

N W EYL

date of interview not given in doc furnished

(b)(7)(D)

In accordance with instructions contained in Bureau letter [redacted] was interviewed at his residence [redacted] by Special Agents MAURICE A. TAYLOR and LAMBERT G. ZANDER.

In accordance with other Bureau instructions these interviews were particularly directed toward development of the underground government group headed by HAROLD WARE with particular reference to LEE PRESSMAN and much of the material set forth in this letter has been reported separately in the case entitled "LEE PRESSMAN. Internal Security - C," New York Origin.

It is noted that several subsequent interviews are contemplated with Informant [redacted] and later with [redacted] At the present time [redacted] is actively engaged in [redacted] and it has been found desirable to integrate these interviews into his work in such a manner as not to inconvenience or antagonize him.

[redacted] advised that after finishing school at [redacted] he had gone to Washington, D. C. in search of employment, where he contacted [redacted] and was offered a position which he did not then accept. He had been referred to [redacted] by [redacted] who was a long time friend of the [redacted] family and who had written to [redacted] on [redacted] behalf. While in Washington he received a telegram which had been addressed to him in care of his mother in [redacted] New York, written by [redacted] at [redacted] University, then employed in the [redacted] This wire suggested that he see [redacted] concerning employment in [redacted] contacted [redacted] in Washington and as a result accepted a position being assigned to the [redacted] directly under the supervision of [redacted] who shared [redacted] of the division. [redacted] mentioned that [redacted] was not a Communist under any circumstances but that [redacted] had known [redacted] to be a liberal while at [redacted] University.

The primary duties of [redacted] in the [redacted] and specifically his job concerned [redacted] in various industries including tobacco, cotton products, tropical imports, etc. [redacted]

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ENCLOSURE

Prior to accepting this employment [redacted] had been a post-graduate student at [redacted] University and while at [redacted] had joined the Communist Party. In 1929 while in attendance at [redacted] University he became active in the Socialist Party and began reading about socialism and Marxism, finally siding with the left-wing of the Socialist Party. [redacted] mentioned that when he first came to [redacted] University in 1928 there was a small student organization known as The [redacted] which was dominated by the Socialist Party. He stated that NORMAN THOMAS persuaded him to take it over and he built it into an organization having one hundred members. [redacted] added that he headed this organization for two years and that in the second year in order to expedite decisions of the Executive Committee he had enlarged the committee taking in [redacted] as well as two other individuals. [redacted] advised that when he returned to [redacted] as a post-graduate student following his course in London at the London School of Economics, he found the [redacted] had been in effect taken over by the Communists who had reduced the Executive Committee to five members including [redacted] and [redacted] all Communists and [redacted] who was probably sympathetic but not a party member. [redacted] stated he was reappointed to the Executive Committee. (b)(7)(D)

When [redacted] re-entered [redacted] University as a post-graduate student in November, 1932, he became [redacted] of the [redacted] whose [redacted] The STUDENT REVIEW was the publication of the National Student League which was controlled by the Communist Party at that time. [redacted] is identical with the individual of that name subsequently identified by ELIZABETH TERRILL BENTLEY as being involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York in the late 1930's and early 1940's and who was at that time an employee of the Department of Commerce.

In the [redacted] he recalled writing an article for the DAILY WORKER under his own name, at the request of the Foreign Editor of the DAILY WORKER. [redacted] and during the early part of [redacted] he stated that he joined the Communist Party through the urging of EDMUND STEVENS, a student whom he believed to be a member of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League in New York City. He described STEVENS as a blond individual of English stock and mentioned that his first wife was ANDRE EMEREE, a Communist of Hungarian birth, who later married ROY HUDSON, Communist Party functionary. He advised ANDRE EMEREE had been known socially by him in New York City and stated that she was a Communist who had been trained in Marxism in Soviet Russia and told him that she had attended the Lenin School in Moscow and wanted to marry STEVENS to obtain American citizenship. He stated that he could not recall exactly how he met her and intimated that he was somewhat interested in ANDRE at that time. He stated she was a researcher for some respectable organization at that time and he was a student at [redacted] University.

Regarding EDMUND STEVENS, [REDACTED] further stated he believed he had subsequently broken with Communism and recalled that he had written articles favoring the Finns in their war with the Soviet. He recalled STEVENS had won a Pulitzer Prize for journalism. It is suggested that it might be worthwhile to consider open contact with EDMUND STEVENS for informative purposes. (b)(7)(D)

[REDACTED] stated that he advised the Communist Party that he had obtained employment in Washington, D. C. Sometime following his arrival in Washington in June, 1933 he was contacted by an individual, subsequently known to him as HAROLD WARE. He stated that WARE made himself known by telephoning him at his office or possibly at his home and indicating that he was aware of [REDACTED] Communist affiliation and background. WARE advised [REDACTED] that an underground Communist Party group had been formed in Washington, and according to [REDACTED] indicated that he was to become a member of this group. [REDACTED] advised that he accepted this as an instruction as a good Communist, and thereafter became a member of this group and regularly attended its meetings.

HAROLD WARE was a very capable, well informed individual who was intensely interested in agriculture and according to [REDACTED] was responsible for the agriculture policy of the Communist Party in the United States. [REDACTED] stated that WARE had previously spent some years in Russia where he was in charge of one of the largest cooperative farms. [REDACTED] stated that at the time he met WARE in Washington he was operating an organization known as the Farm Research Bureau, which, according to [REDACTED] was obviously a Communist organization. Offices for this Bureau were located in a building in the vicinity of 18th and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW. In this project WARE was assisted by BOB COE, LEIF DAHL and ROB HALL, all Communist Party members. He also received some assistance from [REDACTED] a responsible Communist Party member from New York City. He mentioned that the latter's wife, [REDACTED] also accompanied him to Washington, D. C. [REDACTED] stated he had known [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] as fellow Communists at Columbia University.

[REDACTED] stated that at the time he became associated with the underground Communist group, headed by HAROLD WARE, the membership consisted of seven individuals in addition to HAROLD WARE; namely: LEE PRESSMAN, ALGER HISS, JOHN ABT, NATHAN WITT, HENRY COLLINS, JOHN DONOVAN and VICTOR PERLO. Shortly after [REDACTED] joined the Communist group, CHARLES KRAMER, whom [REDACTED] stated he knew as CHARLES KRIVITSKY, became attached to this group. HISS, ABT, PRESSMAN, WITT, KRAMER and [REDACTED] were all employed by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and according to [REDACTED] CHARLES KRAMER occupied a desk directly across from him. [REDACTED] observed that when he first made the acquaintance of KRAMER, the latter was aware of [REDACTED] Communist connections and earlier activities in Columbia University, New York City. [REDACTED] stated he pretended ignorance but that KRAMER had brushed his protestations aside and indicated he knew all about [REDACTED]

██████████ stated it appeared to him that this underground group with the exception of CHARLES KRAMER was organized prior to the time he joined it although he stated it was conceivable that he could have attended its first organized meeting. (b)(7)(D)

██████████ stated that meetings of this group were held regularly every week or so in accordance with the Washington Communist Party practice. He estimated he attended fifteen or twenty such meetings, all of which were held in a small violin studio operated by HELEN WARE, sister of HAROLD WARE, the leader of this group. This studio was a small upstairs room having white walls, situated in a very inconspicuous building, which was located on the left side of Connecticut Avenue below Dupont Circle in Washington, D. C. and which studio was reached by ascending a narrow flight or flights of stairs. HELEN WARE was never in attendance at these meetings. All of the members attended the meetings with very few exceptions and according to WEYL there were occasions when all the members of the group were present.

██████████ stated that his recollection was that LEE PRESSMAN was present at about ninety percent of the meetings he attended, and that he has a fairly clear recollection of ALGER HISS and LEE PRESSMAN being present together at some of these meetings. ██████████ stated that no false or party names were used by the individuals at these meetings and all members were well acquainted with each other, most of the group being employed together at the Department of Agriculture. ██████████ stated it was impossible that anyone could have attended these meetings during this period when he was a member without being known to each of the other members.

At the meetings of this underground group the discussion principally concerned MARXIAN theory, a discussion of agricultural problems and various political and economic problems. ██████████ stated that HAROLD WARE consistently travelled back and forth between Washington and New York furnishing Communist Party literature to this group and that he personally collected Communist Party dues from ██████████. He also advised that discussions pertaining to the subject matter of the Communist Party literature furnished by WARE were generally topics for these group meetings.

██████████ stated that he attended no regular group meetings at any other place than the violin studio of HELEN WARE and did not recall having group meetings at the homes of the individual members during his period of membership. Occasionally HAROLD WARE would communicate with ██████████ as an individual member of the group when WARE had a matter to discuss and in the same manner ██████████ advised he made contact with other individual members when necessary. ██████████ stated that his work was closely associated with that of JOHN DONOVAN who headed industry codes in NRA and that they would meet occasionally to discuss their official work and incidentally matters of interest to the

group as such. [REDACTED] stated it was the policy of the group not to associate (b)(7)(D) with each other as a general practice and to avoid being seen associating with each other. He stated that HAROLD WARE was most circumspect in his contacts with members of the group and went to great lengths to make the meetings with him in a most conspiratorial manner. He said as an example that if WARE called him and suggested a meeting at 16th and K Streets, in accordance with prior arrangements between them.

[REDACTED] stated that during the time he was associated with this Communist Party group there were no other members, and no one else attended the meetings. He stated he was certain that ALEXANDER STEVENS alias J. PETERS and WHITTAKER CHAMBERS did not attend the meetings, noting that HAROLD WARE was still alive during this period. [REDACTED] stated he never met WHITTAKER CHAMBERS although in December, 1932, EDMUND STEVENS suggested that [REDACTED] meet a brilliant individual whom he described as an Irish poet and identified as WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, however, this meeting never did materialize.

[REDACTED] declared that DONALD HISS was not a member of the group while [REDACTED] belonged to it, and declared likewise with regard to CHARLES FLATO, who was identified by CHAMBERS as an underground party member affiliated with another group during this period.

[REDACTED] stated he left Washington in mid-Summer of 1934 and never again associated with the underground group and had no knowledge of any subsequent meetings or activities this group might have had, or the membership thereof.

Under date of October 19, 1950, a signed statement was obtained from [REDACTED] generally incorporating the information set forth above. This statement is being made available to the Bureau and the New York Office in the LEE PRESSMAN case.

[REDACTED] furnished considerable information concerning the individual members of this group which included his recollections, and opinions of their character and personalities, which is being furnished for the advice and assistance of the Bureau.

JOHN DONOVAN

[REDACTED] stated he had met JOHN DONOVAN in early 1933 at Columbia University, possibly at the Social Problems Club. He recalled DONOVAN as a member of this group which was Communist dominated although all the members were not party members and recalled that DONOVAN was a Communist Party member

while at Columbia University. He remembered that DONOVAN was a classic student at Columbia and ran an elevator to help pay his way through school. He stated that in 1933 when he came to Washington, D. C. DONOVAN also was employed by the Government in Washington working for NRA. At that time DONOVAN was married to one ELIZABETH or BETTY DONOVAN, maiden name not recalled. He stated that they have been divorced since and this wife has remarried to a Washington attorney, and is presently living in Georgetown, Washington, D. C., name and location are unknown to [REDACTED]. He stated he saw this wife two or three years ago and learned that DONOVAN was divorced and then living somewhere in California. (b)(7)(D)

[REDACTED] advised that DONOVAN had discontinued government employment in the early Spring of 1944 and stated he had heard from someone of his friends some years ago that DONOVAN had become disgusted with the Communist Party and had separated from it. [REDACTED] stated that DONOVAN had wanted to leave Washington, and get into labor work. In this connection he mentioned that DONOVAN had had a considerable capacity for leadership and was a shrewd capable individual. He stated DONOVAN had organized the first successful labor union in NRA and had maintained this union against stern opposition from HUGH JOHNSON, the administrator. He described DONOVAN as a witty likable individual who had an active imagination but was also on occasion cynical, bitter and unpredictable. He stated DONOVAN drank heavily and could be described as a drunkard.

[REDACTED] advised that subsequent to his leaving Washington he met JOHN DONOVAN in Texas in 1935 or 1936, where at that time DONOVAN was working as an organizer under DONALD HENDERSON, President of FTA. [REDACTED] stated that DONOVAN still was a member of the Communist Party when he met him in Texas because they discussed Communist Party matters in DONALD HENDERSON's presence.

In conclusion [REDACTED] described DONOVAN as an old time labor radical who was not conspiratorally mature and could not be classified as a complete Communist at heart. He expressed the opinion that DONOVAN would tend toward loyalty to his old associates but might be persuaded to talk about his Communist associations as he was always critical of the Party and indicated his attempt to use the Party as a vehicle for trade union activities.

CHARLES KRAMER, aka
Charles Krivitsky

[REDACTED] stated that he first met CHARLES KRAMER during his employment with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and as previously stated occupied an office with him. As mentioned herein CHARLES KRAMER already knew of [REDACTED] Communist Party affiliations and New York background. CHARLES

KRAMER was a zealous Communist Party member and █████ considered him sincere in his devotion. He stated that KRAMER had no selfish motive and would be unapproachable from a standpoint of self gain. █████ described KRAMER as a neurotic who was single when he first knew him, who was moody and difficult for his fellow employees to get along with over a long period as he would occasionally get ideas that certain fellow workers were stupid or unreasonable. Despite this, KRAMER had a logical mind and was usually reasonable in his approach to various subjects. █████ stated he found KRAMER to be an unhappy and disturbed personality who needed a cause to give meaning to his life, and who had to have a controlling organization under which to work. He found such an organization in the Communist Party. █████ stated that it was possible that an appeal could be made to KRAMER's reasoning but he would have to have an authority whom he could trust and in whom he would have great confidence. Such a person would have to be an older person and one of considerable presence. █████ stated he had never met KRAMER's wife and was unaware of her party connections if any. (b)(7)(D)

█████ stated after he returned to Washington briefly for a two weeks employment with NRA previous to accepting employment in Texas, he met KRAMER socially but not in connection with any party business. They continued their social contacts but strongly adhered to Communist Party instructions not to discuss party matters outside of their present assignment.

HENRY HILL COLLINS, JR.

█████ stated he first met HENRY HILL COLLINS while employed at the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the latter part of 1933, when COLLINS appeared at his office with a letter of introduction from one of █████ relatives, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. █████ relative had learned that COLLINS was coming to Washington, D. C., and thought he might want to know █████ He advised that COLLINS secured employment with the NRA and believed that he and COLLINS may have consulted each other in connection with their work with the objective of raising the wages of workers.

█████ stated that he considered COLLINS less fanatical as a Communist than CHARLES KRAMER and some of the others in the group including even LEE PRESSMAN. He thought that COLLINS was a somewhat weak character, and stated he "scares pretty easily." He thought that COLLINS was motivated in joining the Communist Party as an "uplift" organization. █████ stated that it seemed to him that COLLINS could be appealed to under ordinary circumstances but is aware of COLLINS present employment as director of the American-Russian Institute, and commented that it is very difficult

for such an individual to secure outside employment and where one reveals past activities it becomes more difficult. He stated that COLLINS would be deserted by his Communist associates and friends.

██████████ mentioned that since his association with the underground group he has met COLLINS on the street a few times but never had any serious discussions with him. He said he had met him in 1940 on one occasion when COLLINS was with his wife, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, III. On this occasion he visited COLLINS at his home for dinner. He described SUSAN ANTHONY as an attractive but dominating woman and recalled that during his visit he had argued with them concerning the party line to embrace the "Pact." ██████████ claimed he had argued against the Stalin-Hitler Pact. He recalled that at this time SUSAN ANTHONY stated she was going to devote her life to peace, this being the party line at the moment. He stated a short time later after the Soviet Union had been invaded his wife ██████████ met SUSAN who was then devoting her life to war on Nazi Germany. ██████████ stated his wife caustically inquired how many lives she had. (b)(7)(D)

VICTOR PERLO

██████████ advised he first met VICTOR PERLO in connection with the activities of the Chess Club at Columbia University. As he recalls they were both active members of this group. He stated he also probably knew PERLO in the Social Problems Club at Columbia and knew PERLO at Columbia as a Communist prior to the time both worked for the government. ██████████ stated that PERLO was a brilliant statistician, and thinks that PERLO may have come to Washington, D. C. after ██████████ and vaguely thought he may have recommended PERLO for government employment.

██████████ described PERLO as a good-looking, mild-mannered rational individual when he first knew him. He recalled he had married a tall beautiful girl from Texas, who was the daughter of a minister and who had an attractive sister. He stated his wife had no political convictions in ██████████ opinion but had gone along with PERLO. He appeared unaware of the subsequent marital breakdown of KATHERINE WILLS PERLO nor of PERLO's subsequent marriage to HELEN MENAKER and this was not discussed with ██████████

██████████ recalled that at the group meetings of the underground group PERLO was an "eager beaver" who seemed well adjusted and was no problem. He considered PERLO a sincere man and one capable of practical thinking and felt that the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939 must have made PERLO very unhappy. He stated that in later years PERLO appeared to be more hardened than during the earlier period he had known him but believed privately

he might be persuaded to tell the truth about his past activities. In this instance also he stated that employment would present the greatest problem for PERLO.

Subsequent to their membership in the underground group, [REDACTED] stated he had very little contact with PERLO except during the period 1946 when PERLO was employed at the Treasury Department and [REDACTED] saw him in connection with certain government work in which [REDACTED] was employed. (b)(7)(D)

ALGER HISS

[REDACTED] stated that he met ALGER HISS at the meetings of the WARE group and his knowledge of the activities of ALGER HISS was confined to the activities of that group. ALGER HISS at the time of WARE's affiliation with this group was an employee of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration but [REDACTED] was not employed in the same section. In his discussion with ALGER HISS, he found him to be intelligent, well informed and very sure of himself upon all occasions. He also stated that HISS was very quiet and slow though sound in making up his mind. He thought he was possibly less brilliant than men like ABT and PRESSMAN and did not think HISS an original thinker. He expressed the opinion that in view of HISS' recent defense that he had determined to remain a Communist and would not furnish any information if interviewed. [REDACTED] stated he did not know HISS' wife at all.

LEE PRESSMAN

[REDACTED] advised he had never known LEE PRESSMAN in New York City although both were from that city. He stated that PRESSMAN was already employed in AAA when [REDACTED] arrived in Washington but mentioned that he became well acquainted with PRESSMAN in AAA as well as in the underground group as PRESSMAN handled marketing agreements as his principal function in the office of General Counsel whereas ALGER HISS handled acreage control. [REDACTED] described PRESSMAN as having a very agile mind and a driving aggressive ambitious personality. He stated that PRESSMAN was the convivial type and at least superficially had a great deal of warmth for his friends. He thought that PRESSMAN had been a sincere Communist but not nearly so devoted as ALGER HISS.

[REDACTED] stated he had given some thought as to the reasons why PRESSMAN had broken with the party and consented to testify concerning his participation. He stated two possibilities suggested themselves: first, that PRESSMAN had made a complete honest break and that the Korean war was the last straw with him. The other reason was that PRESSMAN was being

an opportunist and was interested in saving himself. [REDACTED] discussed also the fact that PRESSMAN had named only ABT, WITT and CHARLES KRAMER as fellow members of the underground group denying membership of other individuals. [REDACTED] could offer no specific reason for PRESSMAN's shielding DONOVAN and himself but expressed the opinion that he may have discussed the matter with ABT, WITT and KRAMER and felt certain these men would not talk under any circumstances and for this reason his testimony would not be refuted nor the other individuals exposed. (b)(7)(D)

[REDACTED] was questioned specifically concerning the analysis made of the testimony of PRESSMAN reported in Bureau letter dated September 29, 1950, in the LEE PRESSMAN case. [REDACTED] stated he had no knowledge when or where LEE PRESSMAN joined the Party nor did he have any information concerning whether PRESSMAN had aided ALGER HISS in securing employment at the Agriculture Department or elsewhere. As indicated above he did not recall any group meeting taking place at the home of HENRY COLLINS or at any other members' residence during the period [REDACTED] was a member of the underground group. [REDACTED] had no knowledge of PRESSMAN's having attended any other Communist Party meetings. He was not questioned concerning HARRY BRIDGES as it was not deemed desirable to furnish information to [REDACTED]

As indicated he had no knowledge of visits by WHITTAKER CHAMBERS to the group, stating this undoubtedly occurred after he left Washington, D. C. [REDACTED] was not aware of the use of the alias COLE PHILIPS by LEE PRESSMAN. [REDACTED] also advised he did not personally know of PRESSMAN's contacts with party functionaries such as EUGENE DENNIS and ROY HUDSON and also had no knowledge of PRESSMAN's law practice or even of his active candidacy on the ALP ticket in 1948. He stated he did not know of any other Communist Party contacts of PRESSMAN of his own personal knowledge with the exception he understood PRESSMAN was closely associated with LEN DeCAUX during the period the latter was editor of the CIO publication.

[REDACTED] recalled that in the winter of 1939-1940 he attended a dance given by the CIO in Washington, D. C. at which LEE PRESSMAN was present. He stated that PRESSMAN joined their table and made a few remarks concerning the current Russo-Finnish war which indicated that PRESSMAN was still very pro-Soviet in his views at that time. [REDACTED] stated this was the only other occasion since his association with PRESSMAN in the WARE group that he was in contact with him.

NATHAN WITT

[REDACTED] advised he had not known NATHAN WITT in New York City but became acquainted with him at AAA and in the underground group. He stated he understood WITT had led a hard life and had been a taxi cab driver during the depression years. He stated WITT had become trained in law and was a government attorney in AAA. He described WITT as a very hard and bitter individual and a caricature of a radical. He recalled an instance when he was engaged in a price agreement case involving R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, WITT was attorney for the government, and in front of a Congressman WITT had denounced the government, capitalism and everything else. [REDACTED] did not feel that WITT would be cooperative if contacted. (b)(7)(D)

JOHN ABT

[REDACTED] was unable to furnish any specific information regarding JOHN ABT and stated he had not known him in New York and his association with JOHN ABT was confined to the group meetings. He described ABT as quiet and very intelligent.

Further interviews with the informant have been arranged at which time he will be questioned about any information concerning his activities prior to his arrival in Washington, D. C. in 1933 and also covering the period of his activities subsequent to his leaving Washington, D. C., specifically his Communist Party activities in Texas during the periods thereafter. Upon conclusion of the interviews with the informant, arrangements have been made to interview his wife, [REDACTED] concerning her knowledge in detail regarding individuals involved in Communist Party activities and her connection with the subject matter as a whole.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Our next witness is Mr. Weyl.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Weyl, will you stand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. WEYL. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Weyl, this is a subcommittee of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, and we have asked you to come up and make any statements that you care to make with reference to the allegations contained in a speech made on the floor of the House by the Honorable Martin Dies, of Texas, on February 1, 1943, in which your name was mentioned in the following language:

Nathaniel Weyl is senior economic analyst of the Board of Economic Warfare at a salary of \$4,000. For several years Weyl was very prominent in Communist activities among students. His writings in the Student Review, magazine of the National Student League, make it clear beyond the possibility of any slight doubt that Weyl himself was a Communist. His writings in the Communist Party's newspaper, the Daily Worker, also leave no doubt about his being a loyal Communist Party member.

The hearings here are an executive session, I may say to you and the gentleman who accompanied you. The testimony which you shall give will be made available to the special committee, set about by House resolution in the Appropriations Committee, to determine and pass upon all these matters, and it is to implement the documents and let you make your explanatory statements and anything you care to make with reference to that that you are called on.

May I say to you, as to any question that Dr. Matthews will ask, please answer it unequivocally first, and then you are at perfect liberty to make any explanatory statement. That will save equivocation and will save the record.

Now, Mr. Sher, if you will be good enough to give the reporter your full name and address.

Mr. SHER. Robert E. Sher, Washington Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Mr. Matthews.

TESTIMONY OF NATHANIEL WEYL, PRINCIPAL BUSINESS ECONOMIC ANALYST, BOARD OF ECONOMIC WARFARE

Mr. MATTHEWS. Give your full name, please.

Mr. WEYL. Nathaniel Weyl.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Weyl?

Mr. WEYL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. WEYL. In New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. WEYL. July 20, 1910.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Please give an outline of your educational background.

Mr. WEYL. Yes. My school education was in New York Friends Seminary, which is a Quaker school in New York City.

Then I took my undergraduate work in Columbia University, graduating with, I think, B. S., and majoring in economics and philosophy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that graduation?

Mr. WEYL. I graduated in February 1931. Then I took 1 year of post-graduate work in economics in the London School of Economics in London, England, and another year of post-graduate work in Columbia University, New York.

And that completes my formal education.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your professional experience?

Mr. WEYL. As an economist?

Mr. MATTHEWS. State the positions which you have held.

Mr. STARNES. Chronologically.

Mr. WEYL. In 1933-34 I held a position with the Consumers' Council of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the Department of Agriculture, as an economist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your remuneration while in that position?

Mr. WEYL. \$3,800. May I add here that there were periods in which I have been engaged in writing and research, so that the employment record is not continuous?

In 1935-36 I worked as a statistician for the Humboldt Oil Co., in Houston, Tex., at a starting salary of \$35 a week, which was subsequently raised to \$50.

In 1937-38, I attempted newspaper reporting, starting in as a cub reporter for the New York Post at \$35 a week.

In 1940 I was junior economist for the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System. That is not a junior economist civil-service rating, by the way. My salary was \$3,400. There I was in charge of Latin-American research.

Then I transferred from that to the Board of Economic Warfare at \$3,800. I have been with the Board now for about 18 months and have had two successive pay increases, so that my present salary is \$5,600.

Now, do you want me to indicate what I have been doing in the Board?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; please.

Mr. WEYL. All right. Well, I came to the Board, in a sense, originally in July 1941; that is, to say, I was then working in the Federal Reserve Board, but the Office of the Administrator of Export Control, which later became the Board of Economic Warfare, borrowed my services half-time to direct a small staff that was estimating the steel requirements of Latin America for export-control purposes.

However, I remained for 6 months on the Federal Reserve Board pay roll.

Then moving into the Board, I was the liaison between our Import Section, our Shipping and Stock Pile Division of the War Production Board, which meant making studies with the War Production Board people on import materials, and shipping for the B. E. W.

When we got the powers under the Executive order of April 13, that is, giving the Board directive powers over imports, I was assigned to the Rubber Division, and was in charge of the Amazon Unit of that Division until approximately February, when Mr. Jeffers decided to turn the wild-rubber-procurement program over to the Rubber Development Corporation.

Then I was assigned to Mahogany.

Let me add for the record that the Mahogany program is not, of course, for furniture but for military purposes.

That, I think, brings the record up to date.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Weyl, have you any dissent that you would like to enter at this time to the remarks made by the Honorable Martin Dies?

Mr. WEYL. Yes; I would like to make a dissent on some of the details.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Take their point by point.

Mr. WEYL. Yes. Before doing so, you spoke of my making a statement about this. Is it your intention that I shall make a statement?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; that is what you are being asked for now. Any statement that you care to make of a dissenting nature about the allegations made by Mr. Dies, in connection with his speech.

Mr. WEYL. I will first make a few corrections on details which are of no importance.

My title is principal business economic analyst.

My salary is \$5,600.

Then, another dissenting detail is this: This statement says: "For several years Weyl was very prominent in Communist activities among the students."

I had the opportunity to check up these files in the Public Library of New York, and the dates, as near as I can recall, are from approximately December 1932 until May of 1933. Of course, that does not affect the substance of it, but it is a correction of detail.

Mr. MASON. I want to get this clear. Instead of saying for several years, it should have been for several months; is that it?

Mr. WEYL. That is correct; yes.

Mr. STARNES. A part of 2 years?

Mr. WEYL. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Several months, but a part of 2 years?

Mr. WEYL. Yes; that is correct.

Then there is another dissent of detail. This states:

"His writings in the Communist Party newspaper, the Daily Worker, also leave no doubt about his being a loyal Communist Party member."

I had forgotten that I ever wrote for the Daily Worker. As far as my research of the files in New York indicates, I wrote one article there. Isn't that correct, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the only one we have.

Mr. WEYL. Well, I think describing one article as "writings" is a bit misleading.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the date of the article to which you refer?

Mr. WEYL. I think it was May 1, wasn't it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1933?

Mr. WEYL. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was for a May Day supplement, but it appeared under the date of April 29, 1933.

Mr. WEYL. I see. This is a dissent of detail.

Now, your statement is that there is no doubt about my being a loyal Communist Party member. I would like to make two points about

The first is that while those articles show very clearly, I think, although I then espoused the Communist position, I was not a member of the Communist Party. That is perhaps not too significant, because whether a man carries a card or holds certain views is perhaps legalistic. The thing that is significant is the implication "his being a loyal Communist Party member" that I am now a member of the Communist Party.

And when the occasion arises here, I would like to try to submit to you pretty conclusive evidence that I am not only not a member of the Communist Party, but that I have written in opposition to the Communist Party over a period of a year or so prior to my present employment by the Government.

Mr. MASON. Well, would you say that it is correct that at that particular time, and in that particular writing, we will say, that you agreed with or espoused the Communist position at that time?

Mr. WEYL. Yes, sir. I will have to admit to that mistake.

Mr. MASON. I just want to get in my own mind how much truth there is in this.

Mr. WEYL. Yes.

Mr. MASON. But you, of course, would deny that you ever were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WEYL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you through with the dissents?

Mr. WEYL. I would like to ask your pleasure in this.

When I got my subpoena yesterday, I dug through a lot of newspaper writings of mine to show my points, at which I said things no Communist or Communist sympathizer could say. I would like to put those in the record. I don't care when I do so. That is entirely at your pleasure.

Mr. STARNES. That is all right. You can append those just like these publications. They are too lengthy, of course, to put in the record, but we will append them as exhibits, and go along with the testimony, and then the other members of the committee can examine them at length.

Mr. WEYL. Unless Dr. Matthews would like the opportunity of hearing them and cross-examining on them, in case he feels they do not indicate what I say they do.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before we leave the substance of the matter contained in the speech of the Honorable Martin Dies, I would like to ask a few questions about the organizations involved there, for the record.

Mr. WEYL. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you publicly associated with an organization known as the National Student League?

Mr. WEYL. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hold any official position in connection with that organization?

Mr. WEYL. Well, as I recall, I was associate editor of this magazine, Student Review, and that was, I think, the official organ of the National Student League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know how long you were associate editor of the Student Review?

Mr. WEYL. I will have to make a guess on that. I should say 3 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there any doubt whatever in your mind that the National Student League was a party organization?

Mr. WEYL. You mean controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. WEYL. No; there is no such doubt in my mind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the publication, Student Review, as faithfully as possible, presented the Communist Party line in its columns, did it not?

Mr. WEYL. I think it did; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have here a photostatic copy of one of the articles which you contributed to the Student Review, in the issue of February 1933, entitled "Heywood Brown, An Analysis." As you recall the substance of that article, I take it that it reflects the view which you have yourself described as the Communist Party line of that particular period.

Mr. WEYL. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that it is not necessary to go into details.

Mr. WEYL. No. I think there is no point in debating about that, Dr. Matthews; that is a fact.

Mr. STARNES. I want to say that I think you are honest, and your sincerity is refreshing.

Mr. WEYL. Thank you.

Mr. STARNES. The Chair appreciates it, and I am sure the committee does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is one other organization, the Student Congress Against War, which was held on the University of Chicago campus in December 1932. You recall that gathering, do you not?

Mr. WEYL. Yes; I recall something about it. Do you have a specific question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am going to ask you specifically to establish the facts in the case.

Were you a member of the Committee of the Student Congress Against War?

Mr. WEYL. That was the committee that issued the call?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I would like to ask you if it is not your understanding that the Student Congress Against War, held in Chicago in December 1932, was a direct outgrowth of the Amsterdam World Congress Against War?

Mr. WEYL. Well, I really don't know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It might refresh your recollection if I told you that the Student Review carried a statement to the effect that the Honorable Henri Barbusse, representing the International Committee of the World Congress Against War, cabled to the National Student League, requesting that it hold such a congress against war.

Do you have any recollection that that was the general situation?

Mr. WEYL. No. If it was in the Student Review, I doubtless knew about it at the time. What was the date of that? Did you say September?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, September.

Mr. WEYL. May I make a brief explanation of how I got into this thing?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Certainly.

Mr. WEYL. In the fall and winter of 1932, I was a member of the Socialist Party. I had been studying in England, as I explained, and had taken one or two trips to Germany, had seen Hitler coming into power, and had come to the conclusion that the Socialist method was not going to do any good in stopping Hitler, so that I was, in the fall and winter of 1932, about ready to get out of the Socialist Party; I think you recall that.

Now, while I was still in the Socialist Party, a group of students and Communists asked me to lend my name to this committee which was issuing a call for the Student Antiwar Congress.

I said, "Of course, I understand that you want my name in this because I am a fairly prominent campus Socialist, but it seems to me that if such a congress is to be held, we ought to have the Socialist groups in as well as the Communist groups, and I am quite willing to do so."

It was some time later that I joined the National Student League.

So that coming back to your question, I may or may not have seen that item in the Student Review; I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall whether or not the so-called Amsterdam congress pledge was endorsed at the Student Congress Against War in Chicago?

Mr. WEYL. I should say I was never at that congress.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Didn't you attend?

Mr. WEYL. No, no. This committee was one of the committees that really had a letterhead. To my knowledge it never met. They did hold a congress in Chicago, but I never did attend that congress. The committee may have continued after Chicago, but I am not informed on that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a particular date or period in mind when you would say that you broke with your espousal of the Communist Party line?

Mr. WEYL. That is a very difficult question. I would like to put it this way, that at the time of this student matter that we are discussing I was, to all intents, as far as my thoughts and my writings were concerned, a Communist. Then I gradually drifted away. The reason I didn't drift away more rapidly was because I have always believed in the necessity of beating the Axis; and the Communists, at a somewhat later date, participated in these popular-front groups or fellow-traveler groups, which were directed against German and Japanese aggression, so that I cannot recall the exact date. I should say 1935 or 1936.

I was fairly active in the American League for Peace and Democracy, which turned out to be communistic controlled.

Let me explain that. Of course, there was a good deal of Communist control, obviously, in that organization, right from the outset, and right along through, and as it turned out, I was very surprised when, with this Hitler-Stalin pact, the membership of the American League did not take over. I thought they would.

So I found out then it was in complete control, but during that whole period I was in favor of working with any group which held those views against fascism.

The thing that I think first really definitely made me opposed to communism was these Russian trials; but I felt that it was necessary to get all of those groups together behind this program. It was not the time to make any public attack on Communists.

I didn't. Of course, when the pact occurred and when the Communists started trying to get this country to espouse neutrality, and later on, interfering with defense production, I wrote against them.

Now, that is the date of the open break in the sense that I attacked them publicly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you consider yourself a collectivist of any variety, or may I say, a Socialist at the present time?

Mr. WEYL. I should say yes. But I would like to add a few sentences to that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. The purpose of my question is to bring out as clearly as possible the extent of the break that you say you have made.

I think it is fair that the record should show that having held the view which you described as the Communist Party line, that you indicate to what extent the break occurred.

Mr. WEYL. I would be glad to have an opportunity to do so. I think I can put my present philosophy pretty briefly this way: I believe that we are moving into a type of collectivist society, in which Government control of business and of economic enterprise is on the increase.

I do not today espouse the Socialist view, which is complete ownership and control of means of production in the hands of the State because that seems to me leads essentially to a one-way system; a dictatorship, a totalitarian state, and suppression of freedom.

But I believe in the minimum of social control which is necessary to keep full pace with freedom and democracy, and that implies that social control does not centralize all power in the State or in the hands of a small group of executives or managers of the State.

I don't know if that is specific enough.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would not wish to undertake to cross-examine the witness on the basis of his own prepared statement at this particular time; in fact, I don't know whether I would want to after I have had the time to study it.

I think it would be well to incorporate it in the record and let it speak for itself.

Mr. MASON. As I understand it, this prepared statement that you spoke of comprises excerpts of some writings that you have carried on since this break, which shows definitely that you now, at least, have reversed your position on and are directly opposed to communism.

Mr. WEYL. That is right.

Mr. MASON. I think all that is necessary is to authorize that it shall be included in the record as an exhibit, so that it will have its bearing on the case.

Mr. WEYL. Well, now, just put this off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all I have.

Mr. MASON. Then I shall declare the hearing adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 a. m., April 6, 1943, the hearing adjourned.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Our next witness is Mr. Weyl.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Weyl, will you be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, shall come before the committee?

Mr. WEYL. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Weyl, this is the Committee on Un-American Activities. You will come up and make any statements that you wish in reference to the allegations contained in the report of the House by the Honorable Martin Dies, in which your name was mentioned.

Nathaniel Weyl is senior economist at a salary of \$4,600. For some time he has been active in Communist activities among students. He is a member of the National Student League. There is no doubt that Weyl himself is a member of the Communist Party's newspaper, the Daily Worker, and is a loyal Communist Party member.

The hearings here will be made available to you and the gentleman who accompany you. A resolution in the House will determine and pass upon all these matters. You will make your explanation with reference to the documents and let you care to make.

May I say to you, Mr. Matthews will ask, please answer it. You are at perfect liberty to make any explanation you wish, save equivocation and will save the record.

Now, Mr. Starnes, will you give the reporter your full name and address?

Mr. STARNES. My name is Mr. Starnes, Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. STARNES.

TESTIMONY OF NATHANIEL WEYL, PRINCIPAL BUSINESS ECONOMIC ANALYST, BOARD OF ECONOMIC WARFARE

Mr. MATTHEWS. Give your full name, please.

Mr. WEYL. Nathaniel Weyl.

Mr. MATTHEWS. W-e-y-l?

Mr. WEYL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. WEYL. In New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. WEYL. July 20, 1910.

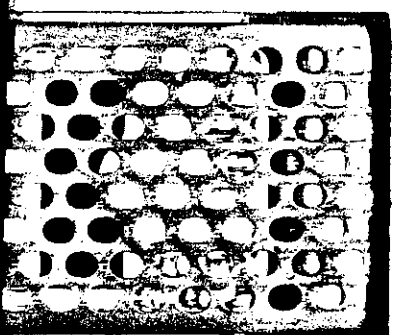
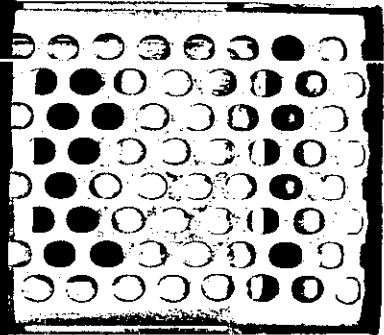
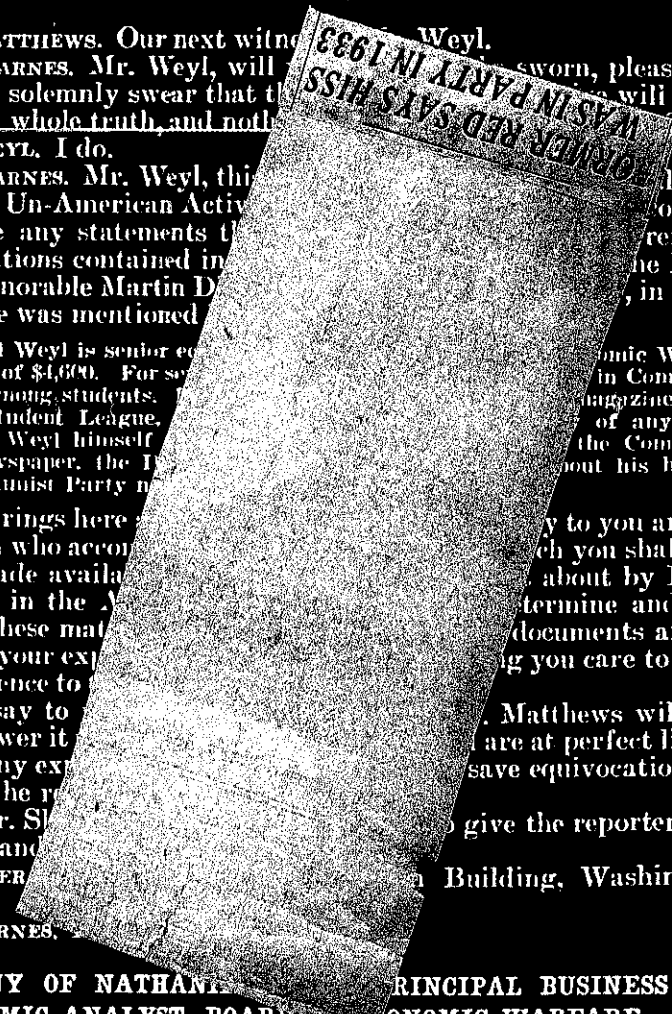
Mr. MATTHEWS. Please give an outline of your educational background.

Mr. WEYL. Yes. My school education was in New York Friends Seminary, which is a Quaker school in New York City.

Then I took my undergraduate work in Columbia University, graduating with, I think, B. S., and majoring in economics and philosophy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that graduation?

GRAND RED SAYS HISS WAS IN PARTY IN 1933



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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

WEYL stated that at the time he became associated with the underground Communist group, headed by HAROLD WARE, the membership consisted of seven individuals in addition to HAROLD WARE; namely: LEE PRESSMAN, ALGER HISS, JOHN APT, NATHAN WITT, HENRY COLLINS, JOHN DONOVAN and VICTOR PERLO. Shortly after WEYL joined the Communist group, CHARLES KRAMER, whom WEYL stated he knew as CHARLES KRIVITSKY, became attached to this group. HISS, APT, PRESSMAN, WITT, KRAMER and WEYL were all employed by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and according to WEYL, CHARLES KRAMER occupied a desk directly across from him.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

WEYL stated that his recollection was that LEE PRESSMAN was present at about ninety percent of the meetings he attended, and that he has a fairly clear recollection of ALGER HISS and LEE PRESSMAN being present together at some of these meetings.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

WEYL stated that he attended no regular group meetings at any other place than the violin studio of HELEN WARE and did not recall having group meetings at the homes of the individual members during his period of membership. Occasional HAROLD WARE would communicate with WEYL as an individual member of the group when WARE had a matter to discuss and in the same manner WEYL advised he made contact with other individual members when necessary. WEYL stated that his work was closely associated with that of JOHN DONOVAN who headed industry codes in NRA and that they would meet occasionally to discuss their official work and incidentally

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

He stated he was certain that ALEXANDER STEVENS alias JY PETERS and WHITTAKER CHAMBERS did not attend the meetings, noting that HAROLD WARE was still alive during this period. WEYL stated he never met WHITTAKER CHAMBERS although in December, 1932, EDMUND STEVENS suggested that WEYL meet a brilliant individual whom he described as an Irish poet and identified as WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, however, this meeting never did materialize.

WEYL declared that DONALD HISS was not a member of the group while WEYL belonged to it, and declared likewise with regard to CHARLES FIATO, who was identified by CHAMBERS as an underground party member affiliated with another group during this period.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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KATHI

[REDACTED]

ALGER HISS

WEYL stated that he met ALGER HISS at the meetings of the WARE group and his knowledge of the activities of ALGER HISS was confined to the activities of that group. ALGER HISS at the time of WARE's affiliation with this group was an employee of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration but WEYL was not employed in the same section. In his discussion with ALGER HISS, he found him to be intelligent, well informed and very sure of himself upon all occasions. He also stated that HISS was very quiet and slow though sound in making up his mind. He thought he was possibly less brilliant than men like ABT and PRESSMAN and did not think HISS an original thinker. He expressed the opinion that in view of HISS' recent defense that he had determined to remain a Communist and would not furnish any information if interviewed. WEYL stated he did not know HISS' wife at all.

LEE PRESSMAN

WEYL advised he had never known LEE PRESSMAN in New York City although both were from that city. He stated that PRESSMAN was already employed in AAA when WEYL arrived in Washington but mentioned that he became well acquainted with PRESSMAN in AAA as well as in the underground group as PRESSMAN handled marketing agreements as his principal function in the office of General Counsel whereas ALGER HISS handled acreage control.

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[REDACTED] He thought that PRESSMAN had been a sincere Communist but not nearly so devoted as ALGER HISS.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated he had no knowledge when or where LEE PRESSMAN joined the Party nor did he have any information concerning whether PRESSMAN had aided ALGER HISS in securing employment at the Agriculture Department or elsewhere.

[REDACTED]

As indicated he had no knowledge of visits by WHITTAKER CHAMBERS to the group, stating this undoubtedly occurred after he left Washington, D.C. WEYL was not aware of the use of the alias COLLETT PHILIPS by LEE PRESSMAN.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]