

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

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IN RE PETITION OF NATIONAL SECURITY)
ARCHIVE, AMERICAN HISTORICAL)
ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN SOCIETY OF LEGAL) Miscellaneous Action
HISTORY, ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN)
HISTORIANS, SOCIETY OF AMERICAN)
ARCHIVISTS, AND SAM ROBERTS)
FOR ORDER DIRECTING RELEASE OF)
GRAND JURY MINUTES)
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DECLARATION OF JOHN EARL HAYNES

I, John E. Haynes, hereby state as follows:

1. I am currently manuscript historian for 20th century Political History in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. I have held this position since 1987. I am also a member of the editorial board of the American Communist History journal, online editor of the historical discussion list on American communism (H-HOAC), and a member of the Advisory Board of Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung. I was the Library of Congress's historical representative to the Incomka Project (International Committee for the Computerization of the Comintern Archive). I am also a past president of the Historians of American Communism, an association of scholars interested in the history of the American Communist party and its splinter movements and of domestic anticommunism.

2. I am the author of Early Cold War Spies: the Espionage Trials that Shaped American Politics (coauthor Harvey Klehr, Cambridge University Press, 2006); In Denial: Historians, Communism, and Espionage (coauthor Harbey Klehr, Encounter Books, 2003); Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America (coauthor H. Klehr, Yale University Press, 1999); The Soviet World of American Communism (coauthors Harvey Klehr and Kyrill Anderson, Yale

University Press, 1998); Red Scare or Red Menace? American Communism and Anticommunism in the Cold War Era (Ivan Dee, 1996); The Secret World of American Communism (coauthors Harvey Klehr and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, 1995); The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself (coauthor Harvey Klehr, 1992); and Communism and Anti-Communism in the United States: An Annotated Guide to Historical Writings (1987). I submit this declaration to support the unsealing of the grand jury records related to the indictment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

3. The history of Soviet espionage in the United States is a complicated story. During the 1940s and 1950s, Soviet espionage against the United States emerged as a major issue in domestic American politics due to suspected ties between Soviet intelligence agencies and a domestic American political organization, the American Communist Party. The espionage trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg focused public and governmental attention on the apparent connection between some American Communists and Soviet espionage. This attention helped to bring about the passage of stronger internal security laws and the political isolation and near-destruction of the American Communist movement.

4. The espionage trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg focused primarily on their activities divulging United States atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs gained access to this information through David Greenglass, Ethel's brother, who was fortuitously stationed at the United States military base in Los Alamos, New Mexico. David Greenglass, who pled guilty to espionage and was given a fifteen-year sentence, cooperated with the government and was a key witness for the government against the Rosenbergs.

5. Although it was the focal point of their trial, the Rosenbergs' atomic espionage was not their primary focus as Soviet spies. Rather, Julius Rosenberg, as an Army Signal Corps

engineer, was principally engaged in industrial espionage. He recruited and managed a network of spies, mainly comprised of engineering classmates from City College of New York, who worked for the government and United States military in various capacities and who had access to advanced technology information involving radar, avionics, and jet aircraft. This information was passed to Soviet intelligence agencies.

6. Testimony and evidence relevant at the trial were primarily related to the Rosenbergs' involvement with atomic military secrets. Thus, much less is known about their more extensive activities involving advanced technology information. The grand jury testimony which, unlike the testimony at trial, was not limited to the Rosenbergs' involvement in atomic espionage, could shed light on this significant and largely overlooked part of history.

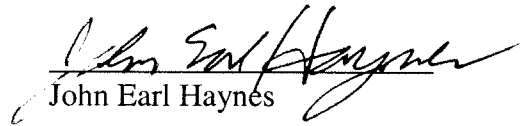
7. I believe that it is highly unlikely that any information from the grand jury testimony will discredit the trial verdicts. Historians largely agree regarding the Rosenbergs' guilt. What the grand jury testimony can do is clarify the extent of the Rosenbergs' involvement in espionage that fell outside the scope of their trial.

8. The political saliency of communism faded in the 1960s and is today politically irrelevant with the end of the Cold War. The matter of domestic communism and anticommunism in the late 1940s and 1950s, however, is of great historical and scholarly interest. A better understanding of the Rosenberg case, especially as it relates to the Rosenbergs' involvement in industrial espionage, will materially affect historical understanding of the nature of American politics and the American government in the 1940s and 1950s. That understanding is in part blocked by the continued secrecy of the grand jury testimony related to the Rosenbergs' indictment. Release of the grand jury transcript will assist in a more accurate understanding of

this important case and a more complete historical understanding of the complicated story of Soviet espionage in the United States.

9. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information is true and correct.

Executed in Washington, D.C., on this 6 day of December, 2007.


John Earl Haynes