

bd-1

Chambers

J A Y D A V I D W H I T T A K E R C H A M B E R S,
called as a witness, having first been sworn, testified
as follows:

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q Mr. Chambers, will you repeat, for the purposes of
this Grand Jury, your residence address and your business
address? A My residence address is Route 2, Westminster,
Maryland, and my business address now is the same.

Q You were previously employed? A I was previously
employed by Time, Inc., as the senior editor of Time Magazine.

Q Now, where were you born, Mr. Chambers? A I was
born in Philadelphia, in 1901.

Q And where did you attend school? A I attended
school at Rockville Center, Long Island, Lynbrook, Long Island
Columbia University.

Q About what time were you attending Columbia University?
A About 1920.

Q 1920? A 1920, '21.

Q And was that the college or the university? A That
was the College of Liberal Arts.

Q And how long did you stay? A I stayed, roughly,
two years.

Q And what was your reason for leaving? A I was
extremely dissatisfied; I had not wanted to go to college,
in the first place.

Q Where did you go after you left Columbia?

bd-2

Chambers

A After I left Columbia University I went to Europe for a short time.

Q Were you employed? A No. I went there as a young man, a tourist-student.

Q And how long were you in Europe? A I was there for three months, I believe.

Q What countries did you visit? A I was in Germany, Belgium and France.

Q And did you attend any university? A No, I did not.

Q And upon your return to the United States what did you do? A I went to work, I believe, for the New York Public Library.

Q In what capacity? A In the newspaper room.

Q Was that a clerical capacity? A Roughly, yes.

Q And how long were you so employed? A I have forgotten exactly, but I should think about a year or more.

Q And why did you leave that position? A I left that position at the request of the Library, for two reasons: one, because they suspected I had stolen some books from the Library, which was proved not to be the case; and in opening my locker they discovered some Communist leaflets.

Q Now, at that time were you -- A Some quantity of them.

Q Well, go ahead. I interrupted you. A Some quantity of Communist leaflets.

Q And about what time was that? Will you fix the

bd-3

Chambers

approximate date? A I should think approximately it was 1923 or '24.

Q '23 or '24? A Something like that.

Q At that time were you a member of the Communist Party?

A Therefore it must have been in '24, because I joined the Communist Party in 1924.

Q And where did you join the Communist Party?

A In New York.

BY THE FOREMAN:

Q How did you happen to join the Communist Party,

Mr. Chambers? A That is, of course, a difficult question to answer in any simple way.

Q Well, maybe I can help you out. Did you go out seeking it or did somebody come to you? A Yes, I did go out seeking it. When I was in Europe I lived in Germany at the time of the inflation and the occupation of the Rhineland, and at the moment I entered Germany there were hundreds of displaced persons moving out of the Rhineland into Berlin and other interior cities. Then I came out through Belgium and particularly in northern France where the ruins of war and the cemeteries were still in existence. And I came back to the United States with a very strong feeling that something basic was wrong with the social structure and wars and economic crises were closely related. But I didn't know the answer. I set out to find the answer, and it seemed to me that the writings of Marx explained the nature of the

bd-4

Chambers

economic and political crisis.

BY THE JURY:

Q Did you read Marx's "Das Kapital"? A I had not, at the time I'm speaking, read Marx's "Das Kapital."

Q How did you know about the writings of Marx, then?

A I had read the "Manifesto" and a number of shorter writings. And it seemed to me that the writings of Lenin explained what could be done about it. And having reached that decision, I went in search, myself, for the American Communist Party.

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q Now, what was your employment after you left the Library? That is the New York Public Library? A Yes. I later went to the Daily Worker.

Q And were you paid by the Daily Worker? A Yes, I was.

Q What was your salary? A It was, I think, nominally about \$25 a week. It was more -- usually, it was something like \$10 or \$5 or nothing at all.

Q And what was your position on the Daily Worker?

A I was a staff writer on the Daily Worker.

Q And how long did you continue with the Daily Worker?

A I stayed with the Daily Worker until some time in 1929.

Q And did your position change while you were with the Daily Worker? A Yes, it did. I changed from writing to editing, and when I left it I was in effect the editor of the Daily Worker.

DA-5

Chambers

Q Now, during that period of time up to 1929 had you used any other names besides the name of David Whittaker Chambers? A Not that I recall. I don't think so.

JUROR: As editor of the Daily Worker, do you mean that you wrote the editorials, or were you assisting in editorial policy?

THE WITNESS: I made up the magazine and frequently wrote the editorials.

Q Up to that time had you been associated with the New Masses? A Only as a contributor.

Q Was your name carried on the masthead? A I have forgotten. It may have been.

Q In the articles that appeared in the New Masses, did your name appear on those articles? A I don't believe I wrote any articles for the New Masses prior to 1929.

Q Now, is it your recollection that at no time prior to 1929 -- is it your recollection that you did not use any other name besides the name of Whittaker Chambers?

A That's my recollection. I could be mistaken.

Q Well, now, were you at any time employed in an art firm? A In an art --

Q An art firm. In other words, where your father was employed. A Oh, yes, I was.

Q And what name did you use there? A Charles Whittaker

Q Charles Whittaker? A That's right.

Q And will you explain the reason for that?

bd-6

Chambers

A The reason for that was that my father was afraid that if he brought me into the firm, he would be suspected of favoring an employee over the other employees, and he chose to make the separation in name.

THE FOREMAN: What was the name?

THE WITNESS: Charles Whittaker. That was my grandfather's.

JUROR: What was the name of the firm?

THE WITNESS: Frank Seaman & Company. They were at Fourth Avenue and about 32nd Street.

Q And will you fix the approximate time that you were so employed? A That must have been in 1919 or '20.

Q Now, at one time were you in New Orleans? A Yes, I was.

Q And will you fix that time? A That would have been just prior to going into the Seaman firm, which would probably have been sometime in 1929.

Q And when you were in New Orleans were you going under the name of Whittaker Chambers? A No, I was not.

Q What name did you use there? A That name has slipped my mind, but it was some name like Charles Adams.

Q And what was the purpose of using the name of Charles Adams? A I had left home in order not to go to college and I did not want my family to trace me.

Q Were you employed in New Orleans? A No, I was never able to get a job there.

bd-7

Chambers

Q And where did you reside there? A I lived on Bienville Street.

THE FOREMAN: What is your father's name?

THE WITNESS: Jay.

Q Were you employed at one time by the street railway system in Washington or Baltimore? A I was employed by the Engel & Hebner Company which was doing a construction job on a section of the street railway in Washington.

Q And while you were so employed did you use the name of Whittaker Chambers? A No. I believe I used that Charles Adams.

Q And what was your reason for that? A The same reason; that I had left home and --

JUROR: Is Frank Seaman the name of the advertising agency?

THE WITNESS: Yes, that's right.

Q The time that you used these different names, was it before you went to college? A Yes, it was.

Q And then from the time you were in college until 1929 you used the name Whittaker Chambers? A As nearly as I can recall, I had no other name.

Q And your employment in the art firm was before you went to college? A The art firm?

Q Where your father worked. A Oh, yes, that was before college.

Q Now, in 1929 you were a member of the Communist Party

bd-8

Chambers

and you were on the staff or you were working with the Daily Worker; is that correct? A That's correct.

Q Now, how long did you continue with the Daily Worker?

A I continued with the Daily Worker, roughly, from 1925 until 1929.

Q And then where did you go after you left the Daily Worker? A I left the Daily Worker and went to Chicago for a short time.

Q And what did you do in Chicago? A I went to see a friend, a man who had just broken with the Communist Party, and stayed there only a short time and came back.

BY THE FOREMAN:

Q Why did you leave the Daily Worker? A I left the Daily Worker because a new development had taken place in the Communist Party, new at least to me. Stalin had come to power in Russia and whereas at least lip service had in time past been paid to a minority and a majority with equal rights within the Communist Party, one group was now expelling all members who did not agree with them. In other words, what has since come to be called a fascistizing of the Communist Party has set in. And although I didn't recognize it for what it was, I recognized it as something unpleasant. And I asked some time in which to think out my own position in relation to this new development. And instead of that, I was hailed before the Central Control Commission, and I simply left.

b6-9

Chambers

Q There was no attempt to force you to, threats or anything like that? A Oh, no, none at all. I was never even expelled during that period, but the Communists had nothing to do with me.

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q Mr. Chambers, were you working under Bob Miner of the Daily Worker? A Yes, I was. He was nominally editor of the Daily Worker.

Q And did you know an individual by the name of Harrison George? A Yes, I did.

Q and did you have any dispute with Harrison George? A No, I did not have a dispute with Harrison George. Harrison George came to me at that period and -- well, I'll have to give a little background on Harrison George. Harrison George, as far as I know, always belonged to the faction which finally became the Stalin faction in the American Party. And he came to me one day in the Daily Worker office and said that they would be very happy to throw Robert Miner out of his editorship there but were refraining for political considerations. And since I considered myself a friend of Miner's, I told him -- very unwisely -- and he immediately reported the matter to the Control Commission, which precipitated the whole Miner crisis.

Q Now, you say you went to Chicago. What did you do in Chicago? A I went to Chicago to see another Communist who had just left the Party.

bd-10

Chambers

Q What was his name? A Michael Intrator.

BY THE JURY:

Q This Control Commission which you referred to, was that a Control Commission of the Communist Party? A Yes. The Central Control Commission is the high court and, to some extent, the police force of the Communist Party. It is probably the most secret section of the open Communist Party. But it also has certain, not very definite, powers over both the open and the underground Communist Party.

Q Did you know who the individuals were on that Control Commission? A I knew at that time that the head of the Control Commission was a man named Dirba and that Alexander Trachtenberg, who was then and I think is now the head of the International Publishers, was also a member.

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q Now, how long did you stay in Chicago? A I don't think I stayed in Chicago more than a month.

Q Were you employed in Chicago? A No, I was not.

Q And you were still a Communist? A I was out of the Party, as far as I was concerned.

Q Did you consider yourself a Communist? A I considered myself a Communist, yes.

Q In other words, you believed in Communism?

A That's true.

Q And you returned to New York? A I returned to New York.

b2-11

Chambers

Q And what did you do when you came back to New York?

A I didn't do anything that I recall, except I began to write a series of short stories which appeared in the New Masses subsequently.

Q And did your name appear on those stories? A Yes, it did.

Q And can you tell the Grand Jury the topics that you wrote about? A Yes. My effort in those stories was to try to present a political line for the Communist Party which I believed to be more correct than the line which the Communist Party was actually pushing at that time. The Communist Party then stood in an extreme leftist position and was practically on the point of hailing open revolution, which of course was absurd, and I tried to show in a series of stories that something less than open revolution was required at the moment.

Q Were you paid for those articles? A No, I was not.

Q And how did you support yourself during that period?

A I supported myself by translating.

Q And will you give some examples of the translation?

A Well, the better known example was actually done prior to that was Felix Salten's "Bambi," and during that 1929, '31 or '32 period I translated Franz Werfel's "Class Reunion" and a book of Waldemar Bonsels', and a book of Edschmidt's and a book of Heinrich Mann's, and a book of a Belgian, "B'terstevens."

BY THE JURY:

bd-12

Chambers

Q All German books? A No. One was a French book.

Q In translating those books did you translate them under your own name? A Yes, those were all translated under my own name.

BY THE FOREMAN:

Q Were your arrangements with the author or the publishers? A With the publisher.

Q Was it one publisher or -- A No. It was a number of publishers.

Q How did you make those contacts? A I made the original contact with Simon & Schuster through Clifton Fadiman who was a friend of mine. And after the success of "Bambi," of course I could have almost any translation I wanted.

BY THE JURY:

Q Where did you pick up your knowledge of German? A I taught myself German, for the most part, and then I went abroad, and I also had a friend who spoke German fluently.

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q Were you fluent in any other language? A Not as fluent as in German. I speak German without any particular care for grammar and without any particular embarrassment. I read French more readily than I speak German.

Q You considered yourself qualified to translate from the French language? A Yes.

Q And any other language that you feel qualified,

bd-13

Chambers

Besides German and French? A I have some knowledge of Italian.

Q Did you do any translating? A No.

THE FOREMAN: Clifton Fadiman arranged for the translation of "Bambi"?

THE WITNESS: Yes, as I recall it.

Q What was your association with Mr. Fadiman at that time? How did you come in contact with him? A I had known him in Columbia and we continued on a friendly basis for years.

THE FOREMAN: Mr. Fadiman, to your knowledge, is not a Communist?

THE WITNESS: I do not believe Mr. Fadiman is a Communist.

Q Did you ever confer with Mr. Fadiman concerning any of the articles you wrote for New Masses or any other Communist publications? A No.

Q We are in your translation period there, or we are talking about the period when you came back to New York and you were writing articles for the New Masses. Now, how long was it before you were employed again? A I went -- my next regular Communistic employment was in 1932, I believe.

Q Now, between 1929 and 1932 you didn't have any regular employment? A Except translation. That was a full-time job.

Q And in 1932 you say you were re-employed by the

b6-14

Chambers

Communist Party? A Yes, I think it's proper to say that, although I believe the New Masses at that time was not showing its Communist hand too strongly.

Q and what was your employment there? A I was editing

Q Editor of the New Masses? A That's right.

Q And was your name carried as editor? A No; it was carried as the first of the editors on the masthead.

Q Were you using the name Whittaker Chambers at that time? A Yes.

Q And how long did you continue with the New Masses? A I continued with the New Masses about two or three issues.

Q And why did you leave? A I left the New Masses to go into the underground.

Q The underground of the Communist Party? A Of the Communist Party.

Q Will you explain to the Grand Jury how you happened to go into the underground of the Communist Party? A Yes. One day I received a telephone call at the New Masses office from Mr. Sadacht, who was at that time a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He called me --

MR. WHEARTY: He subsequently headed the International Workers Order?

THE WITNESS: He may even at that time been head of the National Workers Order. And, as you probably know, he was recently expelled from the Communist Party

A (Cont'g) He called me to his office and told me that I

bd-15

Chambers

had been selected to go into the underground. And I asked for a little time to consider it, and he gave me over night.

Q Now, what was your understanding of the underground when he spoke to you about going into the underground?

A I understood that the Communist Party is divided roughly into two organizational parts, the open Communist Party which functions, as everybody knows, in its public offices and in the streets and in trade unions, and an unadmitted secret section of the Communist Party which is -- which has its own form of organization for its own purposes.

Q Now, can you give the approximate date that you had this conversation with Mr. Bedacht? A It was, I believe, in the summer of 1932.

Q And you thought it over over night, I believe you said. A That is true.

(Continued by IFG)

December 17, 1948

IFG-1

(Messrs. Donegan & Whearty)

Chambers

(Cont. from BP)

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q And had you agreed to go into the underground when you had the next meeting? A I didn't agree in just that way. My wife had very strong objections, and I explained that to Mr. Sedacht, and I also explained that for a man who had recently been outside the Communist Party, and who had just taken over an editorial position, to disappear from public view would create some stir, as it did; but he overrode that very simply, by saying that the decision was made and that is what I was doing.

A JUROR: Did you discuss the compensation?

THE WITNESS: No, I didn't.

Q Mr. Chambers, just to go back for a minute, on what date were you married? A I was married -- I have forgotten the day, but it was April, 1931.

Q April, 1931? A Yes.

Q Was your wife a member of the Communist Party? A No, she was not.

Q Has she ever been a member of the Communist Party? A No, she never was.

Q During the period up to the time you had this conversation, about going into the underground, were you a card-carrying Communist? A Yes, I was.

Q And you didn't conceal your membership in the Communist Party? A No. I entered the Communist

Party under my own name, and against the advice of many people who thought I should take a Party name, as it is called, or another name. I saw no reason for that, largely because I was still an undeveloped Communist, and I retained my own name in Communist activities until 1932.

A JUROR: Did your wife know you were a member of the Communist Party?

THE WITNESS: Yes, she did.

Q Did you have any children at that time?

A No, I did not.

Q Now, will you explain to the Grand Jury the circumstances, beyond your conversations with Mr. Bedacht, as far as your going into the underground is concerned, and how you got into the underground, and what you were supposed to do? A Yes. Mr. Bedacht took me outside of the building and introduced me to a man who had the pseudonym of Arthur; and I suppose I should say at this point that most of the functionaries in the underground have pseudonyms for their relations among themselves and for a great deal of the Party activity.

A JUROR: You say you didn't want to go into the underground?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

A JUROR: But you did?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

A JUROR: Did anyone compel you to?

THE WITNESS: Yes. Every Communist exists under what is known as Party discipline. Party discipline means, in effect, that every Communist is at the complete disposal of the higher organs of the Communist Party.

Now, I don't mean to imply that that works arbitrarily. In most cases, the human factor is considered and acted upon; but if the Party decides that a man is to do a certain job for the Communist Party, the decision is binding on that Communist.

A JUROR: What are the consequences if he does not want to comply?

THE WITNESS: The usual consequence is expulsion from the Communist Party.

Q Did you finish your explanation with reference to your meeting? A I think so.

BY MR. WHEAREY:

Q You met Arthur. Now pick up from there.

A All right. Then Arthur told - -

Q Otherwise did you know Arthur's identity, other than by this single name? A Yes, I did.

Q Please develop that, Mr. Chambers. A All right. Arthur was a Communist named John Sherman, who

as Robert Mitchell helped to organize one of the subway strikes in New York City during the Twenties.

A JUROR: Is John Sherman his right name?

THE WITNESS: As far as I know it was; but Robert Mitchell, I know, was an alias or pseudonym. He had also worked on THE DAILY WORKER at one time, and had disappeared for years, and I knew nothing about him.

He took me, or, rather, he told me to meet him up somewhere on Riverside Drive, near Grant's Tomb, at probably about seven o'clock in the evening of that day; and I had gone back to THE NEW MASSES office to finish up some work, and I went down to the 14th Street subway platform to go uptown, and as I got into the car Arthur got in right behind me; and that was, of course, for dramatic effect, to give me a taste of how such things are done.

We then went up to Riverside Drive, and walked a way down the Drive to where a large car was parked, and where there was a man sitting in it whom Arthur greeted, and we got in; and in the course of the drive downtown the man, whom I believe to be a Russian, interrogated me particularly about my past political derelictions, and he seemed to be satisfied that I had returned

to the Party line, and gave me to understand that henceforth I was to serve in the underground and that Arthur would either the next day or very shortly thereafter turn me over to someone else, who would be my superior.

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q Under what name did you address that Russian?

A He was known as Herbert.

Q Just Herbert? A Yes, Herbert.

Q Did you know him by any other name? A He was also sometimes called Carl.

Q Carl? A That's right; Carl.

Q Did you have any other meetings with this Russian? A I don't think so.

Q Is that your only contact with him? A I believe so.

Q Now, Arthur recontacted you when? A As nearly as I can recall now, within a day or so.

Q And then what happened after that, what followed? A He introduced me to a Russian named - or who had the pseudonym - Ulrich, or Walter sometimes; and thereupon Arthur disappeared, and Ulrich became my immediate superior for a period of two or three years.

Q For how long? A Two or three years, or perhaps one or two years.

Q And what would be your arrangements for meeting Walter? A The arrangements for meeting Walter were -- at first, we would meet at cafeterias, or occasionally in the park, and an hour and a day would be set by him at one meeting, and we would meet on that day and hour, for the next meeting.

A JUROR: Mr. Chambers, you spoke about the Russian questioning you about your political derelictions. Had you reformed, according to his ideas?

THE WITNESS: Yes. I had never been formally expelled from the Communist Party. The era at that time was called the "Right-Wing Deviation."

A JUROR: But you yourself had gotten over your own scruples?

THE WITNESS: It wasn't a question of getting over scruples, but it was a question of whether or not the political line that the Communist Party then stood for was the correct one, for tactical reasons, and I had come to believe that they had themselves so much modified their line in those years, and I had also been myself too far to the "right," according to the Communist position.

Q Did you at that time consider yourself a

Stalinist? A No, I at no time considered myself a Stalinist.

Q How did you reconcile your views with the prevailing views - in other words, Browder at that time was the Secretary? A Yes, I simply believed I was a Communist, and while my position didn't coincide in all ways with the Communist line - -

Q Did you have a leaning towards Trotzky? A No, I can't say I was leaning towards Trotzky.

Q Now, Walter was contacting you - - what were your instructions as to what you were supposed to do?

A His instructions to me were that henceforth I should separate myself completely from the open Communist Party, and have no further associations of any kind with known Communists; that I should lead a good, average, middle-class life, and my function was to be the connecting link between the open Communist Party, in the person of Max Bedacht, and the underground.

Q And what discussion did you have as to how you were going to live, and what financial arrangements would be made? A The arrangement was at that time that, I believe, I would receive about one hundred thirty-five dollars a month, and an expense account.

A JUROR: Mr. Chambers, isn't there a contradiction there? Your instruction was that you

were to divorce yourself from any open Communist?

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.

A JUROR: And yet you were to be the liaison officer between the head of the open Communists and the underground?

THE WITNESS: That's right. Obviously, there has to be a connection at some point, and in some person, between the open and the underground sections of the Communist Party, and it fell to me to be that connection. There are a number of such connections, of course.

Q Was there any discussion as to the use of names - were you to continue to use the name Whittaker Chambers? A I continued to use the name Whittaker Chambers, or sometimes Jay Chambers, which is also part of my name.

Q Was there any discussion as to the fact that that might cause suspicion in so far as you had been known in the Party by the name of Whittaker Chambers?

A I don't recall that there was, although it may have been discussed.

Q Will you explain to the Grand Jury how you were to work in the underground? A Yes, I will try to. My job, which was not really much to do at first,

was to see Max Bedacht about once a week, and to see Ulrich about once a week, and to carry any communications from one to the other that they desired.

Q Was Ulrich, or Walter, Russian? A Walter was a Russian.

A JUROR: What type of communications, Mr. Chambers?

THE WITNESS: Well, I can give you one example. One day I was told by Walter that I must contact Bedacht at once, because a Communist was crossing the continent by train and word had somehow reached the underground that he was under surveillance, and they wished his journey to be broken.

That is, the Communists were to meet him somewhere en route, or at several places en route, and to warn him to get off the train.

And that particular instance stays in my mind because the warning came in on a Sunday, and I found it impossible to contact Max Bedacht at -- I didn't know what to do under those circumstances, and I happened to meet on the street William Weinstone, who was either then or later the organizer of the Communist Party in Michigan, and I gave him the message as a reliable Communist, in that emergency.

A JUROR: Was he in the underground at that time?

THE WITNESS: No; he was, as far as I know, never directly in the underground.

Q Mr. Chambers, what was the name of the Communist that was coming across country? A That I never knew.

Q Now, at that period were any documents given to you to give to Bedacht or to give to Walter? A No, I don't believe so.

Q Were your activities in New York? A My activities were all in New York.

Q When did you start to go outside of New York - fix the approximate time? A About 1934, I should think at the end of the year.

Q And you were still in contact with Walter? A No. Do you want me to describe what happened within that apparatus?

Q Yes; by all means. A First, perhaps, I should locate some of the meeting places of this group. As I worked with this group, I was introduced into various headquarters, I suppose you can call them.

One was a very well-furnished apartment, right off Fifth Avenue, in the lower Fifties, and that was known as "The Gallery." That is, if Ulrich called me

up and wanted to see me at that place, instead of at a pre-arranged meeting, he would say, "Meet me at 'the gallery' at such-and-such a time."

Now, "the gallery" was actually the apartment of Paula Levine, who was an American woman Communist, one of the few people who escaped when the French police rounded up the Russian ring in Paris in the Thirties, some time.

Then there was another headquarters on Gay Street, in Greenwich Village. I think it was number 9, but I am not quite sure of that. The Gay Street address is particularly interesting because it had something to do with the communications chain with Europe.

At least part of the activities of this underground group was carrying on direct communications, presumably with the Russian apparatus, in Europe. That was done in this way:

The couriers who carried the messages were sailors and stewards on the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd boats, and they would be met at this end, which is the only end I have knowledge of, by a man whom I met under the name of Henry - a German - who I believe had himself been at one time a steward on one of these boats; and he would meet the sailor or steward who had the messages from the other side, and give them to a man

whom I knew as Charlie, and who took them to the Gay Street house.

Later I became a link interposed between Henry and Charlie, so that I used to meet Henry and then wander around the city, with the idea of throwing off any possible surveillance, and presently meet Charlie, who did the same thing, and presently he brought the messages to Gay Street.

Now, the messages were of two kinds: They were micro-film, which had been - the frames of which had been cut apart, each little frame had been cut out, and those had been wrapped in tissue paper and put in the back of a little pocket mirror such as you used to be able to buy in the dime stores here for ten cents.

Those mirrors were covered with some soft cloth, and it would be easy to pry them off with a nail file, and then open them and put the message in, and smooth it down again with the nail file. That was the envelope for the film.

As a rule, there was also a letter sent. The letter was written - typed - in German, and they must have had a number of them on hand. They were always the same letter, and I remember just one line out of them: "We live here on a hot griddle."

Then the micro-films were enlarged in the Gay

Street headquarters, and they would be found to contain messages in Russian.

The letter would be immersed in a bath of potassium permanganate, which would bring out a kind of rusty, red handwriting, also in Russian.

A JUROR: You mean in addition to the type?

THE WITNESS: Yes, it would come out between the lines of the typing. The typing was either double or triple space - I have forgotten which - and all I could read of that letter was the signature, which was "Akut," which may be a Germanization of the word "Acute." I don't know - but it was undoubtedly a pseudonym.

A JUROR: Did you ever get any information about the source of that material?

THE WITNESS: Aside from the signature - "Akut" - I never knew the source of them, other than it came from the couriers.

Once something went wrong with that system, and this will show you where my function came in with the open Party. The sailor who had that mirror and the envelope failed to make contact with Henry, and he wandered around - - of course, he was going to leave the country in a very short time, a matter of days, I guess, and didn't

want to carry this thing back with him again - - so he finally made contact with George Mink, who was the Communist organizer on the New York waterfront, and gave the mirror and the letter to Mink, who in turn gave them to Max Bedacht, who in turn gave them to me.

That is how the underground sometimes would work.

A JUROR: Did you ever know what the contents of these micro-films were?

THE WITNESS: No; I cannot read Russian. I can read the letters, but I don't understand the language.

A JUROR: Do I understand correctly that the typewritten part of these letters was always the same?

THE WITNESS: Yes, as nearly as I can remember; it was a regular form letter.

A JUROR: And this invisible writing that became visible - was that in German, too?

THE WITNESS: No, that was in Russian.

Q Did you ever have any discussion with these people as to what the contents of the messages were?

A No. It would have been against all discipline for me to ask any questions whatsoever about such matters.

Q Did you ever give any money to any one of those people, or did they ever give you any money, when you were transferring those? A No, I wasn't involved in the actual transfer from the stewards. There may have been money at that point, but I didn't handle it.

Q You were in contact with Henry, is that correct? A That's correct.

Q But did you ever give Henry any money to give to the stewards? A No, I did not.

Q And that continued for a period of time - that method of contacting? A Yes. As far as I know, it went on until Hitler came to power.

Q Give us the approximate time. A This was probably 1933, as I remember it, and in a matter of weeks he had destroyed the whole communication system.

A JUROR: You mean Hitler had destroyed the European end of it?

THE WITNESS: Yes. The Gestapo did.

A JUROR: Did you know the purpose of all this manipulation?

THE WITNESS: I understood it was part of the underground activities of the Communist Party.

A JUROR: To establish the International, or what - - we weren't at war?

THE WITNESS: The establishment of Communism everywhere, of course, is the objective of the Communist Party.

Q At this Gay Street address - was that an apartment? A Yes. It was a second or third floor of one of those Greenwich Village houses,

Q And what was the name on the bell or the door? A I don't believe there was any name there.

Q Did anybody live there? A There was someone living on the ground floor, but I don't know who.

Q How would you gain access? A I had a key.

Q Did Henry have a key? A Henry never went there, as far as I know.

Q Was the apartment furnished? A In a very crude way, yes. There were a couple of chairs, and I think a couch and a table.

Q Now, up to 1953, were you still going under your name of Chambers? A I was, in so far as I had an open life.

Q Now, in connection with your underground life what name did you use? A I had the name Bob, at first.

Q Did you use any last name? A No, I just took the pseudonym Bob.

Q Any other name? A Not at that time.

Q Have you told the Grand Jury everything you

can recall with reference to your underground activities, up to 1933? A I think so. Well, perhaps I should develop the arrival of Valentin Markin.

Q Go ahead. A Well, at some point in 1933, I believe, there arrived in this country another Russian, who was introduced to me by Ulrich - a short man, with soft, brown eyes, and an extremely deep, bass voice, and a very short, crew hair-cut; and he had come here, according to himself, with instructions to head that apparatus of which Ulrich was the head.

This man I was introduced to first as Herman, and since I spoke German, and Herman spoke German but no English - German and Russian, of course - I was attached to Herman; and Herman ordered me to meet him the first time in Central Park, about nine o'clock at night, as I recall, and I objected, that that was a poor place to meet at that hour of the night, but he insisted and we did meet there.

It was drizzling slightly, to make it a little worse, and Herman began to talk in a way which surprised me, coming from a Communist. He said that the future of the underground work lay in Washington. He said to me, in direct quotes: "You have a great career before you there." Well, Communists don't talk in terms of careers, and I was very much surprised.

Then I had to meet him, either the next time or very shortly thereafter, at an Automat, and he arrived late. Now, instructions on meetings were, "Punctuality is the first virtue." If a man is late, you wait no more than fifteen minutes for him, and after that you leave and some other arrangement has to be made for another meeting.

Well, Herman arrived a little more than fifteen minutes later, and weaving, and when he talked to me his voice was very thick; but since I couldn't imagine an underground Communist drunk, it wasn't until after I left him that I realized that he had in fact been drinking.

Then a violent struggle for power in this apparatus took place between Ulrich and Herman.

Am I making this too long-winded?

Q No; go ahead. A The result of that struggle I think, was that Herman was sent back to Russia, and the apparatus was presently liquidated.

A JUROR: Herman was a Russian?

THE WITNESS: Herman was a Russian. I know a good deal more about Herman now.

Would you like me to complete that story?

Q Yes; what you know about Herman. A Some time later, I was standing on Broadway, near 41st Street, one night, when I saw Herman coming down the street, and

I was very much surprised. One of the very strong rules in the underground is that two members, no matter how well they know each other, never greet one another under any circumstances, except at a pre-arranged meeting.

I thought, if I don't speak to Herman, I will never believe that I have seen him; so I spoke to him and we had a very brief conversation.

Very shortly thereafter, I was talking to Dr. Philip Rosenbliett, who is a dentist in this city, and Dr. Rosenbliett had for a number of years, as nearly as I know, been a Soviet agent here; and Dr. Rosenbliett told me that Herman had suddenly fallen ill and he was in the hospital. I think he gave pneumonia as the cause of the illness; and then a few days after that Dr. Rosenbliett told me that Herman was dead.

Then, some years later, or some time later, I made the acquaintance of a Colonel Bykov, also a Russian agent, who asked me if I knew how Oscar was killed - - that's right - - and I had in the interval heard the story that Oscar, which was another pseudonym for Herman, had gone into a speakeasy or saloon of some kind, and that two young fellows had jumped him as he came out, and left him unconscious in the gutter, and taken his money, and that he had died as a result of that attack.

Colonel Bykov asked me, and I told the story

to Colonel Bykov, and Colonel Bykov said, "That is nonsense. Oscar was killed by the American secret police," which I considered nonsense.

Then, still later, in 1938, I made the acquaintance of General Walter Krivitsky, who had been a Russian agent in Western Europe, and who had broken with the Communist Party, and he asked me if I knew who had killed Valentin Markin; and it developed that Herman, who was Oscar, was also Valentin Markin, and that Valentin Markin seems to have been his real name.

I told Krivitsky both versions of the story I had heard, and he said that another one is true, and that what happened was this - that when Valentin Markin was sent back to Russia, he went directly to Molotov and told him that he had wonderful opportunities for work in the United States, but he was being prevented by his superior, who was General Bearzin, from realizing those opportunities.

So Molotov connected Markin directly with somebody else who sent him here in another capacity, for underground work. Bearzin, according to Krivitsky, was so enraged by this that he sent two underground agents after Valentin Markin, and they followed him from Europe to New York and assassinated him here, in this city.

A JUROR: Do you know what caused the

death of General Krivitsky?

THE WITNESS: No, I do not.

Q Now, as I recall, you were at the point where there was a discussion as to your going to Washington, or the future of Washington as far as the apparatus was concerned. A Yes. That, of course, was a discussion in a vacuum as far as I was concerned, because nothing developed along those lines.

However, in my contact with the open Communist Party, Max Bedacht had been replaced for some reason by a man named Jay Peters, who was the head of the whole underground American Communist Party at that time.

Q Jay Peters is Alexander Stevens, is that right?

A I believe that is correct.

A JUROR: An American?

THE WITNESS: No, Jay Peters was Hungarian and Jewish, and he was a small, minor officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army in the First World War. Then, under the First Hungarian Soviet Republic - that is the Bela Kun regime - he had, I think, been in the Commissariat of Agriculture.

A JUROR: And he is under indictment by the previous Grand Jury?

THE WITNESS: I believe he is.

A JUROR: Then Mr. Peters at that time held a dual position - he was the head of the

underground and was the head of the open Communist Party?

THE WITNESS: No, Earl Browder was the head of the open Communist Party, but Jay Peters was head of the underground of the American Communist Party, and was not supposed to have any open functions.

A JUROR: But he took the place of - what was his name?

THE WITNESS: In his connection with me, as a functionary of the underground, Max Bedacht was replaced by Jay Peters.

A JUROR: But Bedacht was in the open, wasn't he?

THE WITNESS: Yes, that is true, but Bedacht had been the original contact with the underground.

Q Now, will you go on and develop that?

A Then Peters had given me to understand, from various conversations, that he had a very thriving apparatus in Washington, D. C. - that is, an apparatus of the American Communist Party - and I suppose I should say now that "apparatus" is a Communist term for organization.

And when the Russian apparatus with which I had originally worked was liquidated, Peters was very eager to have me work for his underground in Washington.

A JUROR: What year was that?

THE WITNESS: I believe that was in 1934.

A JUROR: During this period of time, Mr. Chambers, you were in a dual capacity, both in the underground and in the overground, if we might call it that, is that correct?

THE WITNESS: No, that would not be quite accurate. Underground workers, since they are living and have to have a social existence, as well as a political existence, have always had an above-ground existence at some point, which is supposed to be strictly non-Communist. That is the concealment.

Then, their major activity, however, is underground Communist work. So that you will find this in nearly every case - there may be exceptions due to some peculiar situation - but as a rule the underground man has an average, normal, above-ground existence.

A JUROR: During this time what was your financial arrangement?

THE WITNESS: I was given about one hundred thirty-five dollars a month by the apparatus.

A JUROR: What were you doing for a living? You couldn't live on one hundred thirty-five dollars a month.

BY MR. WHEARTY:

Q What was your occupation at that time?

A As a matter of fact, I had no occupation at that time; but in addition to that one hundred thirty-five dollars a month, there was an expense account which was really a form that covered things such as living expenses like rent and telephone and medical expenses.

A JUROR: And that was in addition to the one hundred thirty-five dollars a month?

THE WITNESS: That's right.

A JUROR: Mr. Chambers, I am trying to find out what you were doing for the underground. You had some contact with a sailor and you did something about a Communist who was travelling across country - -

THE WITNESS: I was in weekly contact with someone in the Party. In the beginning it was Ulrich - -

A JUROR: But when you were in contact you got instructions to do something, didn't you?

THE WITNESS: Perhaps I should make it clear: A great deal of the contact work is waste motion, and you spend a good part of the day in moving around the city in widely separated points, with the idea of shaking off surveillance,

(CONTINUED BY LB)

Chambers

and I wouldn't say that I was overworked at that time.

BY JURORS:

Q Was it mainly a messenger boy sort of proposition?
A Yes, it could be called that. It was actually called, translated, liaison man.

Q Were those verbal? A Those were always verbal messages, as nearly as I can recall.

Q How were you paid, by check or cash? A Cash.

Q By whom? A Ulrich.

What was the nature of the instructions you would get? What did it have to do with, political matters or what? In general, what would be the nature of the instructions you would get? A I sometimes had no specific instructions for a meeting. I simply automatically met the party man week after week.

Q The messages, would they have to do with labor matters or political matters or what? A No, they were, in so far as I recall, such a thing as I told you about the man crossing the country. There was another case I believe of a man who had on him a money belt and something had gone wrong with him, they couldn't find him or locate him. Then there were occasionally recruits from the open part into the underground. We would ask Bykov or Peters, "Can you supply us with a man of such and such qualifications? You want a man who speaks Norwegian and is about five feet seven, married, and no children."

Q In other words, you say you were assisting in the underground? A I was the telephone connection between the underground and the overground, let's put it that way.

Q Did you feel happy and contented at this time? Did you feel you were accomplishing what you joined the party for? A Yes, I would say I did. Underground work is considered in the Communist Party one of the extreme privileges and is very much looked up to. Underground workers are very much looked up to by everyone in there. It is considered dangerous work, and is exalted out of all proportion to what it actually is, of course. There sets in, if I may finish your question, there sets in presently a reaction, at least in my case, in which you begin to be skeptical about the whole thing, but that skepticism doesn't extend to the actual operations. The operations are real and manifold, and you may begin to wonder what the purpose of it all is.

Q By joining the Communist Party were you obliged to take an oath of obedience? A No, I recall no such thing. As nearly as I remember -- shall I describe that?

MR. DONEGAN: Yes, answer the grand juror's question, whatever is necessary.

THE WITNESS: When I joined the Communist Party, I simply went to what was then called a branch, which was over in about 59th Street toward the North River,

LB-3

Chambers

and was sponsored by a Communist, and I don't think I was admitted at once, but very shortly thereafter I had to go to the open headquarters of the party where I was given a card with a number, and the man who sponsored my card was the present research director of the Un-American Committee, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Ben Mandel.

Q Was he then a Communist? A He was then a Communist.

Q I understand the workings that you described thus far. You met these people. What was the purpose? Were you trying to establish something to overthrow the United States Government? A The Communist Party, no matter what its activities may be at any given period, exists solely and wholly for the purpose of taking political power in the state. That is its function.

Q That means the overthrow of the United States Government? A Certainly. The overthrow of the existing government and the establishment of a government which will, in theory, represent another class, a dominant class in the community, which is the working class.

Q That means by force, if necessary? A It means by force, if necessary. And the presumption is that force is always necessary. The rest of the theory is, of course, since force has to be used in the overthrow of the Govern-

ment when it comes into power, the next government, the Communist government, has to. And that, as you know, is dictatorship of the proletariat, and originally that was defined as a brief transition period. One of the things that has driven Communists out of the Communist Party, at least played a large part in it, was a discovery over a thirty year period that the brief transition period is not brief.

Q Would you say that for every man who is an open member of the open Communist Party believes in the overthrow of our present Government? A I would say that the majority of the open Communists believe in it. It would be slightly inaccurate to say every man, because obviously every man in the Communist Party is not at the same stage of political development, with new people coming in, and there are old people who will not develop along Communist lines, and will be put out or drop away themselves. Every so-called developed Communist knows perfectly well -- it has been written in a dozen books and implied constantly in speeches, instructions and conversations, the purpose of the Communist Party is to overthrow any government under which it exists and which it doesn't control, including the Government of the United States.

Q Is its purpose to install American Communists in power or to make this Government subservient to the Soviet Government in Russia? A The theory is to remember that

LB-5

Chambers

it is to bring to power a new class, which is a working class. In fact, since the power has first been seized and consolidated in the Soviet Union, no matter where Communist states arise, the Soviet Union will try to assist in dominating them. You have the example of Yugoslavia, where it hasn't worked out quite right.

Q Do you recall any time that the Communist Party had any men lecture to you key men in this country, outlining a certain line of action? A No, never to my knowledge.

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q Are you at the point where you can tell the grand jury about your entrance into the apparatus with reference to Washington, or is there something that you want, for continuity, to bring out first? A I can't think of anything.

Q You think you have covered to the point where J. Peters is coming in? A I think so, unless you have some question. There is one point I should make clear perhaps. I must introduce a man whom I mentioned and describe a little more fully, and that man is Dr. Philip Rosenbliett. Now, Dr. Rosenbliett was an American citizen who had been born, I believe, in Russia. He had a wife and child -- child, of course, was an American, and the wife, I believe, was also born in Russia. The child was a

LB-6

Chambers

girl who grew up here until she was a young woman in her teens at least, and Dr. Rosenblatt was a dentist who practiced his profession at corner of 41st Street and Broadway -- I think I am right about that -- in the building at the bottom of which is the Western Union Telegraph Co.

Dr. Rosenblatt, I have reason to believe, had been for most of the time he had lived in this country some kind of a Soviet agent. And I was introduced to Dr. Rosenblatt by Ulrich.

Q About what time? A About 1933 sometime.

Q '33? A Yes. I was actually sent to him. The introduction was not personal, I should say that. I was sent to Dr. Rosenblatt, who had been forewarned that I was coming, simply for dental work. Dr. Rosenblatt did in fact do some dental work for me, but he spent most of the time talking to me, and I learned from him some very amazing stories which I won't go into now, if you will excuse me, in order to get on to other things.

But the point I want to stress is that I retained my connection, which is personal connection, with Dr. Rosenblatt, until such time as he left the United States, which I think was about 1934 or '35, and I knew Dr. Rosenblatt again when he returned to this country in 1937 or '38. And with that I will close the Russian underground for the moment and get into my next assignment, which was in the underground of the American Communist Party in Washington.

Now I will have to introduce still another character. Harold Ware was the son of Ella Reeve Bloor, who is known enthusiastically among Communists as Mother Bloor. She was also the mother of one time Communist organizer of Michigan, Carl Reeve, and a woman named Helen Ware, who had a violin studio in Washington, near Dupont Circle, and who subsequently I believe married the director of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra whose name slips my mind.

Harold Ware had been one of a group of American radicals and Communists who went to Russia to found a cooperative colony in the basin of Kuznitz River, so-called Kuzban Colony. Like so many of those schemes, I believe it wasn't very successful. While he was in Russia, Harold Ware made certain peculiar connections with Russian secret apparatuses, and according to the story he told me himself, he came back to the United States as a money courier, bringing with him a very large sum of money in American cash, around his waist in a money belt, and he was then very shortly thereafter sent to Washington by the Communist Party to see what he could organize in the agricultural field in which he had a special interest himself, and I think he took some kind of a job in the Triple-A -- at least he was around the Triple-A a great deal -- and he soon discovered that not only were the possibilities very good for organizing the agricultural field, but they went much further than that in that area, and he either by himself

or with the active help of J. Peters, I am not quite clear about that, set up an underground organization in Washington, an underground organization of the Communist Party.

Now, the scheme of organization was this. In the first place, most of its members worked in the Government -- most of it, but not all. The apparatus was directed by a leading group composed of six or seven people, six or seven men -- shall I give their names?

Q Yes. A Whose names were Lee Pressman, John Abt, Victor Perlo, Charles Kramer, whose original name was Krivitzky -- no relative of the General -- Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Henry Collins and Nathan Witt.

BY JURORS:

Q That makes eight. A Well, maybe.

Q Were these all members of the Communist Party?

A Yes, these were all members of the Communist Party.

Q I understand also they were members of the underground? A They were in the underground.

Q Was Henry Wallace the Secretary of Agriculture at that time? A He may have been. I have forgotten. This was the leading group, but from a number -- may I scratch that and start again?

Q Do you know of your own knowledge, by personal contact with these men, that they were members of the

LE-8

Chambers

underground? A Yes, I knew all these people personally. A number of these men, but not all of them, headed in turn cells composed of Communists, most of whom worked in the Government.

Q Will you repeat that? A A number of these men in the leading committee, but not all of them, headed cells of Communists, most of whom were working in the Government.

Q A cell is a group? A Cell is a Communist term for a group.

Q Were they all in the Agriculture Department? A No, they were not. And those that were, with one exception, I think soon moved out.

Now, I saw by my direct observation only one of these cells, and that was the cell headed by Henry Collins, and for reason -- who, I might say in passing, was the treasurer of this apparatus, he received the dues -- for reasons which I will go into as I develop the story, Henry Collins introduced me to a man named Richard Post. Richard Post was at that time working in the WPA, and presently moved to the State Department, and Collins took me to the cell which met, at least on that occasion, in Post's house, which was in Alexandria, Virginia, and there were there besides Mr. and Mrs. Post, a group of roughly about ten people -- I can't remember exactly how many -- and I inferred from that that most of the other cells were approximately the same size; some may have been smaller, some larger.

MR. DONEGAN: Now you might explain to the grand jury what your contacts were with these men, what discussions you had with them, whether any material was exchanged, or money, or anything of that kind.

THE WITNESS: Yes. When I went to Washington at first, there was in rough outline the idea that we would separate from the apparatus in Washington another apparatus which would be parallel to the original one. Now the term "parallel apparatus" is a Communist term which describes the system of vertical apparatuses existing side by side but without contacts with one another except through delegated people. And while that was being considered and planned, I served for a short time as the courier between the apparatus in Washington and J. Peters in New York City. I don't mean by that that J. Peters never came to Washington; he did, but I was there steadily, and I would then carry up to him envelopes containing money, which was the dues of the apparatus and other material the nature of which I am not familiar with, to Peters.

(Jurors, cont.)

Q This apparatus have a head? A Yes. The head of the apparatus when I first was connected with it, the overall head, was Harold Ware, and the guiding spirit, and

it is my belief that Ware had personally recruited all or most of the members of the leading group, but the apparatus was headed for practical purposes by one of its own members who, when I first went there, was Nathan Witt, I believe.

BY MR. DONOGAN:

Q Do you recall where Nathan Witt was working at that time? A Yes. He was in the National Labor Relations Board.

Q Do you recall where these other members were working? A I always have a hard time recalling this. Henry Collins, of course, was working in the Department of Agriculture, in the Forestry Division. Lee Pressman was either then or had been shortly before in the Triple-A, and I have forgotten where he transferred -- to Resettlement I think. Alger Hiss had been in the Triple-A. Donald Hiss was in the Labor Department, in the Immigration Service. Victor Parlo was not in Government; he was working for the Brookings Institute. I have forgotten what Kramer was doing; I don't remember.

JUROR: Did you have personal contact with each one of these men?

THE WITNESS: I knew each one of these men personally.

JUROR: Is Ware alive?

THE WITNESS: No. I have forgotten exactly in

LA-11

Chambers

what year -- 1935, I think -- Harold Ware was killed in a truck-automobile crash.

JUROR: Accidentally?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I believe so.

MR. DONEGAN: Were you talking about a money belt and money?

THE WITNESS: I mentioned that Ware had originally brought back money in that way.

MR. DONEGAN: What happened to that? Have you any information on that?

THE WITNESS: No. I presume he turned it over to the Communist Party.

BY JURORS:

Q What was your service during this Washington period?

A At that particular period I had no particular service.

Q You mentioned Bykov. I deliberately passed that because it is a story that develops later.

MR. DONEGAN: I might have interrupted you when you were trying to explain what conversations, or what you had to do with these various members of that apparatus.

THE WITNESS: I was there really to study the situation and see what the prospects were for setting up this parallel apparatus, and in the meantime I served practically as a courier between New York and Washington, as I have said. In

LB-12

Chambers

setting up the parallel apparatus, we looked around and decided -- well, no, scratch that out. We'll start over again.

The purpose of the parallel apparatus was to take out of more general underground activity those men who seemed to have the greatest possibilities of moving forward in Government, and it was very clear, it seemed to me, on the basis of what Harold Ware told me and things that Peters told me, and when I was presently able to observe myself, Alger Hiss was one such person, Donald Hiss was one such person, Henry Collins was another one.

So after I had been there, I am not quite certain how long but I should think a matter of months, we separated Alger Hiss from the apparatus, and that means that he went through somewhat the same process that I had originally gone through in joining the underground. But whereas I had moved from the open Communist Party underground, he was moved out of the underground section into a still more secret, if you like, or at least different underground section, and was able to cut all his previous connections with the original group.

JUROR: You said "we". Who are "we"? Who are the apparatus? You said "We have severed connections for Mr. Hiss to go into another group."

LB-13

Chambers

ANOTHER JUROR: He said "he". He understood it as "we".

THE WITNESS: I am sorry. My voice doesn't carry.

JUROR: Who arranged the transfer? Did you take part in it?

THE WITNESS: I do not know what the bookkeeping arrangement may have been, if any. Control of the underground is more authoritarian, if you like, than it is in the open party. That is, a man like Peters has almost absolute control of any operations he wants to have control over, and that kind of thing in the nature of secret operations, goes right down from the hierarchy.

JUROR: What I am driving at is who told Hiss that he was to be transferred?

THE WITNESS: There was a meeting between Harold Ware and Hiss and myself, and if I am not mistaken J. Peters was there, but it is difficult to remember these things.

JUROR: Where did that meeting take place?

THE WITNESS: In Washington.

JUROR: In a private house?

THE WITNESS: I think it took place in a cafeteria or restaurant.

JUROR: Not in Hiss's apartment?

THE WITNESS: No, not at that time.

1E-14

Chambers

JUROR: How long were you in Washington during this period?

THE WITNESS: I was in Washington more or less consistently from then on until 1938.

JUROR: You had an apartment there, Mr. Chambers?

THE WITNESS: If you will excuse me, I will take that up as I go along. Yes, I did at one time.

JUROR: During this period of time you met these seven or eight men socially as well as in these cells?

THE WITNESS: That brings up something I should have made clear. The headquarters of this group was the apartment of Henry Collins, which was in St. Matthews Court, a little place off Connecticut Avenue, right above M Street, I believe, and there was a kind of -- shall I call it auxiliary headquarters? -- which is more or less Harold Ware's own headquarters, and that was his sister's violin studio where I sometimes stayed when I was in Washington, slept over night.

JUROR: You say you held a meeting, you and two others, directing some of these men to take different positions. Were you directed by anyone or did you have the power to call that meeting and direct those people yourself?

THE WITNESS: I would not at that time have presumed to do that. I was then a new man in the field. As time went on I of course did have power. At that time

Harold Ware would have been my sponsor in anything I wanted to do.

JUROR: He had the power?

THE WITNESS: He had the power, and the ultimate power lodged with J. Peters.

JUROR: Who actually directed?

THE WITNESS: J. Peters.

JUROR: Would you say Peters and you and Ware were picking these men to be taken into the new organization?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

JUROR: Who actually directed Mr. Hiss to move from one part of the underground to another?

THE WITNESS: I would say Ware and I did.

JUROR: Did Mr. Hiss make any objections?

THE WITNESS: None whatsoever.

JUROR: During all this time you were going under the name of Whittaker Chambers?

THE WITNESS: No. That brings up another good point. When I moved into the Washington apparatus, I changed my pseudonym Bob to the pseudonym Carl, which I then retained until I broke with the Communist Party. But in the open, up until I think the period we are talking about, I was still Chambers, but I changed my open name also shortly thereafter.

LE-16

Chambers

JUROR: Were you still getting the same amount of salary?

THE WITNESS: Roughly, yes.

JUROR: How much would your expenses be a month?

THE WITNESS: That would be hard for me to estimate.

JUROR: Have you any idea?

THE WITNESS: I'd say at least \$100.

JUROR: Is the next step in your story to go on after you have isolated Miss?

THE WITNESS: Well, I haven't thought that far ahead.

BY MR. DONEGAN:

Q You had had these meetings with this group. Would they all be there at most of the meetings? A At the meetings of the original meeting group, meeting committee?

Q Yes, the original group before you took Alger Hiss. A As nearly as I can recall, they always met -- I mean, they all met together -- and they met at least about once a week.

Q What was discussed at these meetings? A I can't tell you very much about that because I did not sit in on very many of their discussions. I can remember one meeting which took place somewhat later, in fact, in which I was called into a meeting because Nathan Witt, I believe, or

John Abt, I have forgotten, and Victor Perlo, were in some kind of a wrangle as to who should head the group, and they wanted me to make a decision in the matter, and I decided in favor of Witt, or Abt, whichever one took over at that time, and against Perlo.

Q Was there any discussion of their activities when they were working for the Government? A Yes, there was such discussion. I am sorry, but I no longer recall the details of it.

Q Did they furnish you with any oral information concerning their activities in the Government, to be transmitted to anybody? A No, I can't say that they did.

Q In reference to this material that you brought to New York, or that you delivered to J. Peters, at any time did you see any of that material? A No, I did not look at it.

Q Can you describe how it was contained? A It was contained in envelopes or an envelope.

Q Who turned that material over to you? A I think that Henry Colline always, or nearly always, turned it over to me.

Q Did he ever say what was in the envelope or envelopes? A He gave me to understand that part of it was dues from the apparatus.

Q Did he ever give you to understand that there was information that was developed out of their employment in

the Government? A I do not think that he said so in so many words, but I understood there was some kind of transmission of papers. I can't believe it's very important and I haven't seen them.

Q Did J. Peters ever say to you, what was in these envelopes that you turned over? A No.

Q Did he ever discuss the contents of them? A No, he did not.

Q With reference to the payment of money, was actual currency handed to you by any members of this group?

A No; envelopes were handed to me.

Q Did you ever see the money in these envelopes?

A No.

Q What statements did they make to you concerning the money, if any? A Only I gathered from Collins -- rather, he must have told me -- that this was money and to be careful with it.

Q At any time was there any discussion that they were paying their dues, Communist Party dues? A Yes, there was, and sometimes, at least in one case, I do not remember discussing it with an individual or Peters, I understood from someone that they were paying ten per cent of their salaries. Now that figure seems very high, but when I presently came in contact with George Silverman, whom I will talk about a little later, one of the reasons that J. Peters first turned him over to me gladly was the fact that Silverman

was constantly complaining about the high price of Communist Party dues, and it was on account of a dues strike at one time. Peters thought I could straighten him out.

Q Now, Mr. Chambers, can you fix the period of time when you first came in contact with this apparatus to the time you were breaking Hiss away from the apparatus? About how long was that? A That would be difficult to say because when I first began to think back over these things, I thought that I went to Washington in the summer of 1935, and it now seems probable that I was there at the end of 1934, as nearly as I can unweave the chronology. But I would think that we broke Alger Hiss away from the original apparatus not very long after I came there, or shortly after.

Q Up to the time you broke Alger Hiss away from the apparatus, did you have any conversations with him individually wherein he stated he was a member of the Communist Party? A No, I don't think that anybody ever said in so many words, "I am a member of the Communist Party."

Q Did you bring literature to them? A I occasionally brought some literature there. As a matter of fact they weren't supposed to have literature in their houses. Nevertheless they did get their Daily Worker regularly. Would you like me to describe how that was done?

IR-20

Chambers

Q Yes. A There are in Washington a number of drug stores known as the Gerber Drug Stores, and the Gerber who runs those, or perhaps owns those stores, is the brother of a Communist in New York, Dr. Iz Garger, whose wife was long a secretary to one of the leading Communists in this city. Now the Daily Worker was sent, as nearly as I know, directly to one of those drug stores and distributed along the lot, and then members of the underground just dropped in at the drug store and picked up their copies.

Q With reference to Pressman, Abt, Parlo, Collins, Witt, and Kramer, was there any discussion as to whether you should break any of those individuals away from the apparatus? A The only other one whom we broke away rather soon was -- no, I will have to correct that -- the only other one I believe whom we actually broke away from that group was Donald Wise. But we believed that Henry Collins -- perhaps I should more properly say Henry Collins himself strongly believed that he would get a job with the State Department, and he made several attempts and did not indeed get the job until during the war, but I retained a direct and more or less frequent contact with Collins in large part for that reason. Then I kept a fairly regular contact with Lee Pressman who I thought also might be helpful.

Q Where were you living at that time? A I was living part of that time at least in Baltimore. In the beginning --