

Dear Bruce,

5/22/76

I respond because I'm certain of your sincerity.

Unless you begin with a preconception you would like to breathe life into, you waste your own time. Except that I knew a couple of those people casually, you also wasted mine. As you know now, I can't take time for these kinds of things.

I take it you meant that Oswald the red called on Abt the red for some special reason. If so it did no good. Abt immediately refused. Only the cops didn't tell Oswald.

I worked for the same committee Abt and Kramer did. I knew Abt only slightly, as a quiet man and respected legal craftsman. We did not get along particularly well in the few contacts we had. I knew Kramer possibly a little better because he was an investigator and he more often had need to consult my knowledge of the record. I was not in the social circle of either.

I did not know either had testified before Nixon and the UnAmericans. I was not in Washington then. I also met Lowenthal and Wheeler a few times. Lowenthal's book on the FBI was a fine one. If he had been heeded the country would have suffered less.

Abt's statement, by the way, if basic Americanism and his opinion of our country's military adventures has been substantiated by the subsequent history.

I neither knew, had reason to believe nor ever asked the politics of any of them. I was not that close to any. I do not know whether any was a Communist. I never saw any such indication. But I am sure they could have been.

However, if any of this could have figured in Oswald's asking Abt to be his lawyer, you have sent no explanation. I'd be more inclined to believe that what Abt did later would be more likely. He represented the Communist Party, as I remember the stories of the day, up to the Supreme Court in a Smith Act case. That Act, you may recall, was ruled Unconstitutional.

I regard all of this as without factual base. The theories one could defend are too numerous to go into and too contradictory. I knew of Abt's representation of the Communist Party, so the rest is without significance to me. I tell you again I can't keep taking time for this kind of thing.

I don't know what you mean by what Fensterwald is up to. He doesn't tell me and I don't know. I have no reason to believe he is a spook.

I thought through all the questions you asked and many you did not 12 years ago.

Sincerely,

734 Coronet Rd.
Glenview, Ill.
5/16/76

Dear Harold,

For YOU, I'll type. It should be easier to read; but you'll have to forgive the occasional wrong key problem. I'm very unused to typing extemporaneously. Someday, I hope to get an electric machine and make typing an easier task.

I'm very sorry to hear about your Phlebitis and the disability you have; even if one is well, about 6 hrs. of nightly rest is essential. It was very nice of you to take the time and work to write a letter to me; I appreciate it very much.

Let me run over some old stuff before I show you something new (At least I hope it is new; I'll be disappointed if you already know about it.):

Only one question enters my mind at the time: can you give me some idea of what Fensterwald is up to? I thought that fella Specter was supposed to be making a public announcement about a month ago; perhaps I missed it somehow. He made the announcement about making an announcement on the David Suskind program about two months ago. I was just wondering if he chickened out. There's something in the Village Voice about his working with Fensterwald, as I recall. (Surprises never cease.)

If Marchetti had mentioned Gardenplot several years ago, he would have incurred considerable trouble. (One of the more amusing aspects of attending such public events is the usual "disguised" undercover cops-who are, inevitably, easily detectable. Mostly, their presence is intimidating and otherwise unproductive.)

If you're sure you have the entire Altgelns photo, then Joesten must have used a composite, for it is identical -perspective wise-to the one you published; it shows the building up to the roof line. The foreground figures have been "enhanced." Unfortunately the text is in German, something that though I have studied it for several years in the distant past, have never had any opportunity to make use of and have consequently more or less "forgotten" (in the usual sense.) So... I don't even know what your crazy Joesten is proposing.

I'm sorry not to be able to furnish a copy of the NBC tape of the fake police broadcast. I don't have a recording machine in the first place; mostly, I've been fortunate enough to walk into a room, turn the on-off switch and see just what happened to interest me.

A copy of a clipping I will send, though, will say something about the FBI's making fake radio broadcasts during peace marches. For sure, I can tell you, it wasn't the adolescent voice of a teenaged boy. It was too heavy and fully developed. But if you were to have such a thing, what could you do with it.

There was a young man I lived with while we were in school whose father was, as I remember, a VP at NBC. I haven't talked with him in about 12 years; chances are remote that I could make anything productive out of ~~that~~ at this time.

Surely by this time you must have some ideas on who has been up to what. If the "they" were ordinary criminals, they would have been apprehended by now; these assassinations smack of well planned government operations. They took a lot of money, exhibited sophistication unheard of for dissident civilian reactionaries. The government is covering up the crimes of some important people—it doesn't go to all of the trouble it has for just anyone; especially considering the embarrassment it must incur in doing so. It is foolish to waste work on rumors, but... sometimes there's a clue as to what to be alert to—something that may escape an ordinary logical consciousness.

As for that Rubenstein "memo", yes, at face value, in a matter of about one minute (not knowing what to look for in the first place) any adult human being would conclude it is a fake. The reason is that the FBI stationery heading has a zip code in it; yet the memo is signed and dated in 1947. It is so plainly fake that there is no possible explanation as to why anyone would waste a minute of human life and good typewriter ribbon ink making such a thing*if it is fake. Not even a first class simpleton would engage in such foolishness that would (unknown to him) be so easily detectable. Further, if a spook were going to try to confuse researchers, why wouldn't he make it as authentic as he could??? He would. At least his heading and signatory date would be consistent. My own (temporary working) theory is that this is a composite: something has been copied onto ordinary stationery or copied onto a copy of regular/ordinary stationery; the original would still be in a file somewhere. Why a composite was made, I still have to rationalize.

There is a word used in the Memo which may be characteristic of an other than contemporary era and is a giveaway to authenticity, I think. I discovered this accidentally while reading an older era book for pleasure; the same word was used.

Perhaps you don't have the time to waste on this, but do you know anyone who could supply a list of HUAC employees (1945-1948)? Just names of secretaries, stenographers, staff assistants

I don't need to know anything personal-just the names. If one of those bigwigs you know could supply a list of names for the staff of Congressman Richard Nixon, that would be absolutely perfect. (Also.)

(Before I forget: having closely examined the tramps, I still conclude that #2 is Fiorini/Sturgis. There is N O T H I N G that is going to change my decision. It is my independent observational conclusion; I am not falling into anyone's trap.)

NOW: temporarily removing all ~~ss~~ the foregoing from your mind, and don't continue on until you can do so: how do you think Oswald got hold of John Abt's name?

Think about this real hard; take a lot of time; consider all of the possibilities.

WHY did Oswald ask for John Abt of all people? Why not a local lawyer? Perhaps someone whose name he had heard on a television or radio broadcast, someone whose name had appeared in a local newspaper??????? Someone he chose from a Dallas phone book?

Why John Abt of all people...all the way off in distant New York City? Did he ever meet Abt?

What could an average (forgetting for the convenient moment the fact that Oswald was fairly bright) low level commercial employee ever hope to know about an attorney in New York?

Do you think someone might have given Oswald Abt's name to use if he ever should get into really serious trouble? Why would anyone give him that name of all the lawyers there are-particularly in Dallas? Maybe there is a reason.

THINK ABOUT THIS IN ALL OF THE MULTIFACETED WAYS YOU CAN FOR ONE HALF HOUR AT LEAST. DO NOT CONTINUE UNTIL YOU HAVE DONE SO. Sit in a comfortable chair in a quiet room.

NOW: 1/2 hour later: only now, remove the staples from the folded enclosure and read everything. Does this give you any ideas for answers to some of the questions I have provoked

you with?

The next time you write, we can continue with this.
In the meantime, I hope you know a good evening meal and
a restful night.

Bruce

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. I understood awhile ago, Mr. Witness, that you stated your reason for declining to answer the question as to whether you had delivered material to an unauthorized person was that the question carried an implication you knew such person, whom you had not admitted you knew. Is that right?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. As I understood, you did admit on the stand you knew Mr. Ullmann?

Mr. SILVERMAN. It is a matter of record he worked in the same division with me.

Mr. WOOD. You recall you did say you knew him?

Mr. SILVERMAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Following that answer, you declined to state whether you delivered any classified material to him.

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. So that your reason for declining to answer does not apply to that instance; does it?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SILVERMAN. As I said, it is a matter of record that he worked in the same division I was in.

Mr. WOOD. But you declined to answer whether or not you furnished him with classified information?

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is right.

Mr. WOOD. Your reason for declining to answer that you now offer does not apply in that instance; does it?

Mr. SILVERMAN. That is correct. There isn't that degree of logic in life.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask you again whether you ever furnished to Mr. Ullmann at any time any classified information?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I will have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. WOOD. By the way, what was your rate of pay while you were in the Government service?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I think the last pay I received was \$9,800. Maybe it was \$10,000.

Mr. WOOD. You were receiving the top salary permissible under the law; were you not?

Mr. SILVERMAN. I believe there were others receiving more than I was. It was one of the top salaries at that time in my professional grade, my professional work. I was receiving substantially more on the job that I resigned yesterday, and I received twice as much many times outside the Government.

Mr. WOOD. That is all. Witness excused.

The committee will stand at recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning. (Thereupon, at 12:45 p. m., on Thursday, August 31, 1950, a recess was taken until Friday, September 1, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 2

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:15 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, John McSweeney (arriving as indicated), Richard M. Nixon (arriving as indicated), and Harold H. Velde (arriving as indicated).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, Courtney Owens, and Alvin W. Stokes, investigators; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order, please.

(The first witness on this day, Joshua Daniel White, commonly known as "Josh" White, is not related to the following proceedings and is printed separately under title "Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Part 3.")

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Nathan Witt.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Witt, will you stand and be sworn, please.

You solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WITT. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Witt, as a witness before this committee, have you any objection to the photographers taking your picture?

Mr. WITT. No; I don't.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

I will ask you gentlemen to take the pictures with as little disturbance as possible.

Before we proceed, let the record disclose that for the purpose of this hearing a subcommittee has been set up by the chairman, consisting of Messrs. Walter, Velde, and Wood, and they are all present.

TESTIMONY OF NATHAN WITT, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
HAROLD I. CAMMER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. WITT. Nathan Witt.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever given any material that you obtained in your Government position to an unauthorized person?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. You just said you had never engaged in any espionage activities of any type.

Mr. KRAMER. That is exactly what I said.

Mr. NIXON. You said you had never given any material to an unauthorized person?

Mr. KRAMER. If the implication of your present question is espionage, the answer is there was none. The term "material" is so broad. The chairman, at the beginning of the session, read a newspaper article which dealt, it seems to me, with unauthorized material. The term "unauthorized material" in your question is similarly broad. My answer to that question is still that I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. If you say the use of the term is too broad, how would you describe it? The implication in your answer is that you may have given some unauthorized material. Is that right?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. Have you given any classified material to any person not connected with the Government?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. Anything further?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kramer, were you ever associated with or a member of or have any connection with the staff of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee?

Mr. KRAMER. I was a member of the staff.

Mr. WOOD. For how long?

Mr. KRAMER. About a year.

Mr. WOOD. Do you recall the dates?

Mr. KRAMER. 1936 to 1937, I believe.

Mr. WOOD. That is all.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Kramer, I noticed in certain instances you admitted your acquaintanceship with certain individuals, and in other cases you denied your acquaintanceship, and in other cases you declined to answer on the ground your answer might incriminate you. What is the distinction between your acquaintanceship with different people?

Mr. KRAMER. I think that lies within my discretion.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever signed a non-Communist oath of any kind?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever attended any Communist Party meetings known by you to be such?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever carry a Communist Party membership card?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. Have you had any personal contact in any way—by mail, by telephone, or otherwise—with Lee Pressman in the last 6 months?

Mr. KRAMER. I may have. I don't recollect.

Mr. VELDE. Did you have any contact through any other individual with Mr. Pressman?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't believe so.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

Mr. NIXON. Did I understand you to say you had not seen Mr. Pressman personally for a year? Is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. I think the last time I saw him was last year.

Mr. NIXON. And you saw him on that occasion where?

Mr. KRAMER. As I recall it was lunch, with perhaps several other people present.

Mr. NIXON. Let me ask you about Mr. Abt. You know Mr. Abt?

Mr. KRAMER. I do.

Mr. NIXON. Have you discussed with Mr. Abt the possibility of your making a statement similar to the one Mr. Pressman made when he appeared here on Monday?

Mr. KRAMER. I have not.

Mr. NIXON. Have you discussed that with Mr. Witt?

Mr. KRAMER. I have not.

Mr. NIXON. When you saw Mr. Pressman a year ago, you say he did not discuss with you the possibility of his or your breaking with the Communist Party?

Mr. KRAMER. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. You are a loyal American citizen, Mr. Kramer. I assume that from your statement.

Mr. KRAMER. I am, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Can a man be a loyal American and a Communist at the same time?

Mr. KRAMER. I believe he can.

Mr. NIXON. You believe he can. Do you believe that what the Communists are engaging in in the United States at the present time in regard to the United Nations action in Korea is consistent with loyalty to the United States?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't know what all those activities are.

Mr. NIXON. You certainly have read of their stand in the Daily Worker and other Communist publications, have you not?

Mr. KRAMER. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. NIXON. Or perhaps you read of their attitude in the statement Mr. Abt has given the committee?

(At this point, Mr. Kramer and Mr. Cammer confer.)

Mr. NIXON. In which he says that the undeclared war that this Government is waging in Korea violates the interest of the American people. Do you subscribe to that position?

Mr. KRAMER. If you will leave off the last part and ask do I subscribe to the position that the present adventure in Korea is against the interest of the United States, I would say I do. So does Mr. Walter Lippmann.

Mr. NIXON. There might be a little difference between Mr. Lippmann and yourself in that respect. If you were drafted to serve in the war against Communist aggressors in Korea at this time, would you serve?

Mr. KRAMER. I would have to decide at that time.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Lippmann has made his decision. I understand it is usually a part of the tactics of people in your position to drag in other people. You have not yet decided whether, if you were drafted to serve in the Army of the United States, you would serve?

Mr. KRAMER. That is a question I will have to decide at that time.

Mr. NIXON. You would have to make the decision when the question was presented to you?

Mr. KRAMER. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. How do you feel about it at the present time?

Mr. KRAMER. I hadn't thought about it.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. John Abt.

Mr. WALTER. Hold up your right hand, please. You swear the testimony you are about to give this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ABT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. ABT, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
HAROLD I. CAMMER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. ABT. John J. Abt, A-b-t.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are represented here by the same counsel who is representing Mr. Witt and Mr. Kramer?

Mr. ABT. I am, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are appearing before this committee in response to a subpoena which was served on you, I believe?

Mr. ABT. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please give the committee a brief outline of your educational background?

Mr. ABT. Before I do that I should like to request from the chairman an opportunity to read a statement which I have prepared for presentation here, which is quite brief.

Mr. WALTER. We will put it in the record at this point and it will be made a part of your remarks.

Mr. ABT. Inasmuch as you accorded to the witness who appeared here on Monday, and who I take it is responsible for my being recalled this afternoon, an opportunity to make a preliminary statement, it would seem to me, in all fairness, the same opportunity should be accorded to me.

Mr. WALTER. I didn't make the ruling in that case, but I rule on your request this afternoon.

Mr. ABT. I understand the statement will appear in the record at this point?

Mr. WALTER. It will.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF JOHN J. ART BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, SEPTEMBER 1, 1950

As the committee is aware, I appeared, in response to a subpoena, before a subcommittee of your committee, just 2 years ago.

At that time, I declined, on constitutional grounds, to answer many of the questions that were asked.

From the press accounts of the committee hearings this week, it is evident that you have subpoenaed me today to propound the same questions which I declined to answer in August 1948.

The committee should know—and if it does not, I so advise you now—that my position with respect to these questions has not changed in the slightest degree since the date of my previous appearance. On the contrary, events have served to confirm and deepen the convictions I then held.

It is therefore clear that the purpose of the committee in recalling me at this time, to put questions I have previously declined to answer, is not and cannot be to elicit information for legitimate legislative objectives. It can only be for the punitive purpose of laying the foundation for a contempt citation.

It is therefore my intention, in the course of this examination—and I so advise the committee at the outset—to assert every right granted me by the Constitution and to make every constitutional objection which I deem well founded to the questions put by the committee.

Under ordinary circumstances, it would be both strange and unnecessary for a witness before a congressional committee to explain his reasons for invoking constitutional guaranties which are the birthright of every American.

The fact that today a witness before your committee is impelled to do so is a measure of how far agencies of Government have transgressed the principles for which the founding fathers fought our Revolution and which a victorious people wrote into the Bill of Rights.

Your committee has chosen to brand the assertion of constitutional rights as disloyal, and evidence of what it calls "un-Americanism."

From its inception, your committee has nullified the first amendment. Recently, it has taken the further step of stripping witnesses of the protection of the fifth amendment, and so far perverted constitutional history as to suggest that assertion of the privilege secured by that amendment is itself evidence of crime.

It is a sorry commentary on the state of constitutional liberties in America that it should be necessary to remind a committee of the Congress that the great constitutional guaranty against involuntary self-accusation had its origin in the struggle against the hateful star chamber of the British Crown. It was to make certain that no American should ever again be subjected to such tyrannical inquisitions that this guaranty was written into the fifth amendment.

It is therefore a gross violation of the very right that the fifth amendment was designed to protect, to imply that its invocation is evidence of guilt. It was embodied in the Constitution, not to shield the guilty, but for the high purpose of protecting the innocent against exactly the kind of star chamber proceedings in which this committee has so long engaged.

Today, it is perhaps more important than at any time in our history that every truly loyal American reassert these simple constitutional truths with all the vigor, stubbornness, and tenacity at his command.

For, today, the course upon which the Government of our country has embarked threatens catastrophe for the Nation and its people. The undeclared war it is waging in Korea, at a heavy cost in American life, and its military intervention in the internal affairs of China, violate the interest of the American people and threaten the peace of the world. The mounting billions it is spending for domestic and foreign armaments are not buying us friends or firm allies. Instead, American efforts to bolster rotten reactionary regimes and stem the tide of the liberation movement in colonial countries are earning for us the enmity of hundreds of millions of common people throughout the world.

The people of our own country are paying the cost of these senseless adventures and will pay yet more heavily in the days to come—with the lives of their sons, with their living standards and welfare, with their democratic liberties. If this course is continued, it will destroy every value that the American people have stood for and worked to achieve since the birth of our Nation. It can end only in the disaster of a war of atomic annihilation.

I am confident that, despite the efforts to silence all opposition, the peace-loving, democratic spirit of the American people will assert itself against these policies and reverse them.

The Bill of Rights guarantees the full and free expression of the popular will, so that every act of government shall at all times and under every circumstance be subject to the corrective force of an enlightened public opinion.

The assault on the Bill of Rights that we are witnessing today is not a sign of strength, but evidences the fatal weakness of a government that no longer dares submit itself to the freely expressed judgment of a fully informed people.

Each article in the Bill of Rights therefore becomes a bastion in the fight for peace in the world and freedom and security for America. 1st defense against all those who would abridge or subvert it is the first duty of every citizen.

To the best of my ability, then, I shall follow the precept of Thomas Jefferson, who wrote:

"It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own. It behooves him, too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, betraying the common right of independent opinion, by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between God and himself."

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question as to your educational background?

Mr. ABR. I gave that when I was before the committee 2 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe there is only one person, or maybe two, on the committee now who were on the committee at that time.

Mr. ABR. I will be glad to repeat the information I gave the committee 2 years ago.

I was born in Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1904. I attended the Chicago schools. I received my A. B. degree from the University of Chicago in 1924, and my law degree from the University of Chicago in 1926.

I practiced law in the city of Chicago from 1927 to 1933, specializing in real estate and corporate matters.

I came to Washington in the fall of 1933 to enter the Federal service. I was employed as an attorney in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and became the chief of the litigation section of that agency. I resigned from the Department of Agriculture I believe in the spring or summer of 1935 and accepted employment as assistant general counsel of the Works Progress Administration.

Sometime in the fall or winter of the same year I was loaned by the Works Progress Administration to the Securities and Exchange Commission for the purpose of assisting in the preparation of litigation under the Public Utilities Holding Company Act.

I worked on that job until sometime in the late spring or early summer of 1936, at which time the work was finished. I then accepted employment as chief counsel of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor investigating civil liberties, under Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr. I resigned in early 1937 and became a special assistant to the Attorney General in charge of the trial section of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice.

I resigned from the Government service during the summer of 1938, went to New York, and accepted employment as special counsel to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. I continued in that capacity until January 1943, at which time I resigned to become the general counsel of the Progressive Party, a position I now hold.

I think that covers it, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the circumstances, please, under which you were employed with the AAA, how you obtained the position which you occupied in that agency?

Mr. ABR. Yes. I came to Washington originally on an offer that I received from Secretary of the Interior Ickes, to accept employment in the Public Works Administration. On my arrival in Washington I

spoke to Mr. Jerome Frank, now Judge Frank, with whom I had been associated in the practice of law in Chicago, and Mr. Frank suggested that I join the legal staff of the triple A, which I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity did you work on the legal staff of the AAA?

Mr. ABT. First as an attorney and later as Chief of the Litigation Section, but at all times primarily on litigation matters of the triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Mr. Lee Pressman prior to your employment at AAA?

Mr. ABT. My recollection is that I met him socially once or twice in Chicago prior to my employment with triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you know Mr. Kramer prior to your employment there?

Mr. ABT. No; I did not know Mr. Kramer prior to my employment at triple A.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know an individual by the name of Harold Ware?

Mr. ABT. Mr. Chairman, at this point, if I may, I should like to enter a continuing objection to any question dealing with my opinions or my associations, on the grounds that such questions violate my rights under the first amendment to the Constitution, and I should like to have that appear as a continuing objection to all questions dealing with such matters. If the Chair does not sustain that objection—and I take it from previous actions of the committee that it will not rule on such objection—I shall decline to answer in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Then, as I understand, every time you refuse to answer a question it is because of what you think your constitutional rights are?

Mr. ABT. Yes, sir; and perhaps I should indicate on those occasions I am invoking my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. It is understood your refusal to answer will be on the ground of what you believe your rights to be under the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. ABT. I would like to put it this way, that when I say "the same grounds" or "for the reasons previously stated," it means that I object to the question because of my rights under the first amendment, and that objection not having been sustained, I therefore decline to answer the question in the exercise of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Very well.

You say you resigned your position with triple A in 1935?

Mr. ABT. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Who was general counsel at that time?

Mr. ABT. That was subsequent to the time that Mr. Frank left the triple A, and as I recall—I am not certain of this—Mr. Wenchel was then general counsel of triple A.

Mr. WALTER. Was it not a man who is now a member of the Federal Reserve Board?

Mr. ABT. No. You are thinking of Chester Davis, who was Administrator of triple A.

Mr. WALTER. Was he Administrator at the time you left triple A?

Mr. ABT. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Who left at the time you did?

Mr. ABT. (continuing). Pardon me. Thinking back, I may have that Halperin name confused with another Halperin. Can you give me some other identification of the man?

Mr. TAVENNER. He was with OSS.

Mr. ABT. No, to the best of my recollection I do not know the man.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Robert T. Miller III of the State Department?

Mr. ABT. I don't recall the name, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with Helen Tenney, T-e-n-n-e-y?

Mr. ABT. You are doubling up on your questions again, it seems to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Helen Tenney?

Mr. ABT. To the best of my knowledge I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Willard Park?

Mr. ABT. To my knowledge I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Any questions? Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. No.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. WALTER. Anything further, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WALTER. The committee stands adjourned until Wednesday morning, September 6, at 10:30.

(Thereupon, at 4 p. m., on Friday, September 1, 1950, an adjournment was taken until Wednesday, September 6, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—PART 2

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION¹

A subcommittee of one of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Morgan M. Moulder presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Morgan M. Moulder, Richard M. Nixon (arriving as noted), and Harold H. Velde (arriving as noted).

Staff members present: Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. MOULDER. Have the record show that this hearing is conducted in executive session by Morgan M. Moulder, a member of the committee, as a subcommittee of one, as directed and authorized by the Honorable John S. Wood, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Would you hold up your right hand and be sworn, please. You solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MAX LOWENTHAL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, BURTON K. WHEELER

Mr. RUSSELL. Will you state your full name?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. Max Lowenthal.

Mr. RUSSELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. 1888, Minneapolis, Minn.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is your present address?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. 467 Central Park West, New York; and New Milford, Conn.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Lowenthal, you are appearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities in response to a subpoena which was accepted by your counsel, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. LOWENTHAL. I assume so.

¹ Testimony taken in executive session, herewith released with unanimous approval of the committee.

APPENDIX

For the purposes of reference, we append herewith information from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities regarding the Communist record and activities of some of the persons mentioned herein:

JOHN J. ABT.—Miss Elizabeth Bentley, a self-confessed Communist agent and courier, in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 31, 1948, identified John Abt as a member of the Communist Party, in charge of a secret party group operating in Washington. On August 3, 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a self-confessed Communist espionage agent, in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities, identified John Abt as the leader of an underground group of the Communist Party operating in Washington, D. C. On August 24, 1948, Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the Daily Worker and former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities that he knew John Abt as a member of the Communist Party. On August 28, 1950, in sworn testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Lee Pressman, a self-confessed former Communist, identified John Abt as a member, along with himself, of the Communist group in Washington, D. C., which was composed of persons employed by the United States Government.

On August 20, 1948, and again on September 1, 1950, Abt appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities and was given an opportunity to affirm or deny the charges which had been made against him. Upon both occasions, he refused to answer questions on grounds of self-incrimination.

Jessica Ware Abt, the wife of John Abt, is the former wife of Harold Ware (deceased). Ware was head of the Communist group in Washington, of which John Abt was a member. Jessica Abt was at one time an employee of the Soviet Embassy and is at present an editor of the Communist propaganda magazine Soviet Russia Today.

Mr. Abt has frequently contributed to the magazine Soviet Russia Today, and has been associated with the following Communist-front organizations: National Lawyers Guild, Civil Rights Congress, and American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. When he testified before the committee on August 20, 1948, Mr. Abt was a paid employee of the Progressive Party of America.

LOUISE BERMAN (formerly Louise Bransten).—During the hearings regarding Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry in October 1947 before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Louise Berman was identified as a native of Berkeley, Calif., and an heiress to a considerable fortune. It was also brought out that Mrs. Berman is the former wife of Richard Bransten (also known as Bruce Minton), who was formerly owner of New Masses, a Communist

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