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ALGER HISS. This report will not include information concerning HISS' antecedents or his educational and professional background. With respect to this information, attention is directed to the report of Special Agent LAMBERT G. ZANDER, dated January 31, 1949, at Washington, D. C. in the instant matter.

The files reflect that on a list furnished to the Attorney General by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, of which the Honorable MARTIN DIES was Chairman, the following information appeared:

"ALGER HISS 3415 Volta Place, N. W. Washington, D. C.	Legal Adviser, Department of State	\$5,800
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Member Washington Committee for Democratic Action"

In December 1941 an agent of this office contacted the DIES Committee and ascertained that the basis for placing HISS' name as a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action on the list furnished to the Attorney General was the appearance of his name on a list in the possession of the DIES Committee entitled "Washington Committee for Democratic Action". No further information was available concerning this matter from the DIES Committee.

T-1 advised the Washington Field Office that the name ALGER HISS did not, in fact, appear in the active indices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action; however, T-1 advised that the name of Mrs. ALGER HISS, 3415 Volta Place, N. W. did appear in the active indices of that organization.

T-2, who was an employee of the Department of State, advised that he had been acquainted with Mr. HISS for a period of five years. During this period, the informant stated nothing had come to his attention to cause him to doubt Mr. HISS' loyalty. T-2 stated that at one time he heard that Mr. HISS and his brother, DONALD HISS, also an employee of the Department of State, were classed as "fellow travelers". Informant stated he was not aware of the basis for the allegations. He stated that Mr. HISS was at one

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time secretary to the late Associate Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES of the Supreme Court. He stated that Justice HOLMES was considered "liberal" and added, "But what a liberal". In this connection, the informant stated in his opinion; Mr. HISS likely absorbed some of the beliefs of Justice HOLMES during his association with him, and that if Mr. HOLMES is classed as "liberal", his "liberalism" is likely of the same quality. T-2 stated that it had been his observation that Mr. HISS is a "stay at home", and does not get about as much as would be to his advantage. Informant knows of no activities of Mr. HISS away from his office. He stated that Mr. HISS' wife is possibly "more liberal" than her husband and may possibly have membership in "liberal organizations".

T-3, who was an employee of the Department of State, advised that he was not well acquainted with Mr. HISS, but that from hearsay and otherwise he is inclined to class Mr. HISS as a "Jaski Socialist".

T-4, who was acquainted with Mr. HISS during the years from 1933 to 1935, when he was employed by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, described Mr. HISS as being honorable in personal affairs, but intellectually dishonest. The informant stated that Mr. HISS, together with LEE PRESSMAN, GARDNER JACKSON, FRANK SHEA and others in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, interpreted the Agricultural Adjustment Act, not in the spirit of the law, but in a manner which would suit their beliefs and own private purposes. Informant stated that Mr. HISS and his associates surrounded themselves with employees in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of their own choosing, whom they knew would fall in line with their social and economic theories. This informant stated that it was the definite purpose of this group to change our form of Government, and to use the instrumentality of the good offices of the Department of Agriculture to further their purposes. The informant explained that these individuals in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, instead of administering the law, as it was intended, to protect the interest of tenant farmers, deliberately used the Government's time and money in an effort to unionize share croppers and tenant farmers. Informant stated that "there was nothing of America--"My Country 'Tis of Thee, in what those boys were doing."

T-4 recalled bits of conversation which the informant stated passed between Mr. HISS, LEE PRESSMAN and others during this period.

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Informant recalled that one of the persons involved had stated that the "Okies would be the best people to change order, and that Migrant labor was their meat." Informant stated that the use of professional agitators was made in connection with the attempt to unionize share croppers. T-4 stated that in this connection, at one time a report was made concerning share croppers in the State of Arkansas, and that the report was considered a confidential report to which the public was not entitled. Shortly thereafter, some 219 communications were addressed to the Department of Agriculture, in the nature of "demands" that this report be made public. Informant stated that the sources of these communications were traced and were found to be organizations which could have no possible interest in the report, or information as to its existence, and in many cases it was found that fictitious return addresses had been used. T-4 stated concerning Mr. HISS, "If he was not a Communist, he was a fellow traveler". Informant advised that Mr. HISS was one of the organizers of the Lawyers Guild and stated that he possibly had "an overdose of Harvard". T-4 further stated that he was "quite a Marxist". Informant stated that Mr. HISS was very shrewd and that due to his shrewdness he was not included in the "purge" which took place in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in 1935.

In connection with the information stated above, and attributed to informant T-4, it may be stated that T-4, maintained a diary at the time the events stated above were alleged to have taken place. The diary records the impressions of informant at the time of the activities of Mr. HISS and his associates. Quotations from this diary, which appeared to be indicative of the informant's impressions are stated below:

"Administrators, who don't happen to be lawyers are certainly at the mercy of a motley crew possessed of appalling energy."

"Meanwhile, men who have never been closer to a farm than the campus of Harvard or Columbia, may have flown to Arkansas to lend a helping hand to sharecroppers--terribly worked up over their sad plight."

"And if you go to the Capitol, you will find them like locusts swarming in Committee rooms--especially the Munitions Investigations Committee, Civil Liberties Committee, etc."

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"I am sick when I see at close range men using the undoubtedly high purposes and motives of the President, to put over their fantastic ideas, financed beyond their wildest dream. And do you think the group of whom I speak could await the slow process of education in order to better conditions? That gives them a laugh."

"Honest men, in sympathy with the President's program, simply cannot conceive of the situation."

"I have no quarrel with their being anything they want to be, but I do object to the mantle of democracy being used in the way it is. And I do object to the superciliousness of this group when dealing with the lawyers not of their own breed. And, as to Government service? They don't know what it means. Just say, as actually happened, that such a thing could not be done. The question shot back promptly was, 'Why'? Because there is a law which prohibits it they were told. The answer came back promptly, 'Oh, we'll change that'. And, by golly, that's what they are doing".

For instance: In the group were JEROME FRANK, with three lieutenants, ALGER HISS, LEE PRESSMAN, FRANK SHEA. These men, not Mr. FRANK, brought in a group of men of their own choosing. I smile when I read of political appointments. ALGER HISS gave orders not to let any Member of Congress even see JEROME FRANK, because he might do what they wanted."

"I begin to believe a few less 'brilliant' lawyers, with some knowledge of agriculture, and a less socialistic viewpoint might have been able to produce laws just as unconstitutional."

"Men credited with advising the President, writing the laws, administering them, are seizing the opportunity to

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put forward their own half-baked ideas. That is being charitable to them. Some of them are deliberately trying to set one group against another, possibly feeling they are honest, but if so, why go to the trouble of being so plausible in disguising their motives that even sane, sensible men give them the benefit of the doubt? Why not say, what I've heard them say privately? 'Labor should run the Government' said one; 'better for all industry if it were run by the Government' contributes another; and ever and always 'down with the profit motive'."

"When the so-called 'purge' took place I'll admit I was stunned by its suddenness, but if CHESTER DAVIS had not acted then, well, he would not have been the CHESTER DAVIS whom I had known of for many years through my agricultural contacts. However, not even he, being a mere mortal, could have known all the behind-the-scenes stuff. No one can work with an organization and betray it, if he has any sense of loyalty, and no one working with JEROME FRANK would betray him - that is, except those in whom he placed most confidence - misguidedly. So, CHESTER DAVIS today has only the most sketchy idea of what actually happened. However, the day after the purge, JEROME FRANK's lieutenants acted according to their temperaments - they ran true to form. PRESS - faced with no job, and an opportunist at all times, made the amazing statement that he 'had been one of JEROME's severest critics' and therefore should be retained. HISS, more suave, who was in reality a more dangerous person than PRESSMAN because not as obnoxious personally, managed to retain his footing and became one of the lawyers most relied upon to go to the front - and how many fronts he is serving on is a tribute to the young man's amazing energy, plausibility and all around colossal nerve."

"Let's take these three men one at a time. First - ALGER HISS. For months during 1934 he served with the Munitions Investigation Committee - detailed from AAA. He worked

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on the 1934 amendments to the AAA on the side directing his corps of hand-picked assistants. Some of the work of the Munitions Committee found its way into the AAA office - many stenographers were engaged in assisting, at a time when we were short of help. In the fall of 1934 he was, very busy, all over the place, and when February 1935 came, he managed to stay long enough, and work smoothly enough to leave in charge of the work at the Capitol one of his trusted subordinates. HISS, it seemed, had impressed Chairman NYE - hence his selection for that work. Few people knew how close he was to the group pressing for the inquiry. After knowing that JEROME FRANK had never signed an opinion without ALGER's O.K. and moreover that JEROME signed many opinions without going into them fully, just listening to ALGER's specious reasoning, and seeing that JEROME had to stand the gaff while ALGER landed into the counsels of the mighty, I'm willing to give the young man credit for anything, including hypnotic powers."

"ALGER HISS had a force working under him for a solid year to prove that all landlords were crooks - to stir up sharecroppers, and as one agriculturist in a southern State commented - 'into the opinions of the Legal Division there are being included more and more, provisions designed to overthrow the land tenure system of the South'. The sharecropper difficulties were publicized through the medium of farm organizations which sprang up in New York overnight; Leagues for this and that; but the real crew worked right in our office. Lawyers who never came closer to a farm than the campus of Harvard and Columbia, were all wrought up over matters in Arkansas."

T-5, who was in a position in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to observe Mr. HISS during his employment there, stated that Mr. HISS was not one of the persons requested to resign from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the "purge" of 1935. This informant stated that he had no doubt whatever that some members of the staff were "extreme left-

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wingers", and stated that he always felt like GARDNER JACKSON might even carry a Communist Party card. He stated, however, that he had never considered ALGER HISS in the same light and had no doubt at that time as to his loyalty. He stated that Mr. HISS resigned from the position because he, HISS, felt officials of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration no longer had the confidence in him, which so far as the informant was concerned, was not the case.

T-5 recalled that one of the chief difficulties that arose in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was the attempt of the Legal Division to interpret the Act, not according to the intent of Congress, but in accordance with their own views. In this connection, informant stated that he confronted ALGER HISS with the fact and HISS stated the law might be subject to more than one interpretation.

T-6, who professed to have been at one time a member of the Communist Party, advised that he was not acquainted with ALGER HISS during the time of the informant's membership in the Party. He stated he understood certain New York Communists had a connection at the State Department, through whom certain considerations could be received, but was unable to state the source of his information.

T-7, who maintains files concerning subversive activities in the District of Columbia, advised that his files contained no information concerning Mr. HISS other than mention of his name as an employee of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration at the time of the "purge".

On February 14, 1942, Mr. HISS, after being duly sworn, made the following voluntary statement, the original of which was retained in the files of this office. He declined to return to this office to sign the statement stating that he saw no necessity for doing so, inasmuch as he felt certain the statement would be typed as he had dictated it.

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