Adams, to whom I have referred previously. The F. B. I. knew that they had located a very hot espionage ring and set up immediately a squad of two hundred picked agents, that is, F. B. I. agents, and called this squad the Comintern Apparatus. That's Comintern, abbreviation for Communist International. The Comintern Apparatus.

The scientist, the American scientist, who had given this Soviet spy this material, is named Clarence Hiskey, Hiskey. Hiskey is now a professor at Brooklyn Polytechnic in New York. After the F. B. I. picked up the trail of Adams, they discovered that this espionage ring had been set up for only one purpose, to steal the secrets of the atom bomb in this country. They found out that Steve Nelson, that's N-e-l-s-o-n, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, had been sent to the University of California in an attempt to buy information from certain professors there, certain sci-

entists engaged in atomic research. They also found that this spy ring included other professors, included certain Army and Navy personnel; that one of the main headquarters for operation was a jewelry store in—on Madison Avenue in New York, a jewelry store owned by a woman named Victoria Stone. They found that Hiskey's wife, the American scientist's, it was her address in Brooklyn, Marcia Hiskey, Marcia, that Marcia Hiskey was using her address as a—what they call a "mail drop"; in other words, a scientist at Los Alamos, whoever it might be, would send certain material to say, New Orleans. From there it would be sent in another envelope to Marcia Hiskey, who would then, in turn, relay it to Victoria Stone's jewelry shop. Victoria Stone would relay it to Arthur Adams, the top Soviet operator.

Adams maintained accounts in twelve New York banks, running into the six figures; he had—he stayed for a year at the Hotel Peter Cooper in New York, the register will show his name there, and the hotel personnel will also verify that for twenty-four hours a day the F. B. I. had a constant watch over Mr. Adams. The room next door to Mr. Adams was occupied by the F. B. I., a microphone was in the wall, a two-way mirror or photographic process was in effect.

Must Not Antagonize Stalin!

After about a year and a half, the F. B. I. knew they had the case very well closed; they knew the members of the ring; they had the proof; and I have the utmost respect for the F. B. I. in the way it gets evidence.

J. Edgar Hoover, one of our most patriotic and I think most actively loyal Americans, asked for permission to arrest not only Mr. Adams, the Russian agent, but Professor Hiskey, Victoria Stone, Marcia Hiskey, Steve Nelson, and the other members of this spy ring. J. Edgar Hoover was turned down. The White House said that they didn't want to antagonize Stalin.

The problem was presented to the State Department, which has some authority in the arrest of an individual like Adams; the same answer came back from the State Department. I might point out that J. Edgar Hoover, whose ability and loyalty I would never question or no one can question, is a paid servant of Uncle Sam, probably underpaid. His boss is appointed politically, it's an appointive office, as you know, and to keep that job the person in charge of the Justice Department must follow the current line of the administration. **What I do know is, that former agents of the F. B. I. who were a member of the Comintern Apparatus squad, grew so desperate at the lack of action, at seeing the members of this spy ring roam free and at large on our streets and in our cities, that they resigned because they no longer could maintain their jobs knowing that these—these agents of Stalin, whether or not they were American or Russian, could not be arrested because of Washington politics.** I know one agent very well, who would night after night have the job of tailing Mr. Adams, the Russian spy, in and out of the Peter Cooper Hotel. I know of other agents who had the same job. I know of one agent who after six months of this very fruitless activity, of knowing that the arrests could have been made months before, one night, shall we say "blew his top," and in one small bit of poetic justice, slugged Mr. Adams and turned in a report saying that he bumped into Mr. Adams in the dark and knocked off his glasses, and that it was an unfortunate incident.

Administration Handcuffs F. B. I.

I don't blame these F. B. I. agents for feeling that way, and I feel sorry for J. Edgar Hoover for being in a position of **having to take orders from an administration which deliberately shielded the most dangerous spy ring in the history of the world.** We don't know how much of this material obtained from the various professors and scientists on the Manhattan project got to Russia. The F. B. I. does know that on two occasions, Adams deposited a brief case with the Russian Consulate in New York. They know an American business man who served as Adams' go-between, who would pass on the information that Adams collected from all corners of the United States, to the Russian Consulate.

In some cases Gerhardt Eisler, that's G-e-r-h-a-r-d-t E-i-s-l-e-r, acted as a courier for Adams between New York or wherever Adams might be, and the Russian Embassy itself in Washington. The F. B. I. does not think that enough material, data, and information on our atomic bomb got to Russia to provide Russia with sufficient know-how to make the bomb, even if it had the material; **but the point is, that the F. B. I. had this weighty evidence, conclusive evidence, of the existence and of the procedure of this spy ring; that the White House and the State Department had seen this evidence, and still refused in 1945 to make any arrests.**

Enemies Still at Large

At the present time, Victoria Stone, a very important member of this Soviet espionage ring, is running her jewelry store on Madison Avenue; the scientist, he is teaching at Brooklyn Polytechnic in Brooklyn; Steve Nelson is still doing his regular work for the National Committee of the Communist Party; and so are the rest of the personnel of this spy ring. Mr. Adams disappeared from the Peter Cooper, no one knows what happened to him; but if he were arrested, it is news, I know, in New York.

Now, Hiskey, a good scientist, a very top scientist, or he wouldn't have been on the Chicago Division of the Manhattan project, was, as I understand, a member of the Young Communist League, joining for some issue of either political, emotional, racial, or what I don't know, moving into the Communist Party, being watched by the Communists for trustworthiness, gradually drawn into espionage, and serving as probably the most important go-between between Stalin and this country, in stealing information on the atom bomb a year and a half before the bomb was dropped.

I think this shows how the Young Communists League of the Communist Party can serve as an instrument of a foreign power, and a very dangerous instrument. I think it shows how a professor can be gradually drawn into such a mill. I don't know the names of the other scientists who were part—members of this ring; I do know that there were others, but I have no information that I think is worthy of presentation as to their names.

But, we have a dual situation here, of an American professor serving as a Russian spy, and of an administration afraid to arrest this man guilty of treason, if a man ever was, because at that time they did not want to antagonize Stalin. What their reason is today, I do not know.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wonder if we could have a recess at this time. Is that agreeable to you, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, that's fine.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for approximately ten minutes.

(Recess)

Professor Phillips Wants His Attorney

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you proceed?

MR. HOUSTON: Will Professor Herbert J. Phillips take the stand?

HERBERT J. PHILLIPS, after being first duly sworn, assumed the stand for examination.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Now, Mr. Phillips, I understand you were represented by counsel, we will be happy to have your counsel attend you if you wish.

MR. PHILLIPS: Can you postpone my testimony until I do see him? I just came out on a plane, I haven't seen him. I don't know what's going on or anything. Can I postpone it until I do see him?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We had understood that your counsel was here. What is the wish of our—

MR. HOUSTON: Who is your counsel?

MR. PHILLIPS: Caughlan. John Caughlan.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You have not—

MR. HOUSTON: When did you—what time did you get in town, Mr. Phillips?

MR. PHILLIPS: I got in at eight o'clock this morning, by plane.

MR. HOUSTON: It's eleven. Have you attempted to see your counsel?

MR. PHILLIPS: No. No, I came right here, and you ushered me out here.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, haven't you been derelict in your duty if you have been here three hours and you want counsel, and you haven't called him?

MR. PHILLIPS: Well, maybe it was undue timidity. I—you brought me up here with three State Policemen, and I thought you just wanted me to stay here, so I stayed there in the chair.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will permit a reasonable time, if you can call another witness, for Mr. Caughlan to get here, if he feels that he needs him. We are not going to have the gentleman feel that we are being unfair to him. If he feels that his counsel sitting there will be of value to him, we will be very happy to arrange that, if there is no more than a reasonable delay.

MR. HOUSTON: I certainly accept the ruling of the Chairman of the Committee, but there certainly is a responsibility on the part of a witness that's been subpoenaed for a period of time that this man has, and his counsel was attempting to speak for him yesterday.

MR. PHILLIPS: I waive counsel. I don't need to have anybody do my thinking for me.

MR. HOUSTON: I'm certainly accepting the ruling, but I would like that the—you set a specific date when can he testify. Will it be noon, or—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, Mr. Phillips has stated that he waives the right of having his counsel here.

A VOICE: May I say a word?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, you may not at this moment. If you have any information for this Committee, you may supply it to us during the recess, or in written form. We are not going to disrupt the hearing from the rear of the room.

MR. HOUSTON: I suggest that we attempt to arrange counsel so that he can be heard, if not immediately before noon, then immediately afterwards.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It is a matter—I think Mr. Phillips should decide whether he—if he feels that he wishes to proceed here without his counsel; counsel is limited to merely advising you whether or not to answer. You may confer with him, but counsel will not be permitted to argue before the Committee. So, you may use your discretion. We will permit you to have a reasonable delay, if you wish.

MR. PHILLIPS: I suppose I ought to get the legal angles on it. I don't—I have never been—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would rather at this time that you have no questions in your mind about your rights before this Committee, and you may step aside until—what time would you say, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: If possible, I would like to put him on at about ten minutes to twelve, or twelve; and if not, at two o'clock sharp this afternoon.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I suggest, then, that you immediately get in touch with your attorney and be prepared to be here before noon if you can get in touch with him. If not,—whether you reach him or not, we will expect you here definitely at two o'clock.

MR. PHILLIPS: All right.

(Witness temporarily excused)