

## TESTIMONY OF HOWARD RUSHMORE RESUMED

HOWARD RUSHMORE, having been previously sworn, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you were sworn this morning, Mr. Rushmore, and if you will continue now with the testimony that you were giving us when we recessed this morning.

MR. RUSHMORE: If I may, I would like to read into the record, since I testified this morning a member of the Committee's staff has gone to the University of Washington where apparently there is a file of the "Daily Worker," and a check of the file of that newspaper shows that on Tuesday, November the 9th, 1937, there appeared an article under the head "Congressmen Hit Sham Neutrality After Spain Tour." The head is under a three-column cut of John T. Bernard and Jerry J. O'Connell. The deck, or what we call the deck or secondary headline, reads: "Representative O'Connell and Bernard Plan Campaign to Repeal Embargo on Spain—Will Report on Trip to President Roosevelt." The article is signed by Howard Rushmore.

MR. HOUSTON: That is the article that you referred to, and is a result of this interview that you gave aboard ship to Congressmen O'Connell and Bernard.

### Predicts New Communist Party Policy

MR. RUSHMORE: That is correct. I would like at this time to tell the Committee, and give them my idea of some events which will affect their estate and their investigations in the future, events which happened yesterday in New York; namely, the arrest of twelve, or I believe it is thirteen now, leaders of the American Communist Party, on charges of attempting to overthrow the Government by force and violence.

That will set, I think, into effect a new Communist Party policy. Up until now we have found the Communist Party at its various hearings, such as this Committee's, other Committees have covered in the past, including the Hollywood hearing in Washington, the sub-committee of the House Committee on Labor and Education in New York and in Washington and several others; these various committee hearings, Communist leaders were named, or Communist leaders of unions, or Communist Party members in some particular industry or profession. They were called to the stand, and they attempted to—they are very skillful propagandists, I'm sure the Committee knows that by now.

They attempted to create an impression, wherever it might be, in Washington, New York, Seattle, or Los Angeles, that freedom of speech is being stifled by in person or at hand; no regard, of course, for the legality of their actions of their attorneys, a show put on on the witness stand in defiance of all the rules of court procedure—committee procedure, and legal procedures. In New York, a few days ago, while I was sitting at the press table on this end of the game, the comrades would get on the witness stand and be ejected in time for the Wall Street editions of the afternoon papers, and time their afternoon ejections in time for the morning papers. A very cleverly planned move. We could tell almost to the minute, from the press table, when they were going to start their speech which would result automatically, with the rules of procedure, in their ejection.

I see it working here, and it probably will continue to work until the line comes in from New York based on the arrest of yesterday. Now the Communist Party faces a problem. Definitely I think the actions of the Justice Department yesterday, will hurt the Communist Party. There is no doubt of that. I think it's a walking step forward. I might point out, however, that in my opinion, a lot more has to be done. I think this Committee is doing an excellent job of hitting a Communist where it hurts the most. The Committee could go out and take the secretary of the Communist Party of Washington, bring him to the stand, and when he refused—he would naturally have to answer the question he was a Communist, and he would be proud of it. He would make quite a speech.

It would mean nothing if, under some state or federal statute, he was arrested and convicted and served a sentence, because the Communist Party always has secondary leaders ready to take their place. Two or three years ago the Communist Party in New York set up a—a group to replace Foster and Dennis, Ben Davis, the various leaders arrested yesterday; but it does mean something to the Communist Party when a Committee such as this Committee names the Communists who are trying to hide their identity, who are trying to screen their activities in a university, or wherever it may be. That is hurting the Party in a very, very effective way.

### Communists in Federal Government Exposed

I might point out on the national scale, that still remaining to be done is the exposure of the Communists who since 1934 have attained positions in the Federal Government of considerable importance. I was very disappointed yesterday, upon reading the list of Communists arrested, to find only avowed Communists, four of whom are already either under indictment or convicted in various contempt charges, two of whom are up for deportation, and the remaining six are well known for twenty years as members of the Communist Party.

What I would like to see, out of Washington, will be a list of the Communists who have served in the Federal Government. I have before me now a copy of an F.B.I. report. This report consists of notes taken by two members of the F.B.I. in an interview with a witness who was a member of a Communist Party organization in Washington. This witness later appeared before the special Federal Grand Jury in Washington and in New York, which started its sessions last summer, one year ago. This was the same special Federal Grand Jury that handed down the indictments which resulted in the arrests yesterday of the twelve avowed Communists.

These facts I am about to read, or quote from, were given to this Grand Jury, plus the testimony of about one hundred and fifty other persons, most of them former Communist Party members. This testimony before this Grand Jury, and based on this report, amounted to something like this: Back in 1934, a man named Harold Ware, returned from Russia bringing with him a considerable amount of money, and out of a violin studio operated by his sister, at Dupont Circle, headquarters were established for a unique espionage organization. Ware had contacts with some Party members in Washington. Gradually they brought into this highly secret cell of the Communist Party, men like this: **Lee Pressman, that's Pressman of the War Labor Board, now a candidate for Congress on the Wallace ticket in Brooklyn; another was Donald Hiss, at that time in Wallace's Triple A; another is John Apt, also a national figure in the present Wallace organization; also**

Charles Krivitzky, that's Krivitsky, zky, rather, Krivitzky, who is known in Washington as Cramer.

Mr. Cramer, by the way, or Comrade Cramer, was quite a speech writer, having written speeches for Senator Claude Pepper and a number of other New Dealers, during his career.

### Silvermaster and Hiss Identified

Other members of this Communist Party cell included Gregory Silvermaster. Silvermaster is with the Treasury Department, or was the last time I heard.

Also, and very important, in this Communist Party cell was a person known as Alger Hiss, that's Alger Hiss, a brother of Donald Hiss. Hiss first came into the Government in the Wallace Triple A program, he became a member of the Nye Munitions Investigating Committee, and then went to the State Department.

There are other names I will come to shortly, that were sent here on orders from the Russian Government, and of course the Russian GPU, planned this—the use of these comrades very skillfully; Hiss in the State Department, or wherever he might have been at the time, was told to organize a similar cell in the State Department; Pressman in the War Labor Board, had the same duty; wherever they had a trusted Party member in a Government bureau, that Party member set up a subsidiary cell. Now the task of this secondary cell, shall I say, was to obtain all confidential information of interest to the Soviet Government was taken at night by Government workers and copied or photostated, in some cases it was stolen if it—if they could get away with it, and given to the head of the cell in the Bureau; such as Hiss at the State Department received over the course of a week, the various stolen documents, or copied documents, or information or data, and then he in turn as head of that cell, would report once a week to the apartment of Gregory Silvermaster to turn in all information.

From Silvermaster's apartment, where this information was compiled, from Labor, from State, from Commerce, from wherever the Party had a cell, a courier, as the Party calls a messenger boy, and a very trusted one naturally, would relay the information, the copied documents, stolen documents, whatever it might be, to the Russian Embassy.

**This went on from the time Ware got it organized in '34 up until, as far as I know, the present time.** I am sure that it has been slackened, shall we say, from its former efficiency by the various activities of our intelligence services in Washington; but it is interesting to note that Alger Hiss was definitely named a member of the Communist Party by Whitaker Chambers, that's Chambers, a senior editor of "Time" magazine, and a former city editor of the "Daily Worker." **Hiss was named by Chambers as a Communist Party member in a signed affidavit to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1943.**

This affidavit bearing Chambers' signature, that he has sat in closed unit meetings of the Communist Party in Washington, with Hiss, was sent to the State Department. That was in 1943.

I have before me now a clipping from the "New York Times" dated December the 10th, 1946. I quote from this news story: "Alger Hiss of Washington, Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs of the Department of State, was elected President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday, at a meeting of the organization's Board of Trustees here. He succeeds Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, who resigned in December 1945, and became President Emeritus. Mr. Hiss was born in Baltimore on November

the 11th, 1904. He obtained his B.A. Degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1926, and his LL.B from Harvard Law School in 1929. He went with President Roosevelt to the Crimea Conference in 1945."

**Hiss was also an adviser of President Truman at the Potsdam Conference. Alger Hiss was also secretary-general of the San Francisco Conference.**

### Identifies Many Communists in Federal Employment

Also in the State Department, and connected with the Soviet espionage ring organized by Ware, the GPU agent, was Lawrence Duggan, a high executive of the Philippine Section of the State Department, and Duggan worked with Hedda Gumperts, a member of the Communist Party and engaged with her husband whose name is Paul Massing, in GPU work. The Gumperts had a farm where a number of cell meetings were held, near Pinkerton, Pennsylvania.

Also, as part of the Federal Employees ring of Communists, was a man by the name of Harry Dexter White. We also have Dr. Harold Glasser, of the Treasury Department; Nathan Witt, formerly of the War Labor Board; and also a man by the name of Stephen, Stephen Bruneaur, who held up until recently, and may still hold, the rank of Navy Commander, who was engaged during the war in atomic research for the Government and the Navy, and whom I understand for a time was on the Navy Guided Missile Project.

These names I have named have been given more than a year ago, in the case of Alger Hiss five years ago, to the proper Government authorities. I hope that we may read that these New Deal officials will also be named as part of the Soviet plan to overthrow our Government, named as well as the avowed Communist leaders, who in many cases have made no bones in this country about their objective.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Rushmore, during the period of time that you were an organizer for the Young Communist League, did you become conversant with the pattern of operation of the Communist Party in the field of education?

MR. RUSHMORE: Not too directly. I had some experience, mainly in handling of news for the Young Worker,—or, the Daily Worker. We had the National Students League, which later became the American Students Union, which was headed by **Joseph Lash, who was then at the time, at least, a member of the National Board of the Young Communist League, and later when he sought a commission in Naval Intelligence, upon the request of Mrs. Roosevelt, I was only too happy to reveal to Naval Intelligence that I had met with Mr. Lash in the National Board meeting of the Young Communist League; and I understand from Naval Intelligence, that fact, plus others, kept him out of uniform in a nice spot for a Communist to be in, if he was still one at the time; but aside from things like that, I had no direct contact with the—either the teacher or student movement, as such.**

MR. HOUSTON: Are you familiar in general, with the objectives that they had?

MR. RUSHMORE: The students or teachers, or both?

MR. HOUSTON: The—the Party.

MR. RUSHMORE: In educational work?

MR. HOUSTON: Their general objectives in the educational field.

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, that book I had this morning, had something to the effect that the line has changed. In 1929 the Young Communist Interna-

tional ruled that bourgeois education was not acceptable, and they must fight against it. The line changed around '35 to building teachers' unions, building student organizations, fighting for higher pay for teachers, better class room—class rooms for students, no discrimination in schools, and things like that. In other words, they found out that they had a good springboard for a lot of issues, some of which were very legitimate, and the Communists seized upon them.

### Communists in Teachers' Union and Student Organizations

They had considerable success I would say, in both fields. Local 5 of the Teachers' Union was completely controlled by the Communist Party in New York City, and so completely controlled that they were expelled from the American Federation of Labor in 1942, on charges of Communism. They still—then they went to the C.I.O. and still claim around five thousand public school teachers. They very steadily tried to propagandize in the class rooms. I would say they were very clever about it, because as the Board of Education in New York has been quite anxious to catch them at it and is having a hard job, principally because the only witnesses in most cases would be students, and it is rather hard to put an eight- or ten- or twelve-year-old child on a witness stand; and,—but I know on one occasion a teacher wrote on the blackboard, "Be sure and go home and tell your parents to vote for some local Communist issue, or candidate at that time," and they will, whenever they can, bring out the fact that Russia is a great democracy, and, in their teaching of history or sociology, continually revert to what is called a very distilled but still effective form of Marxism, whether it's on the plane of Russia, or American Imperialism, or what's happening in Siam, or wherever it may be. They tried carefully to slip in that—the Party line; but they have to be—adopt extreme—extremely cautious methods because in our city the Board of Education on the whole is pretty much against the Communists and as far as told them when they found the proof.

In the student field, the Communists had, I would say, even more success. They conducted student—strikes, peace strikes they called them, before the Stalin-Hitler Pact went into effect, and after that they formed a—on the campuses around the country, the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming," and protested the Imperialist War. Then, of course, when Russia was invaded, against her own will, we found the Young Communists setting up Win the War committees, a familiar pattern; and after V-J Day we found the Young Communists in the colleges organizing committees to bring the boys back home; in other words, get the Yanks out of Germany and Japan, so Joe would have more of a chance over there.

### Youth Movement in Communist Party

The American Youth for Democracy was formed in 1944 or '3, I think—I forget the exact date—the Young Communist League under another name.

Then along came Wallace, hand-picked by the Communist Party last October, by the way, and Students for Wallace came into being. **So now the—from the Young Workers League, to the Young Communist League, to the American Youth for Democracy, to the Students for Wallace, is the pattern of—the student movement.**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, from your knowledge and study of the Communist Party, former official of the Communist Party, city editor of their paper, the Daily Worker, do you have any opinion, or **have you formed an opinion as to**

**whether the Communist Party is revolutionary in character in its aims toward the government of the United States of America.**

MR. RUSHMORE: **That's its only aim.** Their documents setting that forth are many and varied but they all come to the central point made by Marx a hundred years ago. That only way to establish the Communist State is by the forcible overthrow of the existing form of government which in this case, of course, would mean our—our democratic form of government.

**Nothing else is ever taught in the party schools.** The real training schools of the Communist Party are devoted to a study of Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism. The books of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, are circulated through all Communist branches and even those which have been revised because they might be a little, shall we say truthful, theoretically, even those will bear out the contention of the government yesterday, that the Communist Party whether it is in the national office in New York, or whether it is in an obscure Students for Wallace movement at the University of Georgia, whether it is in the Farmer's Union in North Dakota, or wherever it may be; wherever there is a Communist they have one aim, to do their part in overthrowing a Capitalist or Democratic form of government and establishing what they call the dictatorship or the proletarian.

### Communists Loyal to Russia in Case of War

MR. HOUSTON: In case of war between Russia and the United States is there any doubt about whom the Communist would be loyal to in this country?

MR. RUSHMORE: Absolutely no doubt. They would be loyal only to Russia.

MR. HOUSTON: Loyal only to Russia. And that is so proclaimed in their literature, is it not?

MR. RUSHMORE: That is so ordered, shall we say.

MR. HOUSTON: So ordered.

MR. RUSHMORE: It might take—I might add it might take subtle forms that the U.I.C.L. or the Party might order its people into the Army and Navy, and as Lenin so often proclaimed, there to work to turn that army against its own government.

The Party might be very smart about the thing and not say "we won't register or you can send us to jail" and so forth and so on. They might use the more subtle approach of sabotage.

MR. HOUSTON: Whatever they did, they would try to help Russia?

MR. RUSHMORE: That would be the only aim.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, from your study of the writings of the Communist Party leaders do you have any conclusions as to whether Communism and Capitalism can live side by side in a world happily and contentedly getting along together, or is war an inevitable result of the two?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, I have my conclusions, naturally, but I might quote roughly from Stalin's pamphlet "Foundations of Leninism" in which he said that war between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union is inevitable. He meant by that, and he said that **these two systems cannot live side by side. One or the other must perish and the only reason now that we are doing some perishing is that Russia does not have the Atom Bomb.** As I said this morning they tried very hard to get it but I am convinced that the moment Stalin obtains the bomb in any quantity, God help us if he does, it will be dropped wherever he can drop it.

### Party Discipline

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Rushmore, how does the Communist Party treat people who fall away from it—who leave its ranks—who attempt to give it up.

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, to come back to—a moment to Professor Polonius yesterday afternoon. What amused me about his attitude was this:

If Professor Polonius, what's his name, by the way, I can't recall—

MR. HOUSTON: Ethel, Dr. Garland Ethel, is that the one to whom you make reference?

MR. RUSHMORE: If Comrade Ethel, or present Comrade Ethel, I don't know which, had been in Germany, say in 1934, a member of the German Communist Party, and had disagreed with them on minor or major issues that expressed his right of freedom of speech in a Communist unit, of his Communist Party unit, the "comrades" would probably have done what they did to many like, using a comparison, to many like him. They would turn the list of the "comrades" that they wanted out of the way over to the Nazi Gestapo. Naturally the head of the party is not going to Gestapo headquarters and give to his Brown Brethren the list of the "comrades" but it would be gotten to the Gestapo one way or another and the Gestapo is only too happy to oblige the "comrade" by bumping off the dissidents. That happened a number of times in Germany before the war broke out.

In this country, and I might add, in many cases because the commissar of the particular unit or industry in which this dissident "comrade" was engaged, figured well, I—look, he's kicking up the traces here and he's exercising a little freedom of speech that we don't like so let the Gestapo have him.

In this country I had Frederic Myers, up until last year a national official of the National Maritime Union C.I.O., tell me while I was on the Worker that a certain "comrade" in the union aboard a ship had gotten a little independent and said he was—he didn't like the way the party was running things—that the Communist Party was a menace to the American Trade Union Movement, he thought, and he was going to expose them before the C.I.O.

**According to Myers, this "comrade" was lost at sea on—on a heavy swell that was coming over the bows at night.**

You'll hear these stories many times within the Communist Party; of a seaman who was a member of the Party who doesn't agree with everything and gets a little troublesome to the party, still loyal to it in many ways, have a beam drop on his head, or a longshoreman will fall through a hole about 30 feet and break his neck, or—it happens quite frequently in industry where they can get away with it. They believe in assassination. They haven't done too much of it in this country because it would actually hurt them if they were caught and their—the Carlos Cresta incident, that's Cresta, the Italian Labor Editor who was killed in New York City several years ago, I am convinced that the Communist Party did that job. **Of course it's a matter of record that they killed Leon Trotsky. Trotsky exercised the right in Russia, he had been a very loyal revolutionist. I have no sympathy or pity for him; he was as bad as Stalin and a little smarter except in the long run that Stalin got control of power, and Trotsky was always a menace to that power of Stalin.** Mr. Holmes can tell you more about that later because he knows the story very well.

### They Killed Leon Trotsky

But what did they do with Trotsky? They sent him to—out of the—he barely got out of the country with his life, went to Norway and finally to Mexico where the Communist Party finally killed him. You would think he was pretty well isolated in Mexico but as long as a person of Trotsky's stature was alive in the world, Stalin felt that it might be a threat to him politically in one way or the other. So they sent this GPU man down to Mexico and through a girl he got into Trotsky's home, spent six months there, and finally swung the axe on him one day and killed him.

An interesting side light to that is that this fellow whose name is Jackson, the GPU man that is now in jail in Mexico, was getting a little tired of jail and about a year ago threatened to do some talking. As a result of that the Comintern or the M.B.D., as it is known now, the Soviet Secret Police, set up a new squad to bump off Jackson. Now this goes on and on. How long Jackson will live I don't know, but the report that the F.B.I. got from Mexican Police is that in one case a Soviet Agent attempted to bribe a jailer, offered him \$25,000, Mexican, to let him in the cell with Jackson for a couple of minutes. The Mexican trustee, whoever he was, was an honest lad and reported this incident so they stopped that. But they use every trick; character, as I have mentioned. I am sure that all members of the Committee before this is over, perhaps you have received it now—I've been called anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic or anti-Protesti—anti-Protestant or anti-Negro. If you haven't been you probably will.

### Character Assassination

The Thomas Committee, the California Committee, the Rapp-Coudert Committee have all had the same story. No matter what they did, how legally they proceeded, how thoroughly they proceeded, the smear campaign went on and it placed, not only on a racial basis, they will stop at nothing such as a campaign involving morality. I tried to get across the idea this morning of their actual belief in morality but their character assassination is very expert. They do terrific jobs. They even have access to certain national columns. Until a few years ago a certain columnist would spread this stuff, that certain enemies of the party were—he slapped them about without knowing it is being used as a tool in the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Uh—

MR. RUSHMORE: So, if I may add one word. Having seized all of . . . this is playing with ethics on the part of a "comrade," either having seen it or having heard it from the people who know, I would say that Professor Polonius' plea was rather a weak one. If he was thinking of protecting members of his own profession, American spirit of fair play, I would agree with him.

**But no member of the Communist Party who is a school teacher can be called either an American or a teacher.** He deserves the same treatment, I would say, as the Nazi saboteurs who came over in the submarine, or the same treatment that he would receive in Russia should be disagree with Stalin.

MR. HOUSTON: These Americans, loyal Americans who have taken the stand and testified as to their former membership and affiliations with the party and those who engaged with them in Communist work have performed a real service to their country and some made sacrifices which practically

only an expert in this field or an ex-Communist appreciates. Is that correct?

MR. RUSHMORE: There are many witnesses, including my friend, Tim, here, who can tell you the treatment they received in their industry or profession after they had so testified. I have been fortunate, I haven't received that but I know many who have, have been in some cases fired, and some cases every attempt was made to prove they were bigamists, the lowest depths of the human character—cha—is coined by the Communist party in seeking revenge on what they call their "renegades."

Or people who leave the party are willing to get on a stand and testify as to what Communism is and who makes up the party. I would advise the Committee to be on the watchout for such reprisals against witnesses who appear here before it, friendly witnesses, I—mean.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with the witness and I certainly think he deserves the thanks of the Committee for the sacrifice he has made in coming out here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I wish to express the sincere appreciation of the entire Committee and, I think, the State of Washington, for the sacrifice that you have made in coming across the United States at no profit to yourself and we do appreciate that effort and we wish you and Mrs. Rushmore a most pleasant trip home.

MR. RUSHMORE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest just a short recess of ten or fifteen minutes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for about fifteen minutes.

(Recess)

## TESTIMONY OF PROF. HAROLD EBY English Department, University of Washington

PROFESSOR EDWIN HAROLD EBY, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: You have heard the instructions to other witnesses as to the fact that this is being recorded, and will you speak into the microphone so that you might be heard.

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

PROFESSOR EBY: Edwin Harold Eby.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born?

PROFESSOR EBY: I was born in Los Angeles, California.

MR. HOUSTON: And the date of your birth?

PROFESSOR EBY: 1900.

MR. HOUSTON: 1900. What is your occupation?

PROFESSOR EBY: I am a teacher.

MR. HOUSTON: A teacher. Are you—is it proper to address you as Doctor, or, do you have your Ph.D.?

PROFESSOR EBY: I have my Ph.D.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you teach, Doctor?

PROFESSOR EBY: At the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: And how long have you taught there?

PROFESSOR EBY: I've taught there about twenty years.

MR. HOUSTON: Twenty years. What do you teach there, Doctor?

PROFESSOR EBY: I teach American Literature.

MR. HOUSTON: American Literature. You are in the English Department?

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes.

### Admits Own Membership

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

PROFESSOR EBY: That is two questions. I'll ask—answer them seriatim. The first one, I am not a member; and the second one, I was a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you join the Communist Party, Doctor?

PROFESSOR EBY: I can't remember exactly. I think it was '35 or '36.

MR. HOUSTON: And when did you disassociate yourself from the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, it was early in 1946.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you expelled from the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You didn't receive an expulsion notice?

PROFESSOR EBY: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Was there any expulsion notice published in any of their publications, as often happens when someone leaves the Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: I don't know; I haven't read their publications recently.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Doctor, from time to time, or continuously, did you attend meetings of the Communist Party?