



## The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### Activity #1: “Un-American”?

**Directions:** Read the following excerpt from House Resolution 282, the legislation that established the House Un-American Activities Committee in May 1938. When you have finished, make a list of activities that you think might qualify as “un-American.” Be prepared to share your answers with the class.

“Resolved, that the Speaker of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven members for the purpose of conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and object of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversives and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by the Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.”\*

What sort of activities do you consider “un-American”?

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\* Source: Walter Goodman, *The Committee: The extraordinary career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1968).



## The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### Activity #2: HUAC vs. Hollywood

**Directions (Group #1):** Your group has been assigned to play the part of Walt Disney, one of the individuals involved in the 1947 HUAC investigation of the motion picture industry. Read the following document, and then prepare a 3-5 minute presentation in which you identify who you are and explain your views on the HUAC and communism in the entertainment industry. Choose one member of your group to make this presentation to the class. Be prepared to discuss, after all the presentations have been made, your opinion on whether or not HUAC was right to investigate subversive influences in the entertainment industry.

### Walt Disney

"We Must Keep the Labor Unions Clean": "Friendly" HUAC Witnesses Ronald Reagan and Walt Disney Blame Hollywood Labor Conflicts on Communist Infiltration:

<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6458> (scroll to about halfway down the page)

Perhaps the most famous animator of all time, Walt Disney (1901-1966) in 1947 was already a celebrity thanks to his creation of the popular cartoon character Mickey Mouse in the 1920s. In the late 1930s and early 1940s his fame—and wealth—had grown with the production of full-length animated films such as *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1938), *Pinocchio* (1940), *Fantasia* (1940), *Dumbo* (1941), and *Bambi* (1942). During World War II he produced a series of short training and instructional films for the military. Disney became suspicious of communist influence in Hollywood after a strike temporarily halted work at his studios in 1941; he therefore readily agreed to serve as a friendly witness before HUAC.



## The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### Activity #2: HUAC vs. Hollywood

**Directions (Group #2):** Your group has been assigned to play the part of Eric Johnston, one of the individuals involved in the 1947 HUAC investigation of the motion picture industry. Read the following document, and then prepare a 3-5 minute presentation in which you identify who you are and explain your views on the HUAC and communism in the entertainment industry. Choose one member of your group to make this presentation to the class. Be prepared to discuss, after all the presentations have been made, your opinion on whether or not HUAC was right to investigate subversive influences in the entertainment industry.

#### Eric Johnston

"A Damaging Impression of Hollywood Has Spread": Movie "Czar" Eric Johnston Testifies before HUAC: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6443>

A successful businessman from Spokane, Washington, Eric Johnston (1895-1961) became at the age of 46 the youngest person ever elected president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. In this position he advocated close cooperation between management and labor, and traveled internationally as a goodwill ambassador on behalf of the Roosevelt administration. In 1945 he became president of the Motion Picture Association of America, where his chief responsibility was the marketing of American films abroad. In late November 1947—just weeks after his appearance before HUAC—Johnston held a meeting with forty-seven of the industry’s leading executives in which they agreed not to hire any of the so-called “Hollywood Ten” until they were willing to swear that they were not communists.



## The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### Activity #2: HUAC vs. Hollywood

**Directions (Group #3):** Your group has been assigned to play the part of John Howard Lawson, one of the individuals involved in the 1947 HUAC investigation of the motion picture industry. Read the following document, and then prepare a 3-5 minute presentation in which you identify who you are and explain your views on the HUAC and communism in the entertainment industry. Choose one member of your group to make this presentation to the class. Be prepared to discuss, after all the presentations have been made, your opinion on whether or not HUAC was right to investigate subversive influences in the entertainment industry.

#### John Howard Lawson

“They Want to Muzzle Public Opinion”: John Howard Lawson’s Warning to the American Public:  
<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6441>

John Howard Lawson (1894-1977) was a playwright and screenwriter who in 1938 was nominated for an Academy Award for his script for the movie *Blockade*. A member of the Communist Party since 1934, Lawson was called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and although he appeared before the committee on October 27, he—like nine other writers and directors also suspected of being communists—refused to answer questions. All the members of this group, which was soon dubbed the “Hollywood Ten,” were found guilty of contempt of Congress. Lawson was fined \$1,000 and served a year in prison. He also found that no Hollywood studio would hire him, as he had been blacklisted by the motion picture industry.

Note: Part of Lawson’s testimony is available in audio format at the site Authentic History ([http://www.authentichistory.com/1950s/speeches/19471029\\_John\\_Howard\\_Lawson\\_of\\_Hollywood\\_10\\_Testifies.html](http://www.authentichistory.com/1950s/speeches/19471029_John_Howard_Lawson_of_Hollywood_10_Testifies.html))



## The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### Activity #2: HUAC vs. Hollywood

**Directions (Group #4):** Your group has been assigned to play the part of Jack Warner, one of the individuals involved in the 1947 HUAC investigation of the motion picture industry. Read the following document, and then prepare a 3-5 minute presentation in which you identify who you are and explain your views on the HUAC and communism in the entertainment industry. Choose one member of your group to make this presentation to the class. Be prepared to discuss, after all the presentations have been made, your opinion on whether or not HUAC was right to investigate subversive influences in the entertainment industry.

#### Jack Warner

"The World Was at Stake": Three "Friendly" HUAC Hollywood Witnesses Assess Pro-Soviet Wartime Films: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6442>

A native of Ontario, Canada, Jack Warner (1892-1978) entered the motion picture industry at the age of eleven, when he and his three older brothers opened a movie theater in New Castle, Pennsylvania. Fifteen years later the Warner Brothers opened a studio on Sunset Boulevard in Hollywood, and quickly produced a series of successful films, including *The Jazz Singer* (1926), the first movie to use sound. By the 1940s Jack Warner was one of the most powerful men in Hollywood, with his studios producing popular cartoons as well as blockbuster films.



## The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### Activity #2: HUAC vs. Hollywood

**Directions (Group #5):** Your group has been assigned to play the part of Ayn Rand, one of the individuals involved in the 1947 HUAC investigation of the motion picture industry. Read the following document, and then prepare a 3-5 minute presentation in which you identify who you are and explain your views on the HUAC and communism in the entertainment industry. Choose one member of your group to make this presentation to the class. Be prepared to discuss, after all the presentations have been made, your opinion on whether or not HUAC was right to investigate subversive influences in the entertainment industry.

### Ayn Rand

"The World Was at Stake": Three "Friendly" HUAC Hollywood Witnesses Assess Pro-Soviet Wartime Films: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6442> (scroll to just over halfway down the page)

Born Alyssia Rosenbaum, the author later known as Ayn Rand (1905-1982) witnessed as a girl the Russian Revolution and the birth of the Soviet Union, and developed a passionate hatred for communism. In 1925, she came to the United States, and soon settled in Hollywood, where she hoped to become a screenwriter. Rand wrote several moderately successful scripts and novels in the 1930s, but her big break came in 1943 with the publication of *The Fountainhead*. Like most of her works, *The Fountainhead* focused on the struggles of a heroic individual at odds with the pressures of society. An outspoken defender of individualism and capitalism, Rand jumped at the opportunity to testify before HUAC against what she believed were communist influences in the motion picture industry.



## The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### Activity #2: HUAC vs. Hollywood

**Directions (Group #6):** Your group has been assigned to play the part of Ronald Reagan, one of the individuals involved in the 1947 HUAC investigation of the motion picture industry. Read the following document, and then prepare a 3-5 minute presentation in which you identify who you are and explain your views on the HUAC and communism in the entertainment industry. Choose one member of your group to make this presentation to the class. Be prepared to discuss, after all the presentations have been made, your opinion on whether or not HUAC was right to investigate subversive influences in the entertainment industry.

### Ronald Reagan

"We Must Keep the Labor Unions Clean": "Friendly" HUAC Witnesses Ronald Reagan and Walt Disney Blame Hollywood Labor Conflicts on Communist Infiltration:

<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6458>

Best known today as President of the United States from 1981 to 1989, Ronald Reagan (1911-2004) was a popular movie actor in the 1940s, having signed on with Warner Brothers in 1937. He starred in a number of popular films such as *Santa Fe Trail* (1940), *Knute Rockne*, *All-American* (1940), and *This is the Army* (1943). Although a Democrat and a staunch supporter of Harry Truman, Reagan was concerned about what he saw as the growing strength of communism in Hollywood. In 1947 Reagan was elected president of the Screen Actors' Guild, and in that capacity was called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.



## The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### Activity #2: HUAC vs. Hollywood

**Directions (Group #7):** Your group has been assigned to play the part of Louis B. Mayer, one of the individuals involved in the 1947 HUAC investigation of the motion picture industry. Read the following document, and then prepare a 3-5 minute presentation in which you identify who you are and explain your views on the HUAC and communism in the entertainment industry. Choose one member of your group to make this presentation to the class. Be prepared to discuss, after all the presentations have been made, your opinion on whether or not HUAC was right to investigate subversive influences in the entertainment industry.

#### Louis B. Mayer

"The World Was at Stake": Three "Friendly" HUAC Hollywood Witnesses Assess Pro-Soviet Wartime Films: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6442> (scroll to almost halfway down the page)

Born into a Jewish family in Russia, Louis B. Mayer (1882-1957) fled with his family to the United States when he was a child. In 1907 he opened his first movie theater, and opened a motion picture studio in Hollywood in 1918. Six years later he formed a partnership to create Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, better known today as MGM. In the 1930s Mayer's company was the most successful in the industry, employing such stars as Clark Gable, Spencer Tracy, Katharine Hepburn, Joan Crawford, and Judy Garland. His success was such that he is believed to have been the first executive in America to earn a million-dollar salary.





# The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Activity #3: The Case of Alger Hiss

**Directions (Group #1):** Read the excerpts below from Whittaker Chambers’s testimony before HUAC. As you read, answer the following questions:

Question	Answer
Who was Whittaker Chambers?	
Why did Chambers become a communist?	
Why did he break with the Communist Party?	
What did Chambers accuse Alger Hiss of doing?	
Why was Congressmen Mundt so interested in Hiss?	
What was the basis for Chambers’s claim that Hiss is a communist?	

Do you find Chambers to be a credible witness? Why or why not?	
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[Note: Aside from Chambers himself, others involved in the following excerpts are Robert Stripling (the committee's chief investigator) and committee members Rep. Karl Mundt (Republican-South Dakota), Rep. F. Edward Hebert (Democrat-Louisiana), and Rep. Richard M. Nixon (Republican-California).]

Testimony of Whittaker Chambers before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, August 3, 1948: <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-3testimony.html>

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state your full name?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My name is David Whittaker Chambers....

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am senior editor of *Time* magazine.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was born April 1, 1901, in Philadelphia.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been associated with *Time* magazine?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Nine years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Prior to that time what was your occupation?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I was a member of the Communist Party and a paid functionary of the party.....

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you disassociate yourself with the Communist Party? [...]

Mr. CHAMBERS. Almost exactly 9 years ago...I went to Washington and reported to the authorities what I knew about the infiltration of the United States Government by Communists....

I had joined the Communist Party in 1924. No one recruited me. I had become convinced that the society in which we live, western civilization, had reached a crisis, of which the First World War was the military expression, and that it was doomed to collapse or revert to barbarism. I did not understand the causes of the crisis or know what to do about it. But I felt that, as an intelligent man, I must do something. In the writings of Karl Marx I thought that I had found the explanation of the historical and economic causes. In the writings of Lenin I thought I had found the answer to the question, What to do?

In 1937 I repudiated Marx's doctrines and Lenin's tactics. Experience and the record had convinced me that communism is a form of totalitarianism, that its triumph means slavery to men wherever they fall

under its sway, and spiritual night to the human mind and soul. I resolved to break with the Communist Party at whatever risk to my life or other tragedy to myself or my family.... For a year I lived in hiding, sleeping by day and watching through the night with gun or revolver within easy reach. That was what underground communism could do to one man in the peaceful United States in the year 1938.

I had sound reason for supposing that the Communists might try to kill me. For a number of years I had myself served in the underground, chiefly in Washington, D.C. The heart of my report to the United States Government consisted of a description of the apparatus to which I was attached. It was an underground organization of the United States Communist Party.... I knew it at its top level, a group of seven or so men.... The head of the underground group at the time I knew it was Nathan Witt, an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board.... Lee Pressman was also a member of this group, as was Alger Hiss, who, as a member of the State Department, later organized the conferences at Dumbarton Oaks, San Francisco, and the United States side of the Yalta Conference.

The purpose of this group at that time was not primarily espionage. Its original purpose was the Communist infiltration of the American Government. But espionage was certainly one of its eventual objectives. Let no one be surprised at this statement. Disloyalty is a matter of principle with every member of the Communist Party. The Communist Party exists for the specific purpose of overthrowing the Government; at the opportune time, by any and all means; and each of its members, by the fact that he is a member, is dedicated to this purpose.

It is 10 years since I broke away from the Communist Party. During that decade I have sought to live an industrious and God-fearing life. At the same time I have fought communism constantly by act and written word. I am proud to appear before this committee. The publicity inseparable from such testimony has darkened, and will no doubt continue to darken, my effort to integrate myself in the community of free men. But that is a small price to pay if my testimony helps to make Americans recognize at last that they are at grips with a secret, sinister, and enormously powerful force whose tireless purpose is their enslavement....

Mr. STRIPLING. What about the particular apparatus to which you referred in your statement?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Do you mean was it a Soviet agency?

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it established for the purpose of causing people in the Government to serve the ultimate objectives of the Soviet Union?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I think you could only say that in the extreme sense the American party is an agency which serves the purpose of the Soviet Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who comprised this cell or apparatus to which you referred?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The apparatus was organized with a leading group of seven men, each of whom was a leader of the cell....

Mr. STRIPLING. When you left the Communist Party in 1937 did you approach any of these men to break [from the Communist Party] with you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No. The only one of those people whom I approached was Alger Hiss. I went to the

Hiss home one evening at what I considered considerable risk to myself and found Mrs. Hiss at home. Mrs. Hiss is also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MUNDT. Mrs. Alger Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mrs. Alger Hiss.... Mrs. Hiss attempted while I was there to make a call, which I can only presume was to other Communists, but I quickly went to the telephone and she hung up, and Mr. Hiss came in shortly afterward, and we talked and I tried to break him away from the party. As a matter of fact, he cried when we separated; when I left him, but he absolutely refused to break.

Mr. McDOWELL. He cried?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, he did. I was very fond of Mr. Hiss.

Mr. MUNDT. He must have given you some reason why he did not want to sever the relationship.

Mr. CHAMBERS. His reasons were simply the [Communist] party line....

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chambers, I am very much interested in trying to check the career of Alger Hiss.... As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the personnel committee, I have had some occasion to check the activities of Alger Hiss while he was in the State Department. There is reason to believe that he organized within that Department one of the Communist cells which endeavored to influence our Chinese policy and bring about the condemnation of Chiang Kai-shek [formerly leader of the Nationalist Government in China, who fled to Taiwan after the Communist victory in the Chinese Civil War] and I think it is important to know what happened to these people after they leave the Government. Do you know where Alger Hiss is employed now?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe Alger Hiss is now the head of the Carnegie Foundation for World Peace....

Mr. HEBERT. You became a Communist through no persuasion of anybody else but purely through your own conclusions, in trying to follow philosophical thinking—you thought it was something to make a better world, to make the world a better place to live in, and nobody persuaded you to become a Communist; is that right?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true.... I had reached the conclusion, particularly as a result of the war, that the whole system which we now know as capitalist society was in a very bad way and something very drastic had to be done to keep the whole thing together.

Mr. HERBERT. You thought it was a new system?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I thought a new system was evolving....

Mr. HEBERT. You remained an American citizen and yet you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. All Communists do that.

Mr. HEBERT. You are an intelligent individual and well educated. You said members of the Communist Party were disloyal. Did it ever occur to you that you were disloyal to your own Government? Why didn't you renounce your citizenship?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No Communist would ever think of doing such a thing.

Mr. HERBERT. You knew you were being disloyal to the American Government?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. HEBERT. You preferred to be disloyal to gain the end that you thought you would make a better world?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right.

Testimony of Whittaker Chambers before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, August 7, 1948: [http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-7testimony\[1\].htm](http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-7testimony[1].htm)

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any other evidence, any factual evidence, to bear out your claim that Mr. Hiss was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Nothing beyond the fact that he submitted himself for the 2 or 3 years that I knew him as a dedicated and disciplined Communist.

Mr. NIXON. Did you obtain his party dues from him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, I did.

Mr. NIXON. Over what period of time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Two or three years, as long as I knew him....

Mr. NIXON. How often?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Once a month.

Mr. NIXON. What did he say?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That was one point it wasn't necessary to say anything. At first he said, "Here are my dues."

Mr. NIXON. And once a month over a period of 2 years, approximately, he gave you an envelope which contained the dues?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is right....

Mr. NIXON. Is there any other circumstance which would substantiate your allegation that he was a member of the party? You have indicated he paid dues, you indicated that Mr. Peters, the head of the Communist underground, informed you he was a member of the party before you met him the first time.

Mr. CHAMBERS. I must also interpolate here that all Communists in the group in which I originally knew him accepted him as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Referred to him as a member of the party?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That doesn't come up in conversation, but this was a Communist group.

Mr. NIXON. Could this have possibly been an intellectual study group?

Mr. CHAMBERS. It was in nowise an intellectual study group. Its primary function was not that of an intellectual study group. I certainly supplied some of that intellectual study business, which was part of my function, but its primary function was to infiltrate the Government in the interest of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. At that time, incidentally, Mr. Hiss and the other members of this group who were Government employees did not have party cards?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No members of that group to my knowledge ever had party cards, nor do I think members of any such group have party cards.

Mr. NIXON. The reason is?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The reason is security, concealment.

The Testimony of Whittaker Chambers, August 25, 1948:

<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-25testimony.html>

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chambers, do you know the individual who is now standing at the witness stand? [...]

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Alger Hiss.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first meet Mr. Hiss? [...]

Mr. CHAMBERS. 1934.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you last see Mr. Hiss?

Mr. CHAMBERS. About 1938....

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you now give to the committee a chronological resume of your meeting with Mr. Hiss, and how long you knew Mr. Hiss and the circumstances under which you met him?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The meeting took place in Washington, and I believe in a restaurant. I then continued to know Mr. Hiss until I broke with the Communist Party in early 1938, and I saw him once again

toward the end of 1938....

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Mr. Hiss at his apartment on Twenty-eighth Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many times did you meet Mr. Hiss, would you say at the address on Twenty-eighth Street? [....]

Mr. CHAMBERS. I would think-well, let's say 20 times.

Mr. STRIPLING. Twenty times at Twenty-eighth Street. Were you ever known or did you represent yourself to Mr. Hiss, when you first met, as being an individual by the name of George Crosley?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I did not....

Mr. NIXON. Now, did you see Mr. Hiss any time after 1935?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I saw Mr. Hiss constantly through 1937, until I broke with the Communist Party....

Mr. NIXON. Did you ever stay overnight in his home?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I stayed overnight frequently in his home.

Mr. NIXON. When you say "frequently," do you mean twice or more than that?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I mean that I made his home a kind of headquarters.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss' home was a kind of a headquarters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is true....

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chambers, can you search your memory now to see what motive you can have for accusing Mr. Hiss of being a Communist at the present time?

Mr. CHAMBERS. What motive I can have?

Mr. NIXON. Yes, I mean, do you—is there any grudge that you have against Mr. Hiss over anything that he has done to you?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The story has spread that in testifying against Mr. Hiss I am working out some old grudge, or motives of revenge or hatred. I do not hate Mr. Hiss. We were close friends, but we are caught in a tragedy of history. Mr. Hiss represents the concealed enemy against which we are all fighting, and I am fighting. I have testified against him with remorse and pity, but in a moment of history in which this Nation now stands, so help me God, I could not do otherwise.



# The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Activity #3: The Case of Alger Hiss

**Directions (Group #2):** Read the excerpts below from Alger Hiss’s testimony before HUAC. As you read, answer the following questions:

Question	Answer
Who was Alger Hiss?	
What was Hiss accused of?	
How did Hiss respond to the accusations?	
How did Hiss’s testimony change between August 5 and August 16?	
What did Hiss accuse HUAC of trying to do in these hearings?	
Do you find Hiss to be a credible witness? Why or why not?	



[Note: Aside from Hiss himself, others involved in the following excerpts are Robert Stripling (the committee's chief investigator) and committee members Rep. John E. Rankin (Democrat-Mississippi), Rep. Karl E. Mundt (Republican-South Dakota), and Rep. Richard M. Nixon (Republican-California).]

Testimony of Alger Hiss before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, August 5, 1948:  
<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-5testimony.html>

Mr. HISS. I was born in Baltimore, Md., on November 11, 1904. I am here at my own request to deny unqualifiedly various statements about me which were made before this committee by one Whittaker Chambers the day before yesterday. I appreciate the Committee's having promptly granted my request. I welcome the opportunity to answer to the best of my ability any inquiries the members of this committee may wish to ask me. I am not and never have been a member of the Communist Party. I do not and never have adhered to the tenets of the Communist Party. I am not and never have been a member of any Communist-front organization. I have never followed the Communist Party line, directly or indirectly. To the best of my knowledge, none of my friends is a Communist. As a State Department official, I have had contacts with representatives of foreign governments, some of whom have undoubtedly been members of the Communist Party, as, for example, representatives of the Soviet Government. My contacts with any foreign representative who could possibly have been a Communist have been strictly official. To the best of my knowledge, I never heard of Whittaker Chambers until in 1947, when two representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation asked me if I knew him and various other people, some of whom I knew and some of whom I did not know. I said I did not know Chambers. So far as I know, I have never laid eyes on him, and I should like to have the opportunity to do so....

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Hiss, would you give the committee a résumé of your educational background, please.

Mr. HISS. I was educated in the public schools of Baltimore. I spent 1 year after leaving the Baltimore City College, a high school, after graduating there at a preparatory school in Massachusetts. I then entered Johns Hopkins University from which I graduated with an A.B. degree in 1926. I then entered the Harvard Law School from which I graduated in 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you now give the committee a brief résumé of your Federal employment?

Mr. HISS. My first employment with the Federal Government was immediately after my graduation from law school when I served as a secretary to one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. I then went into private practice in Boston and New York for a period of 3 years or so, and came to Washington on the request of Government officials in May 1933 as an assistant general counsel to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration....

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you continue then with the chronology of your Government employment?

Mr. HISS. A Senate committee known as the Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry, of which Senator Nye was the chairman, formally requested the Department of Agriculture to lend my services to that committee in its investigations as their counsel. That permission was granted and I served on the staff of the Senate committee.... I think it was early in 1934 when I first started on that committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was your capacity?

Mr. HISS. I was counsel. The technical title was legal assistant.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. HISS. When I left the Senate committee I was next employed in the office of the Solicitor General of the United States.... While I was still in the Solicitor General's office, one of the cases I was working on involved the constitutionality of the Trade Agreement Act. Mr. Francis B. Sayre, then Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the Trade Agreements Act, asked me to come to his office as his assistant to supervise the preparation within the Department of State of the constitutional arguments on the Trade Agreements Act. I did so and I remained in the Department of State in various capacities until January 15, 1947. I entered the Department of State, I think it was, in September, 1936. I resigned in January, 1947, to accept the appointment to my present position in private life to which I had been elected the preceding December.

Mr. RANKIN. What is that?

Mr. HISS. I am president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace....

Mr. STRIPLING. You say you have never seen Mr. Chambers?

Mr. HISS. The name means absolutely nothing to me, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPING. I have here, Mr. Chairman, a picture which was made last Monday by the Associated Press. I understand from people who knew Mr. Chambers during 1934 and '35 that he is much heavier today than he was at that time, but I show you this picture, Mr. Hiss, and ask you if you have ever known an individual who resembles this picture.

Mr. HISS. I would much rather see the individual. I have looked at all the pictures I was able to get hold of in, I think it was, yesterday's paper which had the pictures. If this is a picture of Mr. Chambers, he is not particularly unusual looking. He looks like a lot of people. I might even mistake him for the chairman of this committee. [Laughter.] [...]

Mr. MUNDT. You realize that this man whose picture you have just looked at, under sworn testimony before this committee, where all the laws of perjury apply, testified that he called at your home, conferred at great length, saw your wife pick up the telephone and call somebody whom he said must have been a Communist, plead with you to divert yourself from Communist activities, and left you with tears in your eyes, saying, "I simply can't make the sacrifice."

Mr. HISS. I do know that he said that. I also know that I am testifying under those same laws to the direct contrary....

Mr. MUNDT. Have you ever belonged to any of the organizations the Attorney General's office has listed [as subversive organizations]?

Mr. HISS. I have not, Mr. Chairman, and I so stated in my opening remarks.

Mr. MUNDT. Has your wife ever belonged?

Mr. HISS. She has not, to the best of my knowledge-and I think I would know.

Mr. MUNDT. She has never been a Communist?

Mr. HISS. She has not. Again I must say under oath, to the best of my knowledge. I think my knowledge is better than Mr. Chambers on that.

Mr. MUNDT. It would seem that the testimony is diametrically opposed and it comes from two witnesses whom normally one would assume to be perfectly reliable. They have high positions in American business or organizational work. They both appear to be honest. They both testify under oath. Certainly the committee and the country must be badly confused about why these stories fail to jibe so completely. I think we have neglected to ask you, Mr. Hiss, one other possible clue to this situation. It could be that Mr. Chambers has mistaken you for your brother. Would you know if he would testify under oath whether your brother has ever belonged to any subversive organization or is a Communist?

Mr. HISS. I am not a qualified witness to testify absolutely. I would like to say that absolutely in my opinion he is not and never has been.

Testimony of Alger Hiss before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, August 16, 1948:  
<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-16testimony.html>

Mr. NIXON. I am now showing you two pictures of Mr. Whittaker Chambers, also known as Carl, who testified that he knew you between the years 1934-37, and that he saw you in 1939. I ask you now, after looking at those pictures, if you can remember that person either as Whittaker Chambers...or as any other individual you have met.

Mr. HISS. May I recall to the committee the testimony I gave in the public session when I was shown another photograph of Mr. Whittaker Chambers, and I had prior to taking the stand tried to get as many newspapers that had photographs of Mr. Chambers as I could. I testified then that I could not swear that I had never seen the man whose picture was shown me. Actually, the face has a certain familiarity. I think I also testified to that. It is not according to the photograph a very distinctive or unusual face. I would like very much to see the individual face to face. I had hoped that would happen before. I still hope it will happen today. I am not prepared to say that I have never seen the man whose pictures are now shown me. I said that when I was on the stand when a different picture was shown me. I cannot recall any person with distinctness and definiteness whose picture this is, but it is not completely unfamiliar. Whether I am imagining that or not I don't know, but I certainly wouldn't want to testify without seeing the man, hearing him talk, getting some much more tangible basis for judging the person and the personality....

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hiss, let me explain this. Mr. Chambers, as indicated, did testify that he spent a week in your house. He also testified to other facts concerning his acquaintanceship with you—alleged facts, I should say—and I want to point out that the committee by getting answers to completely objective questions from you will be in a position to go certainly to third parties and to find out whether or not Mr. Chambers has committed perjury. Now, on one point it is pretty clear that you have indicated that Mr. Chambers must have committed perjury because he said he spent a week in your house.

Now, these other matters to which Mr. Chambers has testified involve the same type of testimony. I want to say when Mr. Chambers appeared, he was instructed that every answer he gave to every question would be material and he was instructed off the record before that that a material question

would subject him to perjury. So consequently, as you see, a matter of membership in the Communist Party is one thing because that is a matter which might be and probably would be concealed, but a matter of objective items concerning: his relationship with you, his alleged relationship with you, can be confirmed in some cases by third parties and that, frankly, is the purpose of these questions....

Mr. HISS. I have written a name on this pad in front of me of a person whom I knew in 1933 and 1934 who not only spent some time in my house but sublet my apartment. That man certainly spent more than a week, not while I was in the same apartment. I do not recognize the photographs as possibly being: this man. If I hadn't seen the morning papers with an account of statements that he knew the inside of my house, I don't think I would even have thought of this name. I want to see Chambers face to face and see if he can be this individual. I do not want and I don't think I ought to be asked to testify now that man's name and everything I can remember about him. I have written the name on this .piece of paper. I have given the name to two friends of mine before I came in this hearing...

Mr. NIXON. This man who spent the time in 1933 and 1934 is still a man with whom you are acquainted?

Mr. HISS. He is not....

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony is that this man you knew in 1933 and 1934 was in one of the houses you lived in?

Mr. HISS. I sublet my apartment to the man whose name I have written down.

Mr. NIXON. But you were not there at the same time?

Mr. HISS. I didn't spend a week in the same apartment, with him. He did spend a day or two in my house when he moved in.... The name of the man I brought in—and he may have no relation to this whole nightmare—is a man named George Crosley. I met him when I was working for the Nye committee. He was a writer. He hoped to sell articles to magazines about the munitions industry. I saw him, as I say, in my office over in the Senate Office Building, dozens of representatives of the press, students,— people writing books, research people. It was our job to give them appropriate information out of the record, show them what had been put in the record. This fellow was writing a series of articles, according to my best recollection, free lancing, which he hoped to sell to one of the magazines. He was pretty obviously not successful in financial terms, but as far as I know, wasn't actually hard up....

Mr. NIXON. How tall was this man, approximately?

Mr. HISS. Shortish.

Mr. NIXON. Heavy?

Mr. HISS. Not noticeably. That is why I don't believe it has any direct, but it could have an indirect, bearing.

Mr. NIXON. How about his teeth?

Mr. HISS. Very bad teeth. That is one of the things I particularly want to see Chambers about. This man had very bad teeth, did not take care of his teeth....

Mr. NIXON. Was Mr. Crosley a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HISS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. Never discussed it?

Mr. HISS. No.

Mr. NIXON. You feel he might be Whittaker Chambers?

Mr. HISS. I find it difficult to believe. I can't identify him from the pictures and can't see any motive.

Mr. NIXON. You haven't the slightest idea what became of him?

Mr. HISS. No; haven't seen him since 1935.

The Hiss-Chamber Hearings, August 25, 1948: <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-25testimony.html>

Mr. HISS. Today...will mark my fourth appearance before your committee. I urge, in advance of that hearing, that your committee delay no longer in penetrating to the bedrock of the facts relevant to the charge which you have publicized--that I am or have been a Communist.

This charge goes beyond the personal. Attempts will be made to use it, and the resulting publicity, to discredit recent great achievements of this country of which I was privileged to participate [that is, the New Deal]. Certain members of your committee have already demonstrated that this use of your hearings and the ensuing publicity is not a mere possibility, it is a reality. Your acting chairman, Mr. Mundt, himself, was trigger-quick to cast such discredit....

Before I had a chance to testify, even before the press had a chance to reach me for comment--after Chambers' testimony--before you had--so far as I am aware--one single fact to support the charge made by a self-confessed liar, spy, and traitor, your acting chairman pronounced judgment that I am guilty as charged, by stating that the country should beware of the peace work with which I have been connected.

I urge that these committee members--your committee members--abandon such verdict-first-and-testimony-later tactics, along with dramatic confrontations in secret sessions, and get down to business. First, my record should be explored. It is inconceivable that there could have been on my part, during 15 or more years in public office, serving all three branches of the Government, judicial, legislative, and executive, any departure from the highest rectitude without its being known. It is inconceivable that the men with whom I was intimately associated during those 15 years should not know my true character far better than this accuser. It is inconceivable that if I had not been of the highest character, this would not have manifested itself at some time or other; in at least one of the innumerable actions I took as a high official, actions publicly recorded in the greatest detail.

During the period cited by this accuser, I was chief counsel to the Senate Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry, at a great many public hearings, fully reported in volumes to be found in libraries in every major American city. During my term of service under the Solicitor General of the United States, I participated in the preparation of Briefs on a great many of the largest issues affecting the United States. Those briefs are on public file in the United States Supreme Court, in the Department of Justice, and in law libraries in various American cities....

In all this work I was frequently, and for extensive periods, under the eye of the American press and of the statesmen under whom or in association with whom I worked. They saw my every gesture, my every movement, my every facial expression. They heard the tones in which I spoke, the words I uttered, the words spoken by others in my presence. They knew my every act relating to official business, both in public and in executive conference...All are persons of unimpeachable character, in a position to know my work from day to day and hour to hour through many years. Ask them if they ever found in me anything except the highest adherence to duty and honor.

Then the committee can judge, and the public can judge, whether to believe a self-discredited accuser whose names and aliases are as numerous and as casual as his accusations.

The other side of this question is the reliability of the allegations before this committee, the undocumented statements of the man who now calls himself Whittaker Chambers.

Is he a man of consistent reliability, truthfulness, and honor? Clearly not.

He admits it, and the committee knows it. Indeed, is he a man of sanity?



# The House Un-American Activities Committee

Student Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Activity #3: The Case of Alger Hiss

**Directions (Group #3):** Read the excerpts below from the Hiss-Chambers hearings. As you read, answer the following questions:

Question	Answer
What was the purpose of having Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss meet face to face in this hearing?	
Under what circumstances did Chambers claim he knew Hiss?	
What was the outcome of the meeting between these two men?	
Based on this reading, which strikes you as the more believable witness—Hiss or Chambers? Why?	
Why was Congressman Mundt originally inclined to believe Hiss?	
What led Congressman Mundt to change his mind regarding Hiss?	

Why did Mundt believe that it was impossible to learn for certain whether or not Hiss was a communist?	
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[Note: Aside from Hiss and Chambers, the others involved in the following excerpts include committee members Rep. Richard M. Nixon (Republican-California) and Rep. Karl E. Mundt (Republican-South Dakota), as well as the committee's chief investigator, Robert Stripling.]

The Hiss-Chambers Hearings, August 17, 1948: <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-17testimony.html>

Mr. NIXON. It is quite apparent at this state in the testimony, as you indicated yesterday, that the case is dependent upon the question of identity. We have attempted to establish the identity through photographs of Mr. Chambers and that has been inadequate for that purpose. Today, we thought that since you had in your testimony raised the possibility of a third party who might be involved in this case in some way and had described him at some length to the committee that it would be well to, at the earliest possible time, determine whether the third party is different from the two parties or the same one, and so consequently we have asked Mr. Chambers to be in New York at the same time so that you can have the opportunity to see him and make up your own mind on that point.

Mr. NIXON. Sit over here, Mr. Chambers. Mr. Chambers, will you please stand? And will you please stand, Mr. Hiss? Mr. Hiss, the man standing here is Mr. Whittaker Chambers. I ask you now if you have ever known that man before.

Mr. HISS. May I ask him to speak? Will you ask him to say something?

Mr. NIXON. Yes. Mr. Chambers, will you tell us your name and your business?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My name is Whittaker Chambers.

[At this point, Mr. Hiss walked in the direction of Mr. Chambers.]

Mr. HISS. Would you mind opening your mouth wider?

Mr. CHAMBERS. My name is Whittaker Chambers.

Mr. HISS. I said, would you open your mouth? You know what I am referring to, Mr. Nixon. Will you go on talking?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I am senior editor of *Time* magazine.

Mr. HISS. May I ask whether his voice, when he testified before was comparable to this?

Mr. NIXON. His voice?



Mr. HISS. Or did he talk a little more in a lower key?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would say it is about the same now as we have heard.

MR. HISS. Would you ask him to talk a little more?

Mr. NIXON. Read something, Mr. Chambers. I will let you read from....

Mr. HISS. I think he is George Crosley, but I would like to hear him talk a little longer.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chambers, if you would be more comfortable, you may sit down.

Mr. HISS. Are you George Crosley?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not to my knowledge. You are Alger Hiss, I believe.

Mr. HISS. I certainly am.

Mr. CHAMBERS. That was my recollection....

Mr. HISS. The voice sounds a little less resonant than the voice that I recall of the man I knew as George Crosley. The teeth look to me as though either they have been improved upon or that there has been considerable dental work done since I knew George Crosley, which was some years ago. I believe I am not prepared without further checking to take an absolute oath that he must be George Crosley.

Mr. NIXON. May I ask a question of Mr. Chambers?

Mr. HISS. I would like to ask Mr. Chambers, if I may.

Mr. NIXON. I will ask the questions at this time. Mr. Chambers, have you had any dental work since 1934 of a substantial nature?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes; I have.

Mr. NIXON. What type of dental work?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I have had some extractions and a plate.

Mr. NIXON. Have you had any dental work in the front of your mouth?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. What is the nature of that work?

Mr. CHAMBERS. That is a plate in place of some of the upper dentures.

Mr. NIXON. I see. ...

Mr. HISS. That testimony of Mr. Chambers, if it can be believed, would tend to substantiate my feeling that he represented himself to me in 1934 or 1935 or thereabout as George Crosley, a free lance writer of articles for magazines....

Mr. NIXON. Can you describe the condition of your teeth in 1934?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes. They were in very bad shape....

Mr. STRIPLING [to HISS]. Well, now, I would like to preface whatever you are going to say by what I say first. I certainly gathered the impression when Mr. Chambers walked in this room and you walked over and examined him and asked him to open his mouth that you were basing your identification purely on what his upper teeth might have looked like. Now, here is a person that you knew for several months at least. You knew him so well that he was a guest in your home, and in this, a very important confrontation, the only thing that you have to check on is this denture; is that correct? There is nothing else about this man's features which you could definitely say, "This is the man I knew as George Crosley," that you have to rely entirely on this denture; is that your position? [....]

Mr. HISS. I saw him at the time I was seeing hundreds of people. Since then I have seen thousands of people. He meant nothing to me except as one I saw under the circumstances I have described. My recollection of George Crosley, if this man had said he was George Crosley, I would have no difficulty in identification. He denied it right here.... I am not, therefore, able to take an oath that this man is George Crosley. I have been testifying about George Crosley. Whether he and this man are the same or whether he has means of getting information from George Crosley about my house, I do not know. He may have had his face lifted.

Mr. HISS [to CHAMBERS]. Did you ever go under the name of George Crosley?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. HISS. Did you ever sublet an apartment on Twenty-ninth Street from me?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No; I did not.

Mr. HISS. You did not?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No.

Mr. HISS. Did you ever spend any time with your wife and child in an apartment on Twenty-ninth Street in Washington when I was not there because I and my family were living on P Street?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I most certainly did....

Mr. HISS. Would you tell me how you reconcile your negative answers with this affirmative answer?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Very easily, Alger. I was a Communist and you were a Communist.

Mr. HISS. Would you be responsive and continue with your answer?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I do not think it is needed.

Mr. HISS. That is the answer.

Mr. NIXON. I will help you with the answer, Mr. Hiss. The question, Mr. Chambers, is, as I understand it, that Mr. Hiss cannot understand how you would deny that you were George Crosley and yet admit that you spent time in his apartment. Now would you explain the circumstances? [...]

Mr. CHAMBERS. As I have testified before, I came to Washington as a Communist functionary, a functionary of the American Communist Party. I was connected with the underground group of which Mr. Hiss was a member. Mr. Hiss and I became friends. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Hiss himself suggested that I go there, and I accepted gratefully....

The Hiss-Chamber Hearings, August 25, 1948: <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/8-25testimony.html>

Mr. MUNDT. Now, Mr. Hiss, these hearings are drawing to a close, and I want to review with you briefly, as briefly as I can, the reactions of just one member of this committee to the testimony in which you are involved, and after I conclude my statement, which I shall make without interruption, you then make the statements that you have to make without interruption. But I wish you would take notes on what I am going to say so that you can correct me in your statement where you think I am in error, or where you set my trend of thinking right, where you think it is deviating from a logical course.

We started out in these hearings simply to get at the truth concerning espionage activities in Government. One of our early witnesses, Mr. Whittaker Chambers, mentions your name and the name of your brother, Donald Hiss, in connection with other individuals, most of whom have refused under oath to deny the charges or to deny the fact that they are members of the Communist Party.

You suggested when you first came before the committee that in an effort to get at the facts that we take certain steps, one of which was to go to the records, wherever the records are available. We have done that, and we have spread those records wherever available into this testimony.

You suggested that you be confronted with your accuser. We have done that, both in executive session and in open session.

You suggested that we check all the verifiable details, which we have done.

Your testimony that first day was that, to the best of your recollection, you did not know Whittaker Chambers, and that the picture which was presented to you by counsel, Mr. Stripling, did not bring back the memory of anybody whom you had seen by that picture.

The next step in this proceeding was, and I might say here that you made a very fine impression on me, as acting chairman, that first day. I was inclined to be in your corner from the standpoint of accepting the validity of what you said. You were given every consideration by the committee and not cross-examined very dearly or carefully by the committee on that first day, and that despite the fact, that as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I had frequently heard the name of Alger Hiss bandied around as having possible Communist connections in years past. I never had seen you; I never had met you; I do not believe your name had ever passed my lips or had been written by me in any correspondence up to that time. But it was, as you have later testified, rather common scuttlebutt, should

we say, around Washington that one Alger Hiss had been labeled by some as a fellow traveler or Communist...In spite of that, after hearing your testimony, I was convinced that either Whittaker Chambers must have been falsifying before this committee or else there was a mistaken identity.

So, I asked a subcommittee to go to New York for the purpose of interviewing Mr. Chambers to see whether by some chance, he had confused Alger Hiss with someone else, whether or not he could substantiate his statement that he knew Alger Hiss, and, if so, how well, and what details he could supply, which are verifiable. He supplied a great many details, all of which are in the executive testimony, which been released to the press today.

Then you were again interviewed in Washington, and at that time you verified these same details, which were given us by Mr. Chambers, intimate details about your family, about your hobby, about your pets, about the decorations in the room, and after verifying a number of these details, you said, "I might have known a man who had access to that information," and you said that man, if you knew him at all, was one George Crosley.

The next day the committee went to New York City and brought you and Mr. Chambers together, at which time you identified him positively; you identified him as the George Crosley, but you said then that you sublet him your apartment...You said then that you had him living with you several days in your own home. You said then that you had also seen him at sometime--later than the time when he occupied your apartment, and you said then that you had made a series of small loans.

We have tried since then to verify further the testimony of both yourself and Mr. Chambers. We have been unable to find anybody who knows or who has seen George Crosley. You have been unable to produce anybody for us who knows or has seen George Crosley.

Therefore, in summary...I find that while you said earlier that you did not know Mr. Whittaker Chambers or any man answering that description or looking like him, it is now established testimony that you did know him and that you do know him.

There is some doubt about the name, but there is no question about your having known the individual...You knew this man; you knew him very well. You knew him so well that you even trusted him with your apartment; you let him use your furniture...You had him staying in your home when it was inconvenient for him to stay in the apartment, and made him a series of small loans. There seems no question about that.

In other words, there seems no question about your associations with a man who told this committee that he associated with you.

The points in disagreement, as I see them are these:

Were you or were you not a Communist? This committee never had any illusions that we would be able to prove definitely whether or not you are a Communist because, in dealing with people charged with being Communists over a period of years, we have found that those who are guilty, refused to admit it and dodged the question, or deliberately lied.

We know that we cannot get the records of the Communist Party. We cannot get their membership cards, but that was a point we could not hope to establish by verifiable evidence, and it is now a point in

dispute...

There is one other point in dispute, and that is while you both admit this association at the time when it was supposed to have taken place, Mr. Chambers said that you knew him as Carl, and you say that you knew him as Crosley. To me, that is not a very important distinction. The important thing is how close your associations were with this man, who is admittedly a Communist at that time.

He is a Communist functionary. Whether he was living in your home as George Crosley or Carl or Whittaker Chambers is comparatively immaterial....

In an endeavor to determine the credibility of two witnesses whose testimony conflicts on so many of these points, which are still in dispute we endeavored to establish that by checking first, Mr. Chambers' testimony to see whether or not it would stand up, to see whether or not you were an ornithologist to see whether or not you had a car which had a hand windshield wiper, to see whether or not he had this rather intimate association with you which the testimony of both of you now conclusively proves did exist...On every point on which we have been able to verify, on which we have had verifiable evidence before us, the testimony of Mr. Chambers has stood up. It stands unchallenged. Most of it you admit, although you place understandably a different interpretation upon it from what he has...

We proceed on the conclusion that if either one of you is telling the truth on the verifiable data, that you are telling the truth on all of it. And if either one of you is concealing the truth from the committee on verifiable data, it points out that you are concealing from us the truth on obviously the points that we cannot prove....