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TESTIMONY OF BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—————
JULY 21, 1953
—————

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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TESTIMONY OF BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1953

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 2:30 p. m., in the caucus room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Bernard W. Kearney, Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, Clyde Doyle, and James B. Frazier, Jr.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, chief investigator; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; George C. Williams, investigator; and Mrs. Juliette Joray, acting clerk.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that present are all nine members of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

I desire to make an announcement before the following of the usual course of procedure in this hearing.

Before commencing today's hearing, and in keeping with the rules of committee procedure, the Chair would like to make a brief statement relative to the purpose of the hearing. This may not be necessary in the present instance, but I feel that committee rules should be followed in every respect. The committee has as a witness today Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Washington, D. C. Bishop Oxnam is here at his own request and in keeping with an established policy of this committee to grant a hearing to any citizen who asserts that he has been in any way adversely affected by virtue of any action taken by the committee. This is the fundamental right attached to American citizenship, and the committee welcomes such testimony.

Bishop Oxnam has informed the committee that information in its files relating to him is in error and that he has been in some way harmed as a result of public disclosure of such information. To the end that the facts of the allegations may be determined, the committee extended an invitation to Bishop Oxnam to appear, which invitation was accepted. The committee has made a conscientious effort to carry out in all respects the obligations imposed upon it by the Congress. These obligations include the charge to investigate subversive activities, organizations, and propaganda and to report its findings to the

Congress together with appropriate recommendations for remedial legislation.

The hearing today should not be interpreted by anyone as an investigation initiated by the Congress into the field of religion. It is incidental to this hearing that the witness is a man of the cloth. No inference should be drawn from this hearing as to the loyalty or disloyalty of any member of the clergy. The committee has never instituted a hearing into any specific establishment of American life, whether the institution be labor, education, government, or entertainment, but has quite properly restricted its investigations and hearings to the area of individual representatives of those activities.

The committee will continue to confine its investigations to those individuals whose activities have brought them under Federal scrutiny. A Member of Congress has the individual right of expression guaranteed him by the Constitution of the United States. When acting in his individual capacity as a Member, his expressions are subject only to his own personal convictions. However, the statements of an individual Member are not the statements of the committee and cannot be interpreted as such unless the Member identifies his remarks as representing the committee position or opinion.

For that reason the Chair will not entertain any personalities in today's hearing, although the witness and several committee members concerned have engaged in controversy. It is the assumption of the Chair that the witness will likewise be expressing his own opinions and not those of any church or political organization. Since the present House Committee on Un-American Activities was organized at the commencement of the present session of Congress, it has been the policy of the committee not to admit open oral statements for the record. Written statements have been received by the committee on occasion, some of which have later been admitted into the record. However, in light of the somewhat unusual circumstances attending this hearing, and the witness' insistence that he be permitted to make such a statement, an exception to the general rule has been voted by the committee, and the witness today will be permitted to make an opening statement not to exceed 15 minutes in duration.

It should be understood that this does not establish a precedent in a matter of written or oral statements and that the standard procedure of the committee in this regard will be adhered to in all cases in the future.

It should be said at this point that Bishop Oxnam and the committee staff have maintained close liaison in all initial stages leading to today's hearing. Counsel for the witness has conferred with counsel for the committee, and every effort has been made to accommodate the witness in his reasonable requests.

Following the completion of the prepared statement by Bishop Oxnam, the committee will proceed in regular order to the customary interrogation.

The hearing will be concluded today and the Chair requests that counsel, committee members, and the witness be as brief as possible during the interrogation.

The committee is concerned only with determining the accuracy of information in its possession relative to the matters under consideration.

It is not concerned with factional disputes between various church groups or personalities. If the information contained in the committee files is inaccurate or misleading, it should and will be corrected to reflect the truth or falsity of the data.

I should mention also that the members of the audience are here as guests of the Congress of the United States. In order to conduct this hearing in a proper, efficient manner, it is necessary that we maintain order. So, therefore, no indications of approval or disapproval of anything any member of the committee says or any witness says will be tolerated by the committee.

Mr. Counsel, will you please call the witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will Bishop Oxnam please step forward?

Will you please raise your right arm to be sworn, sir?

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this committee do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Bishop OXNAM. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you kindly state your full name for the record, sir?

TESTIMONY OF BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, CHARLES C. PARLIN

Bishop OXNAM. My name is G. Bromley Oxman.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your address, please.

Bishop OXNAM. 100 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D. C.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see that you are accompanied by counsel. Will counsel please state his name and address for the record?

Mr. PARLIN. My name is Charles C. Parlin. My address and office is 20 Exchange Place, New York City. I am a member of the New York bar.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, may I interrupt just a moment? It has been the usual custom of the committee to ask the witness whether or not he objects to being photographed and being televised and also to having his picture taken by the newsreels. I believe that you have already stated that you are willing to have your pictures taken.

Bishop OXNAM. I have no objection, Mr. Chairman. I take it that the battery of cameras will not remain here through the entire statement.

Mr. VELDE. Well, I'll ask the cameramen, in order that we might follow the usual procedure, to take their pictures at the present time and then desist after the hearing has commenced.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Parlin, it is my understanding that you have received copies of the rules of procedure of this committee and that you fully understand the rules and the position of counsel in this congressional hearing. Am I correct, sir?

Mr. PARLIN. I have received the rules, and I think I understand them.

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe at this time, sir, Bishop Oxnam has a prepared written statement to read.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, and I would ask the members of the committee to please not interfere with the bishop's reading, and wait until after

the bishop has finished with his statement to question him, if you have any questions concerning it.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I have requested opportunity to appear voluntarily before this committee, in public session, to secure redress for the damage done to me by the release of information in the files of this committee. I deeply appreciate the grant of this privilege. Such releases, made at various times for a period of nearly 7 years, have contained material, much of which is irrelevant and immaterial, some of which is false and some of which is true, but all prepared in a way capable of creating the impression that I have been and am sympathetic to communism, and therefore subversive.

These files, so released, have been used by private agencies as evidence of Communist sympathies. A member of this committee apparently drew that conclusion. Speaking on the work of this committee, upon the floor of the House of Representatives itself, he said:

Bishop Bromley Oxnam has been to the Communist front what Man-O-War was to thoroughbred horseracing, and no one except the good bishop pays much attention to his fulminations these days. Having served God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week over such a long period of time, it is no great wonder that the bishop sees an investigating committee in every vestry. If reprinting Bishop Oxnam's record of aid and comfort to the Communist front would serve any useful purpose, I would ask permission to insert it here, but suffice it to say that the record is available to any Member who cares to request it from the committee.

If a member of the committee can be so misled by this material, it is no wonder that uninformed citizens are similarly misled.

When I declare, "I believe in God, the Father, Almighty," I affirm the theistic faith and strike at the fundamental fallacy of communism, which is atheism. I thereby reaffirm the basic conviction upon which this Republic rests, namely, that all men are created by the Eternal and in His image, beings of infinite worth, members of one family, brothers. We are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights. The State does not confer them; it merely confirms them. They belong to man because he is a son of God. When I say, "I believe in God," I am also saying that moral law is written into the nature of things. There are moral absolutes. Marxism, by definition, rules out moral absolutes. Because I believe the will of God is revealed in the Gospel of Christ, I hold that all historically conditioned political, economic, social, and ecclesiastical systems must be judged by the Gospel, not identified with it. This is to say, I reject communism, first, because of its atheism.

When I declare, "I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord," I am affirming faith in a spiritual view of life. By so doing, I repudiate the philosophy of materialism upon which communism is based and thereby undermine it. I reject the theory of social development that assumes social institutions and even morality are determined by the prevailing mode of production. When I accept the law of love taught by Christ and revealed in His person, I must, of necessity, oppose to the death a theory that justifies dictatorship with its annihilation of freedom. I am not an economist, but have studied sufficiently to be convinced that there are basic fallacies in Marxian economics. Believing as I do that personality is a supreme

good and that personality flowers in freedom, I stand for the freeman in the free society, seeking the truth that frees. I hold that the freeman must discover concrete measures through which the ideals of religion may be translated into the realities of world law and order, economic justice, and racial brotherhood.

As a result of long study and of prayer I am by conviction pledged to the free way of life and opposed to all forms of totalitarianism, left or right, and to all tendencies toward such practices at home or abroad. Consequently, I have been actively opposed to communism all my life. I have never been a member of the Communist Party. My opposition to communism is a matter of public record in books, numerous articles, addresses, and sermons, and in resolutions I have drafted or sponsored in which powerful religious agencies have been put on record as opposed to communism. It is evidenced likewise in a life of service and the sponsorship of measures designed to make the free society impregnable to Communist attack.

Loyalty to my family, my church, and my country are fundamental to me; and when any man or any committee questions that loyalty, I doubt that I would be worthy of the name American if I took it lying down.

There are three considerations I desire to lay before this committee:

First, this committee has followed a practice of releasing unverified and unevaluated material designated as "information" to citizens, organizations, and Members of Congress. It accepts no responsibility for the accuracy of the newspaper clippings recorded and so released; and insists that the material does not represent an opinion or a conclusion of the committee. This material, officially released on official letterheads and signed by an official clerk, carried no disclaimer, in my case, and the recipient understandably assumed it did represent a conclusion. I am here formally to request that this file be cleaned up, that the committee frankly admit its inaccuracies and misrepresentations, and that this matter be brought to a close.

It is alleged that the committee has files on a million individuals, many of whom are among the most respected, patriotic, and devoted citizens of this Nation. This is not the proper place to raise questions as to the propriety of maintaining such vast files at public expense, but it is the proper place, in my case, to request that the practice of releasing unverified and unevaluated material, for which the committee accepts no responsibility, cease. It can be shown that these reports are the result of inexcusable incompetence or of slanted selection—the result being the same in either case—namely, to question loyalty, to pillory or to intimidate the individual, to damage reputation, and to turn attention from the Communist conspirator who pursues his nefarious work in the shadows while a patriotic citizen is disgraced in public.

The preparation and publication of these files puts into the hands of irresponsible individuals and agencies a wicked tool. It gives rise to a new and vicious expression of Ku-Kluxism, in which an innocent person may be beaten by unknown assailants, who are cloaked in anonymity and at times immunity, and whose whips are cleverly constructed lists of so-called subversive organizations and whose floggings appear all too often to be sadistic in spirit rather than patriotic in purpose.

I had planned at this point to set forth specifications of what I believe is false. The rules of this committee give me but 15 minutes for this statement. The specifications cannot be listed in 15 minutes. Therefore, I must respectfully request the committee members, or its counsel to question me concerning some of the material released by the committee, namely:

First, a release dated July 3, 1946, in which it is alleged I sponsored The [American] League Against War and Fascism, and in which it is suggested by implication that I would substitute dialectical materialism for religious freedom.

Second, a release dated September 4, 1946, in which it is alleged that I am "referred to as a collectivist bishop," that I presided at a meeting addressed "by one B. Gebert, president of the Polish section of the International Workers' Order," that I have been "associated with several groups in which Langston Hughes has also held membership."

Third, a release dated September 13, 1950, in which quoting the Daily Worker as authority, I am alleged to have been invited by the Government of Yugoslavia to tour that country, in which I am alleged to have written an article for Stalin for a magazine called Classmate.

Fourth, releases of different dates alleging I have delivered an address to the prisoners of the Indiana State Reformatory, February 10, 1930.

Fifth, a letter from Mr. Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., dated March 21, 1953, relative to covering letters alleged to accompany releases.

Sixth, a release sent out by the chairman of this committee dated March 31, 1953.

Seventh, letters from 2 members of this committee, 1 dated March 19, 1953, and the other alleging the committee did not release this material, dated March 13, 1953.

If I may be asked questions concerning these items, I will leave it to any fair-minded man whether I have been misrepresented. In this connection I would like to file with the committee a bibliography covering my personal position relative to communism.

OXNAM EXHIBIT No. 1-A

PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, AND ADDRESSES BY BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COMMUNISM

1. The Episcopal Address, delivered to the General Conference of the Methodist Church, Boston, Mass., May 1948 (Methodist Publishing House, pp. 33-46.)
2. How Protestants Fight Communism, Look magazine, October 11, 1949.
3. How to Uncover Communists, Parade magazine, June 28, 1953.
4. On What Basis Can Our Differences With Russia Be Solved? America's Town Meeting of the Air, September 30, 1947, published by the Town Hall, Inc.
5. The Protestant Contribution to a Christian Peace. An address delivered at Reformation Day Service, Cleveland, Ohio, October 27, 1946.
6. Resolution adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Columbus, Ohio, 1936, on Social and Economic Questions.
7. The United Front, a Menace, in syndicated column entitled "Facing Facts, September 18, 1935.
8. Prayer offered at the American-Soviet Friendship Rally, Madison Square Garden, New York City, November 16, 1947, appearing in Readers' Scope.

9. *The Christian's Vocation*, published by the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1950, Selections, pp. 37, 38, 67-69, 81, 121-123, 49-51.
10. *By This Sign Conquer, A Study in Contemporary Crucifixion and Crusade*, the Merrick Lectures delivered at Ohio Wesleyan University. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1942, pp. 107, 172, and 173.
11. *Youth and the New America*, published by the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1928, pp. 107, 108, and 110.
12. *The Church and Contemporary Change*, the Earl Lectures at the Pacific School of Religion, Macmillan Co., 1950, chap. I.
13. *The Stimulus of Christ*, Fleming H. Revell, 1948, pp. 65-67.
14. *On This Rock, The William Henry Hoover Lectureship on Christian Unity*, Harper & Bros., 1951, pp. 44 and 45.
15. *The Ethical Ideals of Jesus in a Changing World*, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1941, pp. 12-14, 101, 103-105, 112.
16. *Russian Impressions*, privately published by Jesse Ray Miller, Los Angeles, Calif., 1927, pp. 88 and 92.
17. *Facing the Future Unafraid*, Fleming H. Revell, 1944, pp. 20-22.
18. *Preaching in a Revolutionary Age*, The Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching, at Yale University, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1944, pp. 95, 98, 99, 195, and 196.
19. *Labor and Tomorrow's World*, the Fondren Lectures at Southern Methodist University, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945, pp. 131, 132, 135.
20. *Personalities in Social Reform*, The Ezra Squier Tipple Lectures at Drew Theological Seminary, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950, pp. 7 and 8.
21. *Behold Thy Mother*, The Macmillan Co., 1944, pp. 41 and 42.
22. *Summary of Impressions Following Visit to Russia*, Summer of 1934, from diary record of August 25, 1934.

Second, when I had the honor of debating this issue with the Honorable Donald L. Jackson, a member of this committee, he said, "The committee, in its work, accumulates all pertinent information relative to any given individual whose name is listed in the files. That is the only way by which one can determine the philosophical bent of any given individual."

Can the philosophy of an individual be determined by a scissors-and-paste process of cutting out clippings that damn? Why did the individual who clipped derogatory statements concerning me fail to clip such announcements as the following: My appointment by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to visit the Mediterranean Theater and the European Theater of Operations during the war; or my appointment by Secretary Forrestal as a member of the Secretary of the Navy's Civilian Advisory Committee; or the announcement that the Navy had awarded me the highly prized Certificate of Appreciation for services during the war; or that I had been invited to be the guest of Archbishop Damaskinos, then Regent of Greece, and that the King of Greece had awarded me the Order of the Phoenix; or that I had represented the American churches at the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury; or that I had been appointed by the President as a member of the President's Commission on Higher Education; or that I was chairman of the Commission approved by the President to study postwar religious conditions in Germany? This might be called pertinent information. I have held the highest offices it is in the power of fellow churchmen to confer upon me, such as the presidency of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. I am one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches, perhaps

the highest honor that can come to a clergyman. I hold positions of responsibility in the church I love and seek to serve, among them secretary of the Council of Bishops.

We cannot beat down the Communist menace by bearing false witness against fellow Americans. The Communist wants a divided America, an America whose citizens are suspicious of each other, an America without trust, an America open to infiltration. I believe this committee will wish to end a practice that plays into Communist hands.

Third, Congress is considering proposals for the reform of investigating committee procedures. It may, at first, seem drastic to propose that the so-called public files be closed out, but is there any need of any file other than the investigative files as they have been recently described? Could not all the material that is of value in the public files be included in the investigative files? If, for purposes of education or exposure, the committee decides that public statements must be made, is there any reason why a careful statement that will stand scrutiny cannot be made by studying the material in the investigative files? The committee informs us that it does not vouch for the accuracy of the public files, that everything in those files is available to the public elsewhere. Why, then, should public money be spent in maintaining such public files? Would it not be well for the committee to appoint a subcommittee to investigate its own files and those who compiled them, and to secure answers to questions such as the following: How much duplication is there in the public and investigative files of this committee and the files of the FBI? Is the FBI better equipped to get the facts on real subversives? Why was appendix IX withdrawn from the public, and why is it under lock and key in the Library of Congress? Was it because of inexcusable inaccuracies and vicious slanting of material? How much of it is still the core of the public files? If there is real misunderstanding, would it not be well to ascertain who is misinforming whom and why?

I respectfully ask the committee to order that my file be corrected so as to tell the truth, if that is all that can be done; that it publicly announce its mistakes in my case; but better, that the public files be closed out, and the releases of unverified material described herein be discontinued. When Mr. Jackson discovered that he had misunderstood the chairman of this committee with reference to an announcement concerning possible investigation of churchmen, he in the manly, the American, the Christian way apologized on the floor of the House. It takes a big man to admit a fault. I respectfully request Mr. Jackson to apologize on the floor of the House for his unprecedented and untrue statements made there concerning me. I will be the first to shake hands with him and to call the incident closed.

I conclude: I believe the churches have done and are doing far more to destroy the Communist threat to faith and to freedom than all investigating committees put together. I think the chairman of this committee, after a friendly interview, concurred publicly in that statement when I made it in his presence. This committee might well have the cooperation of millions of citizens who belong to the churches if it would cease practices that many of us believe to be un-American and would turn itself to the real task and the real threat. But those citizens will never cooperate in practices that jeopardize the rights of freemen won after a thousand years' struggle for political and re-

ligious freedom. They will cooperate effectively with agencies everywhere that honestly seek to build the free society, where freemen may worship God according to the dictates of conscience, and serve their fellow men in accordance with Christ's law of love.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you, Bishop. I do regret that you did engage in personalities with a member of this committee in violation of my instructions in my opening statement. However, we are in a public forum here, discussing things frankly, and I believe it is the American way to handle this situation.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, will you allow me to apologize if I did? The statement was sent to your counsel before the hearing and discussed, and I thought that there was no objection since Mr. Jackson was speaking upon the work of the committee itself. If I violated the rules, I am very, very sorry and hasten to apologize.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. May I say that I take no personal exception. While I do not agree with some of the premises upon which the witness bases his contentions, I feel that he should be given every opportunity to speak his mind freely.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you, sir.

We do have some additional questions relative to some of the matters which are in your file and some of the matters which have been mentioned by you, and we, of course, as representatives of the American people, want to clear these up. I feel the only way for the committee properly to understand the whole situation and for the record to be correct is to go into these matters thoroughly in this hearing today. Therefore, I direct counsel to ask questions and to follow the normal course of procedure of this committee.

Mr. Counsel, will you please begin your questioning of the witness, and I will ask that the witness, as nearly as possible, confine the answers to the subject matter of the question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, the original report prepared by predecessors to this committee has been put in issue by the witness in the statement he just delivered. He also made reference to a detailed reply to that report in which he presented, point by point, his personal explanations.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that in the interest of fairness and in the interest of creating a record which will present the full picture of all viewpoints concerning the matter being heard here today, we should incorporate into the record both the statement put out by the predecessors to this committee and the answer which Bishop Oxnam has caused to be published. Therefore, I request at this time that both these documents be incorporated in toto into this record, marked "Oxnam Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2."

Mr. JACKSON. One question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Do I understand this to be the original report and the reply of the witness as reported in a local newspaper?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Is that correct, Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection the material will be admitted into the record at this point.

(The statement and reply referred to were marked "Oxnam Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2" and were received in evidence as Oxnam Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2.)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 1

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Subject: G. Bromley Oxnam

Public records, files, and publications of this committee reveal the following information concerning the individual named above:

The Washington Star of February 10, 1930, carries a news item datelined Indiana State Reformatory, February 9. The article refers to a speech made by Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, president of De Pauw University, to the inmates of the reformatory. Dr. Oxnam is reported as decrying the practice of nations in entering into secret treaties, and declaring that the slogan of "America First" must be interpreted as meaning America first in world service, and not "to be the first to go into Mexico to steal oil lands."

A letterhead of the League for the Organization of Progress dated February 2, 1931, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam, president, De Pauw University, as a member of the board. The League for the Organization of Progress has never been cited as a front organization. It was an international organization founded in Paris in 1912, with headquarters in Bern, Switzerland. The American office was located at Yellow Springs, Ohio. The league has long been out of existence.

A letterhead of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, dated 1932, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the national committee.

The National Religion and Labor Foundation, which has not been cited as a front organization, was founded in 1932 by Francis J. McConnell, Jerome Davis, and John A. Ryan. The official publication was Economic Justice. The first issue of Economic Justice (November 1932) printed a cartoon of Jesus by Art Young, New Masses cartoonist. With the cartoon of Jesus appeared these words: "Reward for Information Leading to Apprehension of Jesus Christ. Wanted—for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy, Vagrancy, and Conspiring to 'Overthrow the Established Government.'" The National Religion and Labor Foundation apparently is still in existence. There is no record in the public files of this committee showing Dr. Oxnam's disaffiliation with that organization.

On January 30, 1933, the Fellowship of Reconciliation released a petition addressed to the President of the United States urging the recognition of the Soviet Union. The name of G. Bromley Oxnam, president of De Pauw University, appears as one of the signers.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, allegedly a strictly pacifist organization, was organized in 1915 and is the American section of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Organized under the alleged motive to reconcile people, it maintains that class war is necessary and that all must work for the reorganization of society, and replace the present system of individual capitalism by collective ownership. The public records and files of this committee contain no further reference to any affiliation of Bishop Oxnam with the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

A letterhead of the Committee on Militarism in Education, dated October 1, 1935, reflects the name of Bromley Oxnam as a member of its national council. Kirby Page, a member of the national council, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on June 15, 1943. He stated that the Committee on Militarism in Education was opposed to military education in civilian schools. The following is quoted from a letter of the Committee on Militarism in Education dated September 22, 1930:

* * * Militarism in education goes on, accumulating power and tradition, aided by War Department money and resources, * * * by propoganda, glorified by every device of military romance in literally hundreds of American colleges, universities, and high schools, building that blind, unreasoning, emotional response to military symbols which has so often swayed and deceived men in a crisis. Against this glorification of the military method and machine, the peace movement has accomplished little as yet. The spearhead of the struggle against militarism in schools and colleges has been this committee. It has waged peace with intelligence and courage, showing not only the zeal of the peace advocate but the sound methods of the social scientist. Specializing on this one issue, it occupies a unique place in current peace endeavors, duplicating no other agency. * * *

The Daily Worker of September 24, 1937, page 6, contains an article about a meeting to be held at Madison Square Garden on October 1. This meeting, held under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People, featured William E. Dodd as the speaker. The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as a sponsor of the meeting.

Letterheads of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy dated July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939, list the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a national sponsor.

A photostatic copy of a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated April 6, 1939, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a national sponsor. The June-July 1941 issue of the Protestant Digest reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as an editorial adviser. A Call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, to be held November 6-8, 1943 reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor of that congress.

The Daily Worker of October 6, 1944 (p. 9), carries a news item concerning a rally sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, celebrating the 27th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union and the 11th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is listed as one of the sponsors.

A letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated March 13, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor.

A letterhead of the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated December 15, 1943, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as chairman of the executive board.

The Washington Daily News of April 7, 1947, contains a news item concerning the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In the article, the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is listed as one who had withdrawn from the organization. The date of Bishop Oxnam's withdrawal is not mentioned.

On December 26, 1941, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties issued a press release to the effect that an open letter had been addressed to the President and the Congress of the United States, opposing antilabor legislation as a dire threat to the unity essential for the defeat of Japan and her axis partners. The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as one of the signers of the letter.

In January 1943, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed a message to the House of Representatives. This message was a plea for the discontinuance of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. One of the reasons given was: "The Dies committee, by continuing and repeated attacks on our great ally, the Soviet Union, has utilized its resources to obstruct the cooperation of the United Nations, which is a prerequisite for victory." The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as one of the signers of the message.

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges issued an undated press release in regard to an open letter addressed to President Roosevelt by more than 300 clergymen throughout the country, urging that the deportation order against Harry Bridges be set aside. The letter, dated April 22, 1943, and signed by the Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons states, in part, "Clearly, Mr. Bridges has aroused the animosity of an influential minority because of his successful union activities and his political and economic beliefs." The name of the Rt. Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist bishop, Boston, Mass., is listed as one who joined with Bishop Parsons in signing the letter.

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, located at 1775 Broadway, New York City, was 1 of 4 such organizations created for the defense of Harry Bridges. The others were: The Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges at 1265 Broadway, New York City; the Harry Bridges Defense Committee of San Francisco, with branches in Los Angeles, Seattle and Portland; and the Harry Bridges Victory Committee of San Francisco.

The Attorney General of the United States has listed the Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges as a Communist organization. The same classification applies to the other three organizations.

A letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union, dated February 8, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of its national committee. A Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States (Fish committee), in a report dated January 17, 1931, said:

The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf

of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly; but it is quite apparent that the main function of the ACLU is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag and erecting a Soviet Government in place of the republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution.

In a report dated January 3, 1939, a Special Committee To Investigate Un-American Activities and Propaganda in the United States (Dies committee) said:

The committee heard testimony with reference to the Civil Liberties Union. Some witnesses listed this organization as communistic, while other witnesses denied it was communistic. We received in evidence a number of pamphlets distributed by the Civil Liberties Union, which speak for themselves. From the evidence before us, we are not in a position to definitely state whether or not this organization can properly be classed as a Communist organization.

A letterhead of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, dated January 21, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor.

A letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service dated October 4, 1928, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as executive secretary, while another letterhead of the same organization dated April 12, 1946, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the executive committee.

The Bureau County Republican of May 18, 1939, carries a front-page story concerning the Methodist Federation for Social Service. The following appears in the article:

Five bishops of the new unified Methodist Church in session at Kansas City last week aligned themselves with the radical Methodist Federation for Social Service which conducted a conference running simultaneously for the Uniting Conference. Three other bishops, at meetings of the federation, were declared to be in sympathy with the organization, making 8 bishops favoring their cause out of a total of more than 40 bishops present at the Uniting Conference. While the number of bishops endorsing the radical organization was small in proportion to the total number, yet their influence was tremendous over the entire session. It was so strong that no objection to their activities was expressed from any quarter. The federation suffered only one defeat and that was when the Uniting Conference passed a motion to delete a pronouncement in favor of social economic planning from the discipline of the united church.

The five bishops endorsed the federation's platform for the overthrow of the present capitalistic system in the United States and favored its replacement with a social-planning order. The pamphlets of the federation, distributed at the session, declare that under the new social order private ownership of property is to come to an end. Under their system there are to be no capitalists. Private property, according to the pamphlets, is to be taken over without compensation to the owners and operated by "useful social workers."

Four prominent bishops of the Methodist church attended the dinner of the Methodist Federation for Social Service held at the YMCA Building. The bishops occupied seats at the speakers' table and made addresses. A fifth bishop, Edgar Blake, of the Detroit area, sent word that he was unable to be present on account of conference work, but extended his best wishes for the success of the federation of which he is a member of the executive committee.

The four bishops who made speeches enulogizing the federation are:

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of the New York City area, president of the American Federation for Social Service.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, formerly of the Omaha area, assigned last week to the Boston area.

Bishop James C. Baker, of the San Francisco area.

Bishop Paul B. Kern, of the Nashville, Tenn., area.

* * * Bishop Oxnam, who as a student got his training from Dr. Harry F. Ward, at the Theological Institute, was the first speaker on the program. He was introduced by Bishop McConnell as a man who comes out flatfooted on any principle for which he stands and does it without mincing words. Bishop McConnell said Bishop Oxnam reminds him of a railroad train which starts rather idly, but steams up as it goes along and gradually makes high speed at the climax.

Bishop Oxnam said he thoroughly endorses the Methodist Federation for Social Service and the things for which it stands. He read from the masthead of the federation's literature the following statement, which outlines the federation's purposes:

"The Methodist Federation for Social Service is an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks

to replace it with social, economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinction and privilege."

The economic plan referred to by Bishop Oxnam is further elucidated in the pamphlet containing the platform of the federation.

On page 11 the pamphlets declare "Social economic planning can give everybody plenty and security."

On page 12: "Under social ownership there won't be any capitalists and all the returns will go direct to the people."

Page 10: "The only country that has a complete social economic plan is the Soviet Union."

On page 13 the plan of the Soviet Union of Russia is again commended. On a dozen pages the pamphlets declare private property will be taken from the present owners without compensation. The owners, however, are to be given jobs by the useful social workers and it is said they ought to feel grateful to be permitted to become a part of the planning scheme.

Bishop Oxnam paid a high tribute to the federation and to its secretary, Dr. Ward, whom he regarded as one of the greatest leaders in the new industrial, social, economic planning movement. Bishop Oxnam said that as a student he took dictation from Dr. Ward in the writing of some of his books known to all radical leaders * * *.

The Washington Post of November 24, 1948, page 1, carries a news item datelined Newark, N. J., November 23, regarding a speech made by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam before the Newark Conference of the Methodist Church. Bishop Oxnam is reported to have denounced the Committee on Un-American Activities. He is quoted as saying:

Protestants believe that the conspirators who would destroy our freedom can be ferreted out and properly punished better by the painstaking and patriotic procedures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation than by the heresy and un-American procedures of this committee.

Bishop Oxnam was evidently referring to a pamphlet issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities entitled, "100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion," wherein it was reported that the Methodist Federation for Social Action, while not an official church unit, is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party.

The Washington Star of December 8, 1948, at page 7, carries a news item datelined Buck Hills Falls, Pa., December 8, in which Bishop Oxnam is reported as having said that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is un-American itself for attempting to pin the Communist label on some churchmen and church groups. Also, Bishop Oxnam is reported as saying that such "absurd charges" are "disguised efforts to silence men on the pulpit by threatening to call them Communist."

The Daily Worker of December 1, 1947, at page 3, carries a news item regarding a letter made public by the arts, sciences, and professions council of the Progressive Citizens of America, denouncing the motion-picture producers for their "shocking and degrading capitulation to the discredited and irresponsible House Committee on Un-American Activities." The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as one of the signers of this letter.

The New York Times of February 24, 1949, pages 1 and 3, contains a news item regarding the presentation of the annual award of the Churchman to Bishop Oxnam. It was reported that Bishop Oxnam said that the United States must not flirt with Franco to stop Stalin. Bishop Oxnam is quoted as saying: "We cannot expect the common man to believe our democratic pronouncements if we make deals with dictators, or ally ourselves with political, economic, or ecclesiastical reaction."

The Daily Worker of June 22, 1949, carries a news item datelined Boston, June 21, to the effect that Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam assailed congressional witchhunts, and said:

Freemen may well be alarmed at the action of the House un-American Activities Committee in asking for a list of textbooks used by schools and colleges. At the very moment calm and critical minds are essential, leaders in the grip of fear become hysterical and adopt procedures destructive of democracy. More time given to constructive legislation designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of dynamic democracy, and less time to character assassination would produce greater benefits.

The Washington Evening Star of May 26, 1950, carries a news item datelined Boston, May 26. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is reported as calling for joint action between Protestants and Catholics to meet the onslaught of communism

Bishop Oxnam addressed a letter to the Committee on Un-American Activities on May 11, 1950. In it, he stated that he never belonged to the American League Against War and Fascism. He further stated he thought it would be fundamentally unfair to say he belonged to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship without saying that affiliation with this organization was during the war, when Russia was one of our allies.

In another letter dated May 16, 1950, Bishop Oxnam states that the American Civil Liberties Union is not, and has never been, a Communist organization; that the Committee on Militarism in Education was never a Communist organization; that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an absolute pacifist organization and he never belonged to it; that he did belong to the Methodist Federation for Social Action but no longer is a member; that he did serve on the advisory committee of the Protestant, but resigned.

In the third letter he wrote to the committee, dated February 12, 1951, Bishop Oxnam stated that he was never a member of the American Friends of the Chinese People; that he was never a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and never signed any statement of that organization; that he did authorize the use of his name by the American Friends for Spanish Freedom, and that he resigned from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship following the war.

(See list of cited organizations and publications.)

Organizations and publications mentioned herein which have been—

(1) Cited by the Special Committee and/or Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities;

(2) Cited by the United States Attorney General:

American Committee for Spanish Freedom (2)

American Friends of the Chinese People (1)

American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2)

American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2)

Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges (1) and (2)

Congress of American-Soviet Friendship (1)

Daily Worker (1)

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2)

New Masses (1) and (2)

Protestant Digest (1)

Mr. KUNZIG. Sir, just a few questions, a few routine questions, for the record.

Would you state where you were born?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir. I was born in Sonora, Calif., August 14, 1891.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you.

Now, I should like to turn first to discuss the Council of American-Soviet Friendship—first the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and also the national council.

I have here a document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 3" for identification which is a letterhead of the Massachusetts Council of the American-Soviet Friendship dated December 15, 1943, and listing the members of the executive board of which Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is shown as chairman. (See p. 3607.) Were you, sir, chairman of that group, and if so, when, and would you explain how you came to be chairman?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir. I was chairman of what I thought was called the executive committee of the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship. I was chairman—I don't seem to be able to find at the moment the release that—

Mr. KUNZIG. Take your time, sir. I know you have documents there.



Bishop OXNAM. That is quite all right. I was chairman of that group, I should say, from some time in 1942 to the time that I resigned from it, I think some time in 1943. I would like to find one paper here if you do not mind.

Mr. KUNZIG. Go right ahead. We will wait, of course.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; thank you, sir.

Did you wish me now, sir, having stated the approximate dates there, to state my relationship to that organization?

Mr. KUNZIG. Pardon me, sir, I did not hear that. I was questioned—

Bishop OXNAM. I beg your pardon. Do you wish me now to state my relationship to that particular organization?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; would you please.

Bishop OXNAM. Would you please note the dates. We were at war. Russia was one of our allies. I was approached in Boston asking whether or not I would be interested in a small organization whose sole purpose would be to deepen friendship between the American and the Russian peoples. I stated I was interested in deepening such friendship. I was invited to address certain meetings. One was called the Salute to our Russian Ally. I think the date of that was November 8, 1942. I did address that meeting.

The other sponsors of that particular meeting—I do not wish to take too much time because I know this is in the record that has just been introduced here.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, it is; I want to make it clear, it is in the record already.

Bishop OXNAM. Quite. I think for the public we ought to know that Secretary and Mrs. Cordell Hull, Lord and Lady Halifax, people of that kind, were likewise sponsors of that meeting. I thought I was in excellent company. I thought I was doing a patriotic service.

During the time that I served with that group I believe no subversive act of any kind was committed by any individual related to it, and I believe no statement was made at any meeting that I know anything about that in any way would be questioned from the standpoint of patriotism.

Mr. KUNZIG. Bishop, you were also, as I recall, one of the sponsors of the National Council of the American-Soviet Friendship as shown in this document, letterhead of that organization, marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 4" for identification. (See pp. 3608 and 3609.)

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, you were not only head of the Massachusetts council, but you were a sponsor of the national council?

Bishop OXNAM. During the time I served in Massachusetts, I received requests to act as a sponsor of the national organization. I accepted. I was invited subsequently to become a member of the board of directors. I did not accept that invitation. I was invited to certain other service which I did not accept, and subsequently resigned, not only from the Massachusetts council itself, when I moved to New York, but also from the national council itself.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I did not get the dates clearly, Witness. Maybe counsel can tell me.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes. I was elected a chairman of the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship on April 6, 1943. I

mentioned 1942 a moment or two ago. I am sorry. I was looking at the first approach by an individual and had his date in mind.

Mr. CLARDY. That caused me to ask the question because I was not sure whether I was incorrect or you were. That was the beginning date, and when was the end?

Bishop OXNAM. In August 1943, I resigned the chairmanship and told the group that I would not have accepted the post had I known it intended to undertake a financial appeal. In December 1945, it says in this record—I think that date was 1946. I believe this was a typographical error. I found that my name was being continued as honorary chairman. I was then a resident of New York, having gone there in 1944. I wrote them pointing that out and requesting that be discontinued.

Mr. CLARDY. You have the letter here?

Bishop OXNAM. You mean my letter?

Mr. CLARDY. That you wrote to them.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I can produce those letters if you wish.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you, you have answered my question.

Mr. KUNZIG. You say you resigned because they were undertaking a financial appeal?

Bishop OXNAM. Not solely because of that. I stated that if I had known that this organization was going to involve raising of money and so on, that I could not have given the time to do it. That was the point that I had in mind.

Mr. WALTER. Bishop, who asked you to join the Massachusetts organization?

Bishop OXNAM. I will be glad to read from a record that I have here, sir.

Mr. WALTER. That is in the record, so don't bother. I have not seen the record.

Bishop OXNAM. I do not think it is in this record.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say for the record that the—

Mr. WALTER. I would like to have an answer to that question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Pardon me, sir.

Bishop OXNAM. On November 19, Prof. Dirk J. Struik, I think his name is—

Mr. CLARDY. S-t-r-u-i-k?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote suggesting that an organization be formed—

To promote Soviet-American friendship both during wartime and in the period of postwar reconstruction. A better mutual understanding of the two great peoples is not only necessary for victory but is also a prerequisite for a lasting peace.

Mr. WALTER. Who is Professor Struik?

Bishop OXNAM. He was a professor in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; a professor, I believe, of mathematics. I had never met him before. When he extended the invitation, I asked my secretary to phone the Massachusetts Institute. They told me that he was a distinguished professor of mathematics. I believe they said he was a Dutchman.

Mr. WALTER. What has happened to him?

Bishop OXNAM. I do not know what has happened to him. I believe he has been indicted, if I recall correctly, in Massachusetts in connection with some subversive matters.

MR. KEARNEY. Is he indicted, Bishop, in connection with any espionage work?

BISHOP OXNAM. Frankly I do not know. I have had no touch with him at all, and during the days there I suppose I met him a half dozen times.

MR. WALTER. The fact of the matter is, this professor was a Russian spy, was he not?

BISHOP OXNAM. I do not know that, and frankly do not believe it. I have seen nothing—I mean, I just don't know anything about it, sir, except what I have read in the newspapers.

MR. KUNZIG. May I state something for the record, Mr. Walter, at this point?

MR. WALTER. I don't want to interrupt. Go ahead.

MR. KUNZIG. I should like to state for the record that Dirk J. Struik has been identified as a Communist Party member by Herbert Philbrick, the FBI undercover man, in public hearings before this committee July 23, 1951; by Dr. William T. Martin, a former Communist, head of the mathematics department at MIT who appeared in public hearings before this committee April 22, 1953; by Isadore Amdur, another former Communist, who is a professor at MIT who testified here April 22, 1953; and finally also by Dr. Norman Levinson, a former Communist, who appeared before this committee and who is also a professor at MIT and who appeared here April 23, 1953. They are official identifications, sir, of Dirk J. Struik.

BISHOP OXNAM. That is quite all right, but you are dealing with my relationship to this organization, it seems to me, and I tried to answer what my relationship was, and I am of the opinion that that organization rendered patriotic service at a time when Russia was an ally. I would have had nothing to do with it whatsoever if I had thought in any way that it had any other intention.

MR. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, also for the record, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, 1947 and 1948, and by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, as early as 1944, and by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948.¹

¹The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, p. 156; and by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948 report, pp. 321, 322, and 327.

The California Committee on Un-American Activities, in its 1948 report, pp. 321 and 322, described the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "the successor to the discredited Communist front, the Friends of the Soviet Union. The military alliance of the United States with Soviet Russia during World War II made it necessary for American Communists to discard its old vehicle, the Friends of the Soviet Union, and to replace it with the new, streamlined National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. A new technique of Communist propagandization and amalgamation of war unity and American-Soviet friendship emerged. The program and purposes of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship is set forth in one of its wartime pamphlets: '* * * To promote better understanding and strengthen friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union as essential to the winning of the war, and the establishment of worldwide democracy and enduring peace.'"

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, through its national chairman, Corliss Lamont, rejected a request of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to examine the books and records of the organization. Mr. Lamont and executive director Richard Morford were subsequently subpoenaed early in 1946 with instructions to produce the books of the organization, and the committee was again refused the records. Both Mr. Lamont and Mr. Morford were cited for contempt of Congress, but a grand jury indictment was returned only against Mr. Morford because Mr. Lamont had asserted that Mr. Morford was responsible for the books and files of the national council. Mr. Morford was convicted in court and sentenced to a 3-month jail term and a \$250 fine. Mr. Morford was still listed as executive director of the organization in the Daily Worker of February 7, 1952, p. 5. William Howard Melish was listed as chairman of the organization on a May 9, 1949, letterhead and in the Daily Worker of January 30, 1952, p. 8; Dr. John Adams Kingsbury was listed as national chairman of the organization in the Worker of November 17, 1952.

Mr. WALTER. Bishop, who invited you to join the national organization?

Bishop OXNAM. The invitation, I think, was a form invitation signed by Mr. Corliss Lamont; that is my recollection, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Corliss Lamont?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Bishop—

Bishop OXNAM. I am just wondering—I realize the impression that is being created here, Mr. Chairman, by this kind of procedure. I could read at this moment into the record, if you will allow me, a statement by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower to the national council of this organization dated November 1945, which reads:

American-Soviet friendship is one of the cornerstones—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, Bishop. I think we have been overly fair in granting you the privilege of making a statement.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I object to that ruling by the chairman. I think this witness ought to be privileged to read that statement by the President of the United States.

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Bishop OXNAM. This was a message to the national council dated November 1945, from then Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower:

American-Soviet friendship is one of the cornerstones on which the edifice of peace should be built. To achieve this friendship nothing is more important than mutual understanding on the part of each of the institutions, traditions, and customs of the other. As an American soldier and lover of peace I wish your council the utmost success in the worthy work it has undertaken.

Mr. Chairman, my relationship, I trust, was of similar nature and similar spirit.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly you should introduce anything that you want to, but my request was that you answer the questions that were put to you by counsel as closely to the subject matter as possible.

Bishop OXNAM. I will try to do so, sir.

Mr. VELDE. In connection with the various organizations and so forth for the orderly decorum and procedure.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, do I understand that you are ruling that the statement just read by the bishop is not going in the record?

Mr. VELDE. No, no, certainly not. The statement certainly should be in the record.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I address a question?

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Mr. CLARDY. Bishop, as I understand it, you were asked into the organization by Professor Struik without knowing anything about his background or his Communist connections, as I get it?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Clardy, when he came to see me or wrote this letter, I had never heard of him. I did the only thing, I think, that a person would normally do. I did have my secretary phone the university to find out who he was. The answer was the answer I reported a few moments ago. There is sometimes an assumption that you make many times in these organizations, sir. I suppose we met a few times. I do not know the man, and if it be he is involved, as has been suggested here, I regret the association far more than I can express.

Mr. CLARDY. I am sure you do, but the point I am trying to get at is you associated with him to some extent at least, but nothing that

he did or said alerted you to the fact that he was a Communist, as we have since discovered, did it?

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir; if he had—

Mr. CLARDY. The reason I am raising that point, Bishop, is this: You did associate with him for some time, and the fact that he was engaged in some activities that were contrary to the best interests of the Nation even to you did not become apparent. I am suggesting that merely in pointing out that there is something that this committee has a duty to perform. We discovered it. I am sorry that we did not discover it before you had that association, because I am sure you would not have associated with it had you known it.

That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Sir, I am puzzled here in one respect. You stated that you were active in this group, in the national council, and in the Massachusetts council, and you so stated in your reply, published in a daily newspaper here in Washington. Yet in 1946 in the Knoxville Journal, is published a letter which you wrote to a Reverend Cooper concerning an article in which you had been accused of being a member of these various organizations, and your answer at *that* time was:

As a matter of fact, I never belonged to the organizations mentioned, excepting the American Civil Liberties Union, and know nothing about most of them.

(See Oxnam Exhibit No. 5, opp. p. 3610.)

I just do not quite understand how you could say that you never belonged when you were talking in 1946, and in 1953 you say you did.

Bishop OXNAM. I can explain it very easily, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. Good.

Bishop OXNAM. I receive from 50 to 100 letters every day. It is something of a chore to answer them every morning. I have been plagued through the years by these lists that have come in from Mrs. [Elizabeth] Dilling, from the Council of Christian Laymen, and the like, asking, "Do you or do you not belong to this or the other." This minister, minister of the Methodist Church, wrote me a letter because I was announced to speak to the Tennessee State Teachers' Association at Knoxville. Some evangelist there whom I do not know had protested my coming, and I think had even gone so far as to try to organize what he called "Keep Oxnam Out of Town" clubs.

Mr. CLARDY. I did not hear that.

Bishop OXNAM. "Keep Oxnam Out of Town" clubs.

Mr. SCHERER. You say that was a Methodist minister?

Bishop OXNAM. No; I say that was an evangelist who did this. No Methodist minister would do that, sir. I was going there to see Mr. David Lilienthal, my friend, at the TVA, and this letter came with a list of them. I dictated an answer, and, I am very sorry, I made a mistake in that. I said—I think it reads there—that as a matter of fact, I never belonged. Is that not what the statement is? I never belonged to any of these organizations except the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Bishop OXNAM. Now, as a matter of fact, there were 2 or 3 organizations there to which I had belonged. I noted that within a few days.

I wrote that minister and made a correction to read that I do not belong to any of these organizations except the American Civil Liberties Union, and that was the way the matter rested. I went there—and you may have noticed that two-page spread which the editor put in his paper after I had spoken to the teachers—and if you will note the reproductions that are there to evidence subversive activities, they include the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church.

He even includes this appendix IX, which I believe the committee itself has withdrawn, and notes where I am listed in it; and if you will note the others there, I have nothing more to say except to say I made the proper correction to the minister, and I think that should close the matter.

Mr. CLARDY. May I make a remark? Bishop, I can see Congressmen are not the only ones who make those kinds of mistakes.

Bishop OXNAM. It is an embarrassing thing when one does, Mr. Clardy, and I am apologizing for it.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Bishop, I realize a considerable period of time has elapsed since your communication with the gentleman at Knoxville. Do your files contain those letters which might be incorporated—

Bishop OXNAM. I wish they did, Mr. Jackson. I have moved, and when a bishop moves he usually has a very large file to deal with. If you receive 50 to 100 letters a day, you are dealing with 25,000 letters a year, perhaps, and in 5 years it is an immense file. When I left Boston I cleared those files, keeping the matters that had to do with character problems and property and the like. Similarly when I left New York. I hoped I had this file. I found that I did not. I telephoned this minister and I asked him—or rather I had my secretary telephone him and ask him—if he had these letters. He said he did have the letters and would send them to me. He sent one of them. I phoned him again and asked for the other. He tells me he will try to find the other, and I hope to be able to make it a matter of record.

Mr. JACKSON. If you do receive them, would you be kind enough to let the committee have them?

Bishop OXNAM. I would be very happy to, sir.²

Mr. KUNZIG. You undoubtedly know that the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship grew out of Friends of the Soviet Union, another organization cited by the Attorney General of the United States of America, and that came originally from Friends of Soviet Russia, another one of these organizations. Do you recall whether, as is stated in the Los Angeles Times—I am going back now to Thursday morning, April 26, 1923—do you recall whether you presided and spoke August 30, 1922, at a meeting in Blanchard Hall out in Los Angeles, called by the Friends of Soviet Russia, to raise funds for the Russian Independent Corp., and so forth, and so on?

Bishop OXNAM. Would you be good enough to show me your photostat there?

Mr. KUNZIG. Surely. I hand you a document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 6." (See pp. 3612X3617.)

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir, I have a copy of that here. I will file with the committee from this record—which happens to be a bound record

² See pp. 3610 and 3611 for letters on this subject which were inserted by Bishop Oxnam, and were made Oxnam exhibits Nos. 5-A and 5-B.

of the year 1923, when I was young and was foolish enough to run for the board of education in the city of Los Angeles—I am wiser now, and I do not think a minister should do that anyway, but I did not know better at the time. I ran for the board of education. It was rather a bitter campaign. I therefore have a complete record. In this record will be the original clipping from the Los Angeles Times and a letter written the next day protesting what I thought to be a very vicious use of my name. I never authorized my name for that meeting. I did not appear at that meeting. I therefore did not speak at that meeting. I had nothing whatsoever to do with that meeting, and I will be glad to show that to the counsel, or if you wish to take the time, I will find the letter and read it, which was addressed to the Los Angeles Times the day following. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 6-A, p. 3618.)

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, in order to save time and proceed in a regular manner, the committee will take—if it is satisfactory with you—your information under advisement and insert the pertinent parts in the record.

Bishop OXNAM. I will appreciate it, sir, or I can find it shortly here.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire one question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Did your letter of protest find its way into the [Los Angeles] Times also, or do you have merely the copy of the letter itself.

Bishop OXNAM. I have the copy, and I cannot answer your first question, Mr. Clardy. The Los Angeles Times reprinted, I think, 2 long letters addressed to it during the campaign; I think 1 because the Times was of the opinion that what had been stated was libelous, and it therefore did reprint the letter in its entirety. However, I cannot answer specifically on this without checking it at the moment.

Mr. CLARDY. You could give us an approximate date so we could run it down in the Library of Congress.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I can give you exactly the date, sir; in fact, Mr. Kunzig has the date on the photostat there.

Mr. CLARDY. We have the date of the original. I was thinking of any possible subsequent date.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. April 26, 1923.

Bishop OXNAM. I think it is 1923 but I may be wrong.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your testimony is that you never were there and you never made any speech to this organization?

Bishop OXNAM. That is correct, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is what we are here for today, to get the record straight now.

Bishop OXNAM. Of course this has never been released in your files, in any of the releases that I have seen. This is something new to me as far as your files are concerned. Why this has been looked up recently, I don't know.

Mr. VELDE. Well, Bishop, of course that is exactly what we are trying to do, to straighten out the files so that they conform to the facts of the particular case and that is the reason we appreciate your answering some questions and will appreciate your answering them, sticking as nearly as possible to the questions.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, as a member of the committee, is this incident something about which there has been no release and about which the Bishop has had no previous information from the committee, or is it something about which he has had previous information from the committee? I would like to know that myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, as far as I understand it and as I discussed it with the Bishop some time ago, we tried to make it clear again and again and again in relation to the files that there are public files of the committee and then there are files of the committee with executive testimony or with confidential material in them which are not released to the public, all of which files were used by the committee in any interrogation of any kind of any witness who appears before this committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I realize that, but I do not find it has ever come to my attention before.

Mr. KUNZIG. These files have been available, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I mention that I have known about this and probably somewhere along the way the Bishop tossed a couple of bricks and I am glad to find that you did not.

Mr. JACKSON. I am confident that the Bishop has no objection to answering any question that may be related to the subject-matter today. That is the only way that this matter is going to be resolved. If information which was not contained in the public files is information which might in the future cause embarrassment, I think that we are in agreement, or at least I assume that we should be, on getting it straightened out at this time.

Bishop OXNAM. Do you wish me to answer that, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. May I ask if you are willing to answer questions regarding any of these organizations that you belonged to in the past?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I came to get the files as released corrected, but I am very eager to have anything that anybody can bring up at any time during my life that anybody thinks is necessary to be brought out so that that matter can be cleared up once and for all. It is extremely embarrassing, sir, to have these matters released and then reprinted by private agencies to the damage of one's reputation. Therefore my answer to you, sir, is, of course.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly, and I am sure the committee members are agreed that they want to thank you for your cooperation in that regard.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Before going on to another point, I offer Oxnam exhibits Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 in evidence.

Mr. VELDE. The exhibits will be admitted in the record.

(The documents referred to marked "Oxnam Exhibits Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6" for identification, were received in evidence.)³

³ Oxnam exhibits Nos. 5-A, 5-B, and 6-A, received from Bishop Oxnam after the hearing, were ordered to be inserted in the record by the committee.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 3

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Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The November 14th meeting held at Symphony Hall by our Council was an exciting demonstration of the support for American-Soviet Friendship by Massachusetts citizens. In his greeting to the meeting, Gov. Saltonstall said... "The peac of Moscow heralds a new era in international relations. We can say to the Russian people that together we will go forward to victory and lasting peace".

Close, friendly collaboration between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is indispensable in carrying out the decisions of the Moscow Conference. The American labor movement, with its millions of organized workers, can play a tremendous role in implementing these decisions.

A long list of American labor leaders, headed by William Green, Philip Murray, and A. F. Whitney sponsored the recent Congress of American-Soviet Friendship held in New York City. William McPettridge, national president, Building Service Union, A.F.L., chaired the Trade Union Panel, to which Massachusetts labor sent delegates. Joseph Salerno, of the Massachusetts State CIO was a featured speaker. Among those who sent greetings was Daniel Tobin, national head of the Teamsters Union.

The Trade Union Committee of the Massachusetts Council will be glad to furnish speakers for brief reports to your unions on the New York Congress proceedings, and information about the work of the trade union committee of our Council.

We hope to hear from you.

Fraternally yours,

*E. A. Johnson
 J. Arthur Moriarty
 Joseph Salerno
 Joseph Fissone
 Richard Linsley*

uopwa/3

*E. A. Johnson
 J. Arthur Moriarty
 Joseph Salerno
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OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 4

(Part 1)

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August 12, 1953

Reverend D. B. Cooper
The Methodist Church
Fries, Virginia

My dear Brother Cooper:

In the aftermath of the Oxnam hearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the letters which Bishop Oxnam wrote to you when you were in Tennessee have come into discussion. I believe that in the testimony Bishop Oxnam said that he did not longer have copies of these letters.

I am wondering whether you have such copies, and particularly the second letter which he wrote to you correcting a mistake that had been made in the first one. If you have a copy of this letter I would be glad to have you send it to me.

If you do not have a copy I wonder if you recall whether the Knoxville paper, I think it was the Sentinel, made the correction following Bishop Oxnam's action in supplying additional data to you? Your response in this matter will help us all greatly.

Very truly yours,



T. Otto Nall, Editor

TON:dc

Who Told the TRUTH about Oxman

Journal

Richard Oxman's Record Shows Ferventness For Red Goals

Richard Oxman, a prominent figure in the American Civil Liberties Union, has been the subject of a recent investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Oxman's record shows a long history of support for the Soviet Union and other communist fronts. He has been active in the American Civil Liberties Union since its inception in 1946, and has held various positions of leadership within the organization. Oxman's activities have been closely scrutinized by the House committee, which has accused him of being a "front" for the Soviet Union. Oxman has denied these charges and has claimed that his activities are purely for the benefit of civil liberties. The investigation has raised questions about Oxman's loyalty and the extent of his support for the Soviet Union. Oxman's record shows a consistent pattern of support for the Soviet Union and other communist fronts, and this has led to his being named as a "front" by the House committee. Oxman's activities have been a source of controversy and debate, and his support for the Soviet Union has been widely criticized. Oxman's record shows a long history of support for the Soviet Union and other communist fronts, and this has led to his being named as a "front" by the House committee. Oxman's activities have been a source of controversy and debate, and his support for the Soviet Union has been widely criticized.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
1200 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
Telephone MA 2-1400

FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
LARRY and CHARLES LASTER, charged by the National Labor Relations Board with the violation of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
WALTER and BEATRICE WATSON, charged by the National Labor Relations Board with the violation of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

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COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION
227 Broadway, New York City

MEMBERS: [List of names]

REPORT: [Text]

League for the Organization of Progress
1100 Broadway, New York City

FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
LARRY and CHARLES LASTER, charged by the National Labor Relations Board with the violation of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

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NEWS RELEASE
THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD IN THE CASE OF LARRY and CHARLES LASTER AND WALTER and BEATRICE WATSON.

EDUCATORS URGED RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA
MIGHT IMPROVE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND
MIGHT PROMOTE JOBS IN RUSSIA

National Education and Labor Relations Board
1100 Broadway, New York City

FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
LARRY and CHARLES LASTER, charged by the National Labor Relations Board with the violation of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
WALTER and BEATRICE WATSON, charged by the National Labor Relations Board with the violation of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

Embassador Dodd to Speak at Protest Rally Against Tokio Invasion of China
Friday, November 11, 1949
11:00 A.M. at the University of Chicago



FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
LARRY and CHARLES LASTER, charged by the National Labor Relations Board with the violation of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

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Oxman's
Inhuman Heritage

The Knows the Journal is submitting the report of Charles B. Bishop on the Oxman case to the public. Bishop's report is a detailed and thorough investigation of Oxman's activities and his support for the Soviet Union. Bishop's report is a source of information and a warning to the public. Bishop's report is a source of information and a warning to the public. Bishop's report is a source of information and a warning to the public. Bishop's report is a source of information and a warning to the public.

Journal

Several weeks before his appearance here last Friday night, as featured speaker of the FEBA convention in New York. Oxman had been notified a group of local citizens planned to prevent the Bishop from speaking at the convention. Oxman's activities have been a source of controversy and debate, and his support for the Soviet Union has been widely criticized. Oxman's record shows a long history of support for the Soviet Union and other communist fronts, and this has led to his being named as a "front" by the House committee. Oxman's activities have been a source of controversy and debate, and his support for the Soviet Union has been widely criticized.

Journal Editorials

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OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 5-B

August 22, 1953

Rev. T. Otto Hall, Editor
 Christian Advocate
 740 North Rush Street
 Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Bro. Hall:

In reference to your inquiry of the two letters Bishop Oxnam wrote me in 1946, I do not have them.

The first letter I found and returned to Bishop Oxnam, but the second letter was evidently lost as I cannot find it in my files.

"Why did Bishop Oxnam write me then?" The Knoxville Journal was attacking him frequently in 1946. Copies of these letters I, of my own accord, sent Bishop Oxnam, that he might know about it. He, of course, naturally wrote to thank me, and in the first letter he made a statement which I read to the Knoxville District Ministers' Meeting. The Knoxville Journal, a few hours later, phoned me requesting this letter for publicity. I refused to let them have it, but allowed them to quote me as to the content of letter. This they published the following Sunday, perhaps in October, 1946.

Bishop Oxnam wrote me a second letter immediately, on seeing quotation in Knoxville Journal from his first letter, correcting his first letter. I read this to the same Knoxville District Ministers' Meeting (Methodist). I do not know whether it was published in either Knoxville Journal or Knoxville Sentinel. If they asked me for it, I would have given them the information, but I was not seeking publicity nor appointed by Bishop Oxnam to speak for him. All Journals referring to Bishop Oxnam were sent him by me for his information.

Bishop Oxnam's second letter of correction said in effect: "I do not belong to any of these organizations except the American Civil Liberties Union."

Any additional statement should come from Bishop Oxnam. We appreciate your defense of him, whom we regard as the greatest leader in Methodism and Protestantism today.

Very sincerely yours,

D. B. Cooper
 D. B. Cooper

Copy to: Bishop Oxnam

Bishop Oxnam,

For your information.

D. B. Cooper

Fries, Va.

Aug. 22, 1953

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 6

(Los Angeles Times, April 26, 1923.)

"TEACHERS' COMMITTEES" QUIZ BOARD CANDIDATES

RADICAL QUESTIONS AMONG THOSE PROPOUNDED; STENOGRAPHERS TAKE DOWN ANSWERS

As a part of their campaign to elect their own board of education it was learned yesterday that leaders of the politically active group of city teachers, representing less than 10 percent of the teaching staff of the city schools, sent "quizzing committees" accompanied by stenographers, to interview candidates for the board of education. Prominent among the questions propounded were interrogatories designed to bring out the candidate's attitude on radical subjects. The replies were carefully taken down by stenographers of committee members.

Apart from the unprecedented spectacle of teachers seeking to name a board of education by such methods, several of those interviewed expressed the opinion that the manner in which the questioning was done violated the spirit, if not the letter of the law designed to protect candidates from such procedure.

Some of the questions propounded in these interviews, while committee members waited with ready pencil to note the answer, related to educational matters. Others were purely political and noneducational, as, for instance:

"The Governor's budget."

"Availability of Nation and New Republic to schools, or continued discrimination against them."

"Presentation of both sides of important public questions in school."

The first question has no application to administration of the city school system and relates to a matter with which a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education has no concern.

RADICAL SUBJECTS

Reference to the "availability" of the Nation and the New Republic, radical publications barred from the schools because of their editorial policies during the participation by the United States in the world war, was apparently inspired by refusal by a majority of the board of education several days ago to reinstate the magazines. Several of the candidates interrogated by the teacher committees said they had never read either publication and, hence, were not in position to discuss the matter; whereupon, in at least one instance, the "interviewer" recommended the magazines.

The third question represents with even greater emphasis the extreme lengths to which the small minority of teacher-radicals are prepared to go in their move to dominate school affairs of Los Angeles; for, in this instance, "presentation of both sides of important public questions in school" means nothing more or less than throwing classrooms open for radical propoganda.

Most of the candidates "interviewed" by the committees were seen in their homes. One of the interrogating committees went so far as to ask the candidate to sign a document containing answers to the questionnaire which, in addition to the questions mentioned, contained the following topics:

OTHER TOPICS

Domination of the schools by private interests. G. S. Business.

Open expressions of opinion by individual board members in open session.

Secret sessions, when justified; frequency.

Publicity: Annual reports, bulletins, correction of misstatements in the press.

Educational legislation: Function of the board, regarding it; means of influencing it; machinery.

Professional employees: Where to find persons to fill vacancies in the highest places, such as business manager, superintendent, assistant superintendent, psychological experts, etc. Promotion, how determined? Admission of new teachers from outside of the city or State. On what terms?

Noneducated employees: How shall wages be determined? Opinion on paying the minimum union labor wage.

Means of securing highest efficiency and economy.

Business administration: Relation of board to experts employed.

Means of improving the business administration.

What to be done with the reports of the business experts on business reorganization (Avery report).

What to be done regarding future bond issues; in order to render them less frequent; in order to give public great confidence that money so raised is properly spent.

At least one candidate refused to sign anything. He was not indorsed by the "Teacher-Citizen Better Schools Committee."

An illuminating comment on the unrepresentative nature of this so-called teachers' movement, virtually proving the contention of disinterested citizens that at least 90 percent of the teachers are not involved in pernicious political activities, is made by a bulletin issued ostensibly by the High-School Teachers' Association, in which the statement appears:

"In its sessions the representatives of the high school principals and the citizens' group were absent." This admission, while in itself proof that the great majority of elementary schoolteachers and high intermediate and elementary principals are holding aloof from this dangerous attempt to have politics dominate school affairs, does not add that less than one-half of the membership of the High-School Teachers' Association voted to indorse a school-board ticket. Neither does it comment on the fact that the association itself comprises less than half of the total number of teachers employed in the high schools of the city.

Apparently the entire object was, at the time of quizzing candidates, to leave the inference that the whole teaching corps was aware of and approved such tactics. The effort is now being made to convey the impression that the Teacher-Citizen Better Schools Committee represents not only all of the teachers and principals, but the citizens' group, which was absent when the program was arranged.

The seven candidates indorsed by the teacher and absent-citizen group are:

M. C. Bettinger and Mrs. Mary Millspaugh, incumbent candidates, who were the only members of the present board of education to vote for reinstatement of the Nation and the New Republic; the Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam, radical orator, Miss M. Jessie York, B. L. Clogston, John J. Craig, and William B. Himrod.

This would-be censorship of candidates for a governing body to be selected by popular vote, a censorship tending inevitably to chaos in public school affairs, resulted in the formation of a citizens' school committee composed of representative men and women—fathers and mothers in all walks of life whose object is neither teacher domination or domination of teachers, but who desire proper educational conditions and opportunities for the youth of the community.

A board of education ticket recommended by the citizens' school committee is seeking election on a platform pledging efficient and forward looking administration of school affairs, guaranteeing harmonious cooperation with the teaching body and assuring justice and fair play not only for teachers who seek advancement through self-exploitation, but for the vast majority of teachers whose fundamental interest embraces the educational advancement of the boy and the girl intrusted to their care.

The citizens' committee ticket consists of two incumbent members of the board of education, Irwin J. Muma and Robert J. Odell, and John B. Beman, Elizabeth Louise (Mrs. George H.) Clark, Lucia (Mrs. Norman) MacBeth, Frederick R. Feitshans, and Frank O. Bristol.

* * * * *

(Los Angeles Times, April 26, 1923)

SHALL RADICALS HEAD SCHOOLS?

FACTS ABOUT G. BROMLEY OXNAM AND ASSOCIATES

HIS RECORD AS SUPPORTER OF SOCIALISTIC DOCTRINES

Advocates Repudiation of Liberty Bonds

G. Bromley Oxnam was nominated by Mrs. Mary C. Millspaugh on March 26 last, as a member of the board of education to succeed Elliott Craig, resigned. Oxnam received for the post the support of Mrs. Millspaugh, M. C. Bettinger, and Miss M. Jessie York, all members of the board of education and all candidates

for reelection on the same so-called teachers' ticket with Oxniam. The others on this ticket are John J. Craig, B. L. Clogston, and W. B. Himrod. Only the stout opposition of President Seaman, Robert Odell, and Irwin J. Muma, the other members of the board, prevented Oxniam, the radical, from taking the vacant seat. Messrs. Odell and Muma are also candidates for reelection on the citizens' committee ticket with J. B. Beman, Frank Bristol, Elizabeth Clark, F. R. Feitshans, and Lucia Macbeth. The primaries are next Tuesday, May 1.

In his address at a YMCA meeting a few months ago G. Bromley Oxniam, who heads the so-called teachers' ticket for board of education, and who is said to be slated for its chairmanship, if elected, made substantially these statements:

"The working classes of England practically dominate the Government of England today. They can be expected to be in power any day and one of the first measures they will rush through Parliament will be a repudiation of all war bonds; this because they believe that war profiteers hold most of these bonds and they will make the rich pay for the war by repudiating them.

"I am afraid that the United States will not do anything so sensible as this for at least 10 years, but by that time labor will be dominant enough in this country to bring about that same condition. I look to see American Liberty bonds repudiated by a workingman's government in this country in about 10 years from now."

Early in February of this year circulars were broadcast through Los Angeles and vicinity announcing a protest mass meeting against the criminal syndicalism law under the auspices of the IWW general defense committee. Among the speakers advertised as urging repeal of the law designed to protect the homes and property and governmental institutions of California were G. Bromley Oxniam, J. H. Ryckman, well-known radical and former law partner of Job Harriman, Socialist attorney, R. W. Hendersin, IWW attorney and member of the general defense committee and members of the IWW then on trial for violation of the criminal-syndicalism law.

Mr. Oxniam has been endorsed for the school board by a so-called teachers' and citizens' committee, which appears to consist of a small minority of radical high-school teachers engaged in the questionable practice of using school time, school premises, and school machinery in their campaign to elect their own board of education.

In various news articles and editorials published by the Times concerning the issues of the school election next Tuesday, attention has been directed to the fact that an organized effort to sovietize the schools of this city is being made, chiefly by persons now outside of the educational system, among them Mr. Oxniam. He openly advocates "teacher councils" in the school system. What he says about this and other things appears elsewhere in this issue.

OTHER SPEECHES

Mr. Oxniam presided and spoke August 30, 1922, at a meeting in Blanchard Hall, called by the Friends of Soviet Russia to raise funds for the Russian independent corporation, which was outlawed by the corporation commission. With Mr. Oxniam spoke the national educational director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a teacher who had been expelled from the public schools in this vicinity and had joined the Ferrer School (anarchist).

At the Hotel Maryland, Pasadent (sic), February 9, last year, Mr. Oxniam addressed a meeting of women in which he advocated the women in which he advocated (sic) radical doctrines.

At a meeting at the City Club in May of last year he delivered an address in which he advocated the communistic doctrine of electing labor representatives to Congress along occupational instead of geographical lines.

He delivered a radical address April 22, 1922, at a meeting at the clubroom of the Severance Club.

In speaking about a year ago before the Woman's City Club he said that if the Russian Soviets and their aims were rightly understood, the people here would sympathize rather than condemn.

Mr. Oxniam attended several meetings held in July of 1922 by the Labor Emergency Conference. This organization was composed of representatives of the Ferrer Modern School (anarchist) Workers' Party, Socialist Party, and Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Mr. Oxniam shared the rostrum with A. Plotkin, organizer among the tailors, Walter J. Yarrow, oil-strike organizer, and Upton Sinclair, Socialist writer. Plotkin was arrested here yesterday on suspicion of criminal syndicalism.

Mr. Oxnam's attitude and speeches have from time to time drawn energetic denunciation from various organizations, one of the most sweeping indictments of his tactics and methods having been made by Mrs. Frank A. Kelly, first vice president of the Republican Study Club, in addresses before that organization.

Calling attention to Mr. Oxnam's candidacy for the school board, Mrs. Kelly vigorously assailed his activities and, particularly referring to the circular announcing his presence as one of the featured orators at the IWW protest meeting last February, said:

"This notice needs no comment except to remark that no greater menace to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness exists today than the red flag of anarchy displayed by an organization which is exploited by Rev. Mr. Oxnam, an organization which includes among its members the IWW and, it is said, teachers in the public schools of Los Angeles."

Although strenuous efforts are being made to convey the impression to the public at large that the High School Teachers' Association, which has a membership of approximately one-half of the total number of high-school teachers in the city schools, is officially back of Mr. Oxnam and his associated candidates on the Teacher-Citizen Better Schools Committee, it appears that a minority of the teachers' organization is responsible for his nomination and endorsement.

The movement to advance Mr. Oxnam to a position of such responsibility in the educational affairs of the community appears to have begun among members of the executive committee of the High School Teachers' Association. Under date of February 12 that committee reported the "advisability" of placing Mr. Oxnam on the board of education by appointment by the members thereof.

FOR SCHOOL BOARD

His name was formally placed in nomination at a meeting of the board of education, March 26, by Mrs. Millspaugh. On that occasion he received two votes. His appointment was opposed by Irwin J. Muma and Robert J. Odell, candidates for reelection, and by C. E. Seaman, president of the board of education. The deadlock among the six members of the school board as to the choice of a successor to Mr. Craig has never been broken, although the support given Mr. Oxnam by Mr. Bettinger, Miss York, and Mrs. Millspaugh was strenuously encouraged by the political minority in the teaching corps.

Members of the High School Teachers' Association were asked to vote on the proposal to urge the board of education to endorse Mr. Oxnam and it was understood that the names of the teachers voting for him would be kept secret.

Having failed to introduce Mr. Oxnam on the board without a popular vote of the people, merely to fill a vacancy until the expiration of the 2-year term, it was decided early in the present campaign to launch him as a candidate. This was done in the name of the High School Teachers' Association at meetings to which representatives of the Principals' Club and the public were invited but did not choose to come. Nevertheless, the campaign literature of the Oxnam ticket declares it has the support of the Teacher-Citizen Better Schools Committee. As the history of the matter shows the ticket does not represent any considerable part of the teaching body of the schools and no element whatsoever of the citizens as a whole.

OXNAM SAYS HE IS NOT A RADICAL

Verbatim Statement From School Board Candidate in His Own Behalf

In a special-delivery and registered envelope, with return-receipt requested, the subjoined communication was received last night from G. Bromley Oxnam, candidate for the school board on the so-called teachers' ticket. It follows verbatim:

LOS ANGELES, April 24.—(To the editor of the Times): Heretofore I have followed consistently the policy of ignoring false statements relative to me personally or relative to my point of view. I have done this because I believe that Christianity makes it incumbent upon one who believes in that religion to maintain a spirit of good will toward those who attack him. Jesus even asked us to "love those who despitefully use us." That may sound a trifle sentimental to you, but it is in fact a working principle with me.

However, there are times when an attack upon an individual involves others. That is true now. You are attempting to discredit both the character and motive

of others in your attempt to make the people of Los Angeles believe false statements relative to me. I therefore ask you in fairness to others to print this letter and give it the same publicity as far as location in the paper is concerned that you have given your attack.

First, as to the charges of "radicalism." Allow me to say that Mr. David Babcock, who is the organizing genius back of the "citizens' ticket" which you are sponsoring, told me personally that he had heard many bad things relative to me. He said he had asked every person making such statements to put them in writing so that he might use them. He said not a person would do so and that he had checked the statements and found not one to have a basis in fact. After hearing me speak at Trinity Auditorium, he phoned me and said he believed me sincere and that he thought we were both working for the same end, namely, a better school system, even though we might disagree in minor matters. I admire his type of character. He speaks what he believes and knows men may have honest differences of opinion, but he does not seek to discredit by innuendo and falsehood. He was suggested in a news item some weeks back that I favor syndicalism. There is no man in this State more fundamentally opposed to the philosophy of syndicalism and the tactics of the IWW than I am. I have lectured dozens of times relative to this situation and have consistently pointed out both the menace and tragedy involved in the advocacy of force to gain an end. I believe that love, and not force, is the social bond; that love is the only real cohesive force we possess. Consequently, by conviction, I am opposed to the central thought in IWW tactics. You know this because your reporters have heard me speak relative to this. Why, then, do you allow such a misrepresentation of my view to get into the minds of the people? I am of the opinion that you know my position. You know I believe in our American institutions and our Constitution. It is because I believe in them so sincerely that I resent with all the power I possess the attempt of "special privilege" groups to subordinate our institutions to their wishes. You know full well the old-time machine control that lived at Sacramento. You know the story of San Francisco graft. You know that it is the attempt of un-American Americans, masquerading under patriotic names, who use sacred institutions for selfish purposes that I am attacking. You call it "radicalism" to blind the people to the real issue. One word more relative to "radicalism." Do you think for one moment that the Methodist Episcopal Church would give me positions of trust if I were the person you try to make people believe I am? Do you think I would have been given the privilege of speaking before nearly 40,000 high-school students last year if your statements were true? Do you think the women's clubs, businessmen's organizations, educational institutes, and the like would have me address them if I were what you suggest? Do you think the Commercial Board of Los Angeles would, upon motion of Mr. Judah, have had my address to them published and sent broadcast to chambers of commerce in the Southwest if your statements were true? I do not write with any trace of bitterness. I feel sorry for folk who in the interest of what they want stoop to misrepresentation.

Second, as to the attitude I bring to the board of education in the event of election. It is true I stand for a reorganization of the board in general keeping with the report of Mr. Chester Avery, whom the board employed to draft a plan for the proper business handling of the school system. You know what is in that report. You know that that report calls for the board to be organized like the board of directors in any large business concern, namely, to draft the board, general policies and hire competent experts to carry them out. I will guarantee that any unprejudiced businessman in Los Angeles, after facing the present business management of the school system (not because of any particular inefficiency, but because of antiquated business organization) and after reading Mr. Avery's report would favor such reorganization. As to the teacher's advisory councils: Here again you are giving the people a wrong impression. I am as much opposed to teacher control as I am to church control, labor-union control, or businessmen control. But I do believe, and I think any businessman who considers it will believe, that there ought to be some reasonable plan worked out whereby the teaching experience of our highly trained teaching staff could be constantly available to the board and the administration as advice in determining policy. That advice should not be dependent upon the benevolent request of either board or administration, but should be given as a regular part of the procedure in determining policy. It is not control. It is but sound business. It simply means that the board has available the experience of the teachers as advice. Whatever you may say is the position of the teachers, that is what their position is as they

have explained it to me. In any case, it is my position and you have no right to suggest to the people that my position is other than that. I am opposed fundamentally to sectional control by any group. There is yet one other matter and that is the question of public meetings of the board. I have favored and continue to favor doing public business in the open. I have said that, in the event of purchasing property where the public interest might be hurt by previous information reaching property holders who might raise prices if they knew the schools must have the property, I would favor private consideration of the proposition; also in the case of character charges that had not been proved, I would favor private hearing until the charges were proved or disproved. If proved, then the community has a right to the fact and the offender should be dismissed.

This is rather a lengthy letter. I trust you will print it. I have no feeling of ill will in this matter. I would have ignored your attacks if others were not involved. Your charges of "radicalism" are false. The suggestion of sympathy for I. W. W. tactics is false and I believe you know it. Your statements relative to my position in educational matters give the people an entirely wrong impression. Hasn't the time come in American life when as citizens we can face issues as sportsmen, play the game like men, state our ideas accurately to the people and let them decide? Must we forever face the problem of misrepresentation? Let us have faith in our institutions, let each candidate state his views and have them correctly reported, then let the people choose whom they wish. That is the American way, I believe. If you will state your position in one column of your paper, I am sure the people you attack would be glad to state theirs in a parallel column and allow the electorate to decide upon the basis of fact.

Very truly yours,

G. BROMLEY OXNAM.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 6-A

CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS
METHODIST EPISCOPAL
G. BROMLEY OXNAM, Pastor
Office :: 904 Wright & Callender Building
LOS ANGELES - - CALIFORNIA

April 26, 1923.

To the Editor,
The Los Angeles Times,
Los Angeles, California.

My dear Sir:

I cannot, of course, ask you to give me space to answer the false statements in your news article of today. I appreciate the fact you published my letter. However, I do request the publication of this brief statement of fact.

1. I never made any such statements at the Y. M. C. A. I do not look for a labor government in the United States, and never dreamed of repudiation of Liberty Bonds. Nor does British labor think of repudiating bonds! Your information came no doubt from Better America Federation reports. They are false.

2. Your reference to the Hotel Maryland luncheons is most inappropriate. I did speak before that distinguished gathering four times. In the audience were many conservative folk and the response given was evidence in point that your suggestions are false.

3. Your reference to the Women's City Club is false. I am distinctly opposed to "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "the materialistic conception of history." What I said was that if we knew the suffering of the Russian people we would have sympathy for them.

4. The references made by Mrs. Farnk Kelly and reported by you with reference to exploiting the red flag of anarchy are I understand libelous. I trust both of you will see fit to correct any suggestion that I am exploiting such ideas.

5. I was not present at the meeting your scare dodger refers to, and you know it. I stand for a rigorous prosecution of any person whether I. W. W. or in any other group who commits an overt act, or incites to riot. I truly wish there were some legal way in which a paper could be held responsible for attempts to undermine a person's character. It is something of the bully attitude one finds when a great paper attacks. Surely, my dear sir, giving out false statements is pretty close to the the syndicalist doctrine of "sabotage", which I repudiate as you know, together with its whole philosophy.

Again thanking you for printing my letter, and suggesting it would be both the American and the wise course to take back your false statements about me urging "the repudiating of Liberty Bonds, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. KUNZIG. I mentioned every one, Mr. Chairman.

(At this point Bishop Oxnam conferred with Mr. Parlin.)

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, in the matter of my last statement, I have just conferred with my counsel. We made request for information concerning items that were to be brought up here that were not in the record so that one could be prepared. It so happens I am prepared on this particular matter. If a matter should be brought up on which I have not records here, I should like to have the privilege of bringing in the matter.

Mr. WALTER. What possible bearing can certain of these matters have on what we are doing here today?

Mr. VELDE. I think we can answer that question. We are attempting to straighten out the record for the Bishop at his request and anything that is favorable or unfavorable or that reflects what we are doing at the present time in the operation and the organization of Congress, and certainly it should be in the record. Is there objection to placing this material in the record?

Mr. MOULDER. I reserve the right to object to this. The witness has not identified the exhibit and has not made any comment or identification of it. He has not testified as to the exhibits.

Bishop OXNAM. Were you speaking to me?

Mr. MOULDER. I was speaking to counsel and the chairman.

Mr. FRAZIER. May I inquire whether there is anything in question in these exhibits?

Mr. VELDE. Will counsel please explain the exhibits?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I feel the exhibits should go into the record because otherwise the testimony of the witness, the questions and the answers, will be applying to certain documents which will not be present. The whole thing is necessary in order to make a full picture of it. I have already every single answer which the Bishop has made in toto verbatim already in the record. So I feel it is necessary to have the entire picture in the record and we are discussing a document which the Bishop feels is wrong and his testimony will be in relation to that document. Otherwise, the testimony will be remiss in that respect.

Mr. MOULDER. My point is that we should hand the exhibit to the witness and then question him.

Mr. VELDE. I think he has already questioned the witness regarding these exhibits.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are, of course, perfectly free to say anything on these exhibits. We have discussed them before.

Mr. VELDE. Is there objection to the admission of these documents? If not, they will be received in evidence as Oxnam exhibits Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to turn to the Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council of the Progressive Citizens of America.⁴ These, as I know you realize, are all the various groups and citations which have appeared in these files and so we will take them up and discuss them and get your viewpoints and get the record clear.

⁴The California Committee on Un-American Activities cites the Progressive Citizens of America as a "new and broader Communist front for the entire United States" formed in September 1946, at the direction of Communist steering committees from the Communist-dominated National Citizens Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. (See report of 1947, p. 369, and report of 1948, p. 354.)

Bishop OXNAM. I had hoped that you were going to deal with the items to which I had referred.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here a document marked Oxnam exhibit No. 7. It is a clipping from the Daily Worker entitled "Leaders in Arts and Sciences Hit Pix Purge," and also one marked Oxnam exhibit No. 8, from the San Francisco Chronicle entitled "Victim Firings Censorship PCA Warns." (See Oxnam exhibits Nos. 7 and 8, opp. p. 3624 and p. 3625.) I will pass these over to you to examine. They are marked for identification.

That was in the mimeographed report which you filed in answer in the public press, but you never commented upon that or never answered that, so we wanted to get that in, to give you that opportunity here today.

The organization has been cited by the California committee on un-American activities as a new and broader Communist front for the United States, formed in September 1946. Five other signers of that letter are identified as Communists.

Bishop OXNAM. I haven't heard a question. Excuse me.

Mr. KUNZIG. The question is were you associated with those groups in any way, and would you explain it so our records would be clear.

Bishop OXNAM. I have no recollection of any association with that group whatsoever because you will remember that meeting that was at the Waldorf and so on. Is that the same organization? I can't keep track of these. There are so many of them. My recollection is that I have had no association with this organization at any time.

Mr. KUNZIG. No association at any time?

Bishop OXNAM. It isn't quite clear in my mind what he is talking about. This citation comes from these different committees.

Mr. FRAZIER. We are unable to determine from counsel's question as to what organization the Bishop is being charged with being a member of.

Mr. VELDE. Will counsel repeat the question?

Mr. KUNZIG. I will repeat the question. I know the acoustics are very bad. The organization known as the Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council of the Progressive Citizens of America.

Mr. VELDE. Is the gentleman able to hear?

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes.

Bishop OXNAM. What article? Is that article in the Washington Post?

Mr. KUNZIG. I don't think you covered it in the article.

Bishop OXNAM. Then it wasn't in the file.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; it is.

Bishop OXNAM. Would you indicate which one? I have most of them here and I haven't seen that. In any case, I have no recollection of being associated with that organization and I remember an organization, it seems to me, of a similar name that held some conference in the Waldorf-Astoria. I knew that that was Communist-related and had nothing to do with it whatsoever.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. I am not quite clear in what the association was alleged to have been. What was the nature of it? Was it a meeting? Was it a forum, or just exactly what was it?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Jackson, it was a letter signed by a group of people sponsored by this organization, and one of the signers of the letter included, as it says here, "Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam." It appears in that context.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the date?

Mr. KUNZIG. The date of the quotation of it is December 1, 1947.

Mr. JACKSON. As I understand, Bishop, you have no recollection of that?

Bishop OXNAM. I have no recollection at all and if the Chair will not think me violating the rules, it is precisely this which troubles me. This kind of thing gets into these files and without having been verified or checked, it goes out. I have no recollection of any association with that whatever.

Mr. FRAZIER. I suggest the counsel submit it to the Bishop and let him see it.

Mr. KUNZIG. He already has it.

Mr. VELDE. In the files that we have are reports which are already public information. Any citizen can find them. Your name was mentioned in a newspaper article, which is public information, and what we wanted to know is whether or not the newspaper article is correct in listing you as a sponsor of this group.

Bishop OXNAM. The only way I can answer is that this is a quotation from the Daily Worker. Personally, I do not think the Daily Worker is good authority for anything. But however that may be, here is a clipping from a Boston paper dated July 17, 1943, a meeting that I was alleged to have attended. Actually, I was not there at all. I was listed as being there because my name was related to a committee. It so happens it is the late Secretary Tobin welcoming two representatives who visited from Russia during the war. Whether I happened to have been there or not, the date is important. I was not. But I am listed as though I were there and it seems to me that the date, the purpose there—these are all pertinent, but when these are released in blanket form this way, an individual can, and frankly I think you know he has been damaged because people think you are associated with the organizations that you may or may not have been associated with.

Mr. VELDE. Of course, a lot of us feel that we are, by our names being listed in the Daily Worker, damaged. A lot of us have been so damaged. I think we all recognize the Daily Worker is a Communist organ, but what we are trying to do is to clear the record and find out whether the things that the Communist organ says are true, and I want to repeat to you again the Daily Worker is a public newspaper and is available to anyone who asks for it.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, was this reported by another newspaper? Did you have two documents there or simply the one from the Daily Worker? Was the San Francisco Chronicle another one?

Mr. KUNZIG. The San Francisco Chronicle also carried the story, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. At the same date?

Mr. KUNZIG. December 2, under a dateline of Washington, December 1.

In any case, I think the Bishop has made clear his position in this.

I would like to go to the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People. Now, the Daily

Worker of September 24, 1937, contains an article about a meeting to be held at Madison Square Garden and this meeting was held under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People.⁵ (See p. 3626 for Oxnam exhibit No. 9.) It lists Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor of the meeting. I believe your reply to that was that you never sponsored any such meeting; is that correct?

Bishop OXNAM. That is correct. The American League Against War and Fascism was one of the organizations started about the time they were talking about a United Front. I knew what the United Front was. In a syndicated article that went all over the Middle West, I wrote concerning the United Front in 1935. I had no association with the American League Against War and Fascism and never belonged to it and naturally would not sponsor it. It is true I did know Ambassador Dodd. I had called upon him at the time of the Hitler blood purge of June 30 and July 1, 1934. I would have been happy to have been present at any meeting that Ambassador Dodd addressed, but I did not—and I am saying this as definitely as I can—give my name as a sponsor to any such meeting as far as I recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any explanation or can you assist us by giving your viewpoint as to how your name would get into this

⁵ The American League Against War and Fascism was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; by Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10, and according to the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, p. 7683; by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of March 29, 1944, p. 53, January 3, 1939, pp. 69 and 121, January 3, 1940, p. 10, and June 25, 1942, p. 14; by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its 1943 Report, p. 91; by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 298 and 460; the Rapp-Coudert Committee, Report, 1942, p. 293; and the New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission.

The American League Against War and Fascism was described by former Attorney General Francis Biddle, in a memorandum reprinted in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, p. 7683, as "the first of three organizations established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union. Its successor, the American League for Peace and Democracy, was established in 1937 and it, in turn, gave way in 1940 to the American Peace Mobilization. * * * The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the first United States Congress Against War and Fascism, held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. The manifesto of this congress called attention to the 'black cloud of imperialist war' hanging over the world, and pointed to the National Recovery Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the other policies of the Roosevelt administration as indications of America's preparedness for war and fascism. Only in the Soviet Union, the manifesto continued, has the basic cause of war—monopolistic capitalism—been removed * * * Earl Browder, general secretary and leader of the Communist Party, United States of America, called the league a transmission belt of the Communist Party."

The American Friends of the Chinese People was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, pp. 40 and 147, and by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948 report, pp. 142-145.

The California Committee on Un-American Activities, in its 1948 report, pp. 142 and 143, describes the American Friends of the Chinese People as having been organized "to support the Chinese Communist thrust against the National Chinese Government. * * * The Friends of the Chinese People was launched January 4, 1933. * * * In January 1934 the magazine China Today made its first appearance. The word 'American' was added to the organization's name in 1935 as part of the general streamlining process during the Popular Front period. J. W. Phillips, Hansu Chan, and Frederick Spencer were coeditors of China Today. * * *"

While the committee's source concerning this statement was the Daily Worker, it has been determined that the New York Times, October 2, 1937, p. 8, contained an account of a mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden on the previous evening. The account states in part:

"The meeting was called by the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People. It was sponsored by 47 labor, civic, and religious leaders, among them Bishop William Newman Ainsworth, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, and Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. Nearly 10,000 attended."

The article also states:

"The Reverend Doctor Harry F. Ward, professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary, presided. He is national chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism."

sort of thing and how your name would be listed in the Daily Worker as one of the sponsors?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I think I can. I can do it in two cases if the committee will allow me. Personally, I do not think too highly of the California Committee on Un-American Activities and hesitate to quote it, but on page 284 of the report of the Tenney committee of 1953, it states as follows:

Communist-front organizations not only masquerade behind a respectable facade, endeavoring in all cases to conceal the real control and objectives of the organizations by claiming to have some humanitarian purpose, but they have also made use of the names of loyal individuals without authority. From time to time the committee has received letters of protest from persons who have been listed as officers of various front organizations and who, in fact, have no connection whatever with these movements, their names having been used without authority and for the deliberate purpose of using non-Communist individuals as window dressing to divert suspicion. In such cases the committee is always eager and willing to do everything in its power to correct this despicable practice.

That is one explanation. If the committee wishes, I will be able to show what happened in connection with one of those Spanish organizations where, belonging to one organization that had to do with an attempt to send medical relief to Spain during the days of the revolution, later on they put my name as a sponsor of an organization, something about Spanish action.

Mr. KUNZIG. Supposing we leave that for a moment and we are coming to that.

Bishop OXNAM. I will be glad to, but you asked how this happened. I don't know how it happens but I simply say this is pertinent.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned a letter of protest in reading that statement. Do you recall whether you sent a letter of protest in that instance?

Bishop OXNAM. I don't recall having seen the announcement, sir. I do not read the Daily Worker. Excuse me, I did not mean to be facetious.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is perfectly all right. This was printed in the New York Times, which I think is a little different from the Daily Worker.

Bishop OXNAM. I do read the New York Times.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Daily Worker is marked as "Oxnam Exhibit No. 9," and the New York Times is marked as "Oxnam Exhibit No. 10." (See pp. 3626 and 3627.)

Mr. CLARDY. I would like to ask counsel what he was developing? I am not sure what the incident is. What were the two papers quoted?

Mr. KUNZIG. The incident, Mr. Clardy, was an alleged meeting held under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People, which featured William E. Dodd as the speaker, and the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor of the meeting, which appeared as a sponsor of the meeting in the Daily Worker, and the bishop's answer was that the Daily Worker should not be regarded as competent testimony.

Mr. VELDE. And counsel read the pertinent part.

Mr. KUNZIG. The New York Times, dated October 2, 1937, goes on to say that the meeting was called by the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People. It was sponsored by 47 labor, civic, and religious leaders, among them

Bishop William Newman Ainsworth, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, and Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.

I think the bishop has made his position clear. He said he did not attend and was not present.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I think I take issue with the statement that the bishop made relative to the California Committee on Un-American Activities. I don't know whether the bishop meant committees past or present. However, the members of the committee as presently constituted are duly elected legislators of the State of California, and I am sure that he did not mean to stigmatize all the members in any way. I feel that I must mention that.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer in evidence Oxnam exhibits Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, which we have been discussing, which are the documents that the testimony has related to, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be received.

(Oxnam exhibits Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10 heretofore referred to and identified were received in evidence.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, one of the points that I want to bring up is the American League for Peace and Democracy,⁶ a photostatic copy of a letter on the letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy, dated April 6, 1939, which reflects your name as a national sponsor. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 11, pp. 3638-3640.)

Your answer, I believe, was that you were never a member, never a national sponsor and never had anything to do with the organization.

Bishop OXNAM. That is right, I think I stated in the Post, and that is correct. Isn't that the organization that was the successor to the [American] League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Bishop OXNAM. I think that was the organization after the pact with Germany, was it not, when they began to change front?

⁶The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948; by Attorney General Francis Biddle in a memorandum printed in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684; by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of January 3, 1939, pp. 69-71, January 3, 1940, p. 10, January 3, 1941, p. 21, June 25, 1942, pp. 14-16, January 2, 1943, p. 8, and March 29, 1944, p. 37; by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1943 report, p. 91; the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938 report, pp. 77 and 213; by the Rapp-Coudert committee, 1942 report, p. 220; the Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report of April 21, 1943, p. 3; the New York City Council committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission; the Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

Attorney General Francis Biddle, in his memorandum in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, pp. 7683-7684, stated that " * * * the American League Against War and Fascism at its fourth congress in 1937 became the American League for Peace and Democracy. It has been reported that the reason for the change in name may be found in the fact that the original organization had become widely identified in the popular mind as a Communist-controlled group. The program of the new league reflected the change in tactics. References to the Soviet Union were omitted. The first items in the program referred to the rights of labor and called for the defeat of legislation attempting to compel incorporation of trade unions or the inspection of union finances. Guaranties to Negro people and the foreign born and the demand for an antilynching law followed. * * * In all of these policies the league was following the Communist Party line. The American League was composed of national and local organizations. The highest governing body was nominally the national congress operating through the national committee. * * * The national committee, in turn, was controlled by the executive board on which were several Communists. Funds were collected from members and affiliates, and J. B. Matthews, former head of the American League Against War and Fascism, wrote that when the league could not secure sufficient funds in this way it would first call on someone like Corliss Lamont, the Communist 'angel,' and in the most extreme cases would call upon Earl Browder. * * * The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International. The adoption of a new name and the broadening of the program to include measures and policies calculated to enlist a wider support in no way lessened the Communist control and direction of the league."

Leaders In Arts, Sciences Hit Pix Purge

Sixty-five leaders in the arts, sciences and professions yesterday denounced the motion picture producers for their "shocking and degrading capitulation to the discredited and irresponsible House Committee on Un-American Activities" and warned that the film moguls had opened the door to government censorship to all means of communication

An open letter by the group to the movie industry declared:

"The decision of the Motion Picture Association of America to purge and blacklist those writers, directors and producers who deny the Un-American Committee's right to inquire into the political opinions of private citizens is a submission to government censorship and dictation."

The same film leaders who at the Washington hearings only a few weeks ago, "attacked the committee's techniques and its ambition to censor the screen now adopt those techniques and gratify that ambition," the letter continued.

The letter made public by the Arts, Sciences and Professional Council of the Progressive Citizens of America, warned industry leaders that their attempt to appease the Thomas Committee "invites additional intimidation from this and other pressure groups" and added:

"The legal aspect of this assault upon individual civil liberties we shall leave to the lawyers and the courts. We must express our concern over the moral, cultural and political aspects."

We charge that the motion picture industry opens the doors of government censorship not only for the screen, but the theatre, press, radio, art and music.

We charge the motion picture industry in its frightened haste to fire the 10 writers and directors named for contempt as a result of a hearing which denied them the constitutional rights of a hearing and purge and blacklist "opening our citizenship to the stigma of treason and desertion."

SIGNERS OF LETTER

- Benjamin B. Schwartz
- Max Yergin
- Robert G. Heber
- Joseph P. Kamp
- Howard M. Ufford
- John S. ...

- Alfred ...
- Dr. ...
- Dr. ...
- Dr. ...
- Dr. ...
- Dr. ...
- Dr. ...
- Dr. ...
- Dr. ...

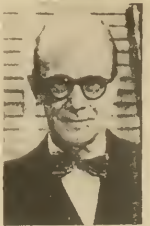
- Alfred ...
- Dorothy ...
- James ...
- Robert ...
- Robert ...
- Philip ...
- Mark ...
- Philip ...
- Robert ...
- Adam ...
- Martha ...
- Alfred ...
- Agnes ...
- Peter ...
- Paul ...
- Ralph ...
- Harriett ...
- Forman



DAVIDSON



GAFFO



DEEMS TAYLOR

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 8

San Francisco Chronicle

THE CITY'S ONLY HOME-OWNED NEWSPAPER

CCCAAB

TUESDAY, DEC. 2, 1947

PAGE 21

Film Firings 'Censorship,' PCA Warns

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1 (UP) — Sixty-five members of the Progressive Citizens of America said today the film industry's dismissal of 10 Hollywood figures who were cited for contempt in the congressional Communism hearings "opened the door to Government censorship of all communication media."

The House cited the 10 after they refused to answer the question put to them by the House un-American Activities Committee: Are you now or have you ever been a Communist?

"The decision of the Motion Picture Association of America to purge and blacklist those writers, directors and producers who deny the Un-American Committee's right to inquire into the political opinions of private citizens, is a submission to Government censorship and dictation," the 65 said in an open letter to the industry.

"We charge that the motion picture industry, in its frightened haste to fire the 10 writers and directors cited, sets a pattern of purge and blacklist violating our fundamental concepts of freedom and justice," the open letter said.

Signers of the letter included Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, William Rose Benet, Deems Taylor, Paul Robeson, Dorothy Parker, Louis Adamic and Jo Davidson.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 9

(Daily Worker, September 24, 1937, p. 6)

Ambassador Dodd to Speak at Protest Rally Against Tokio Invasion of China

**Garden Meeting to Be Held Friday, Oct. 1—
Expect 20,000**

William E. Dodd, U. S. Ambassador to Germany, will speak on "The Preservation of Democracy" Friday, Oct. 1 in Madison Square Garden, under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People.

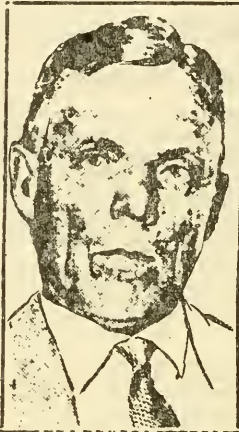
More than 20,000 are expected to attend the meeting, which has been called to protest Japan's invasion of China and to demand the invocation of the Kellogg Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty against the invaders.

Other speakers will include Chao-Tsing Chi, Chinese delegate to last year's conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue; and the Rev. Dr. D. Willard Lyon, former national secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in China. Dr. Lyon, until his retirement last year, was America's foremost missionary in China, and his father was the first American missionary in that country.

JAPANESE SPEAKER SCHEDULED

A Japanese will also speak. He will represent those of his people who oppose their nation's militaristic policy of aggression. A Korean, member of a nation once independent but now a colony of Japan, will describe what Japanese oppression has meant to his people, and what it will probably mean to China if Japan wins her undeclared war.

A young Chinese girl, eyewitness of the recent bombardment of Shanghai, will tell how Japanese warships from the harbor and Japanese warplanes from above pounded



WILLIAM E. DODD

the Chinese quarters of the city to debris and made of them a cemetery. The girl is now on her way from Shanghai to San Francisco, and she will fly to New York for the meeting.

Dr. Harry F. Ward, professor of Christian Ethics at the Union Theological Seminary and national chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, will preside.

The meeting will open with a recital of the songs of old China and the new China by a Chinese male chorus of 100 voices. The chorus will be composed of members of the Chinese Musical Society. It will be led by Kit Kat Charwood, president of the organization.

RELIGIOUS SPONSORS

A committee of 38, including three bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is sponsoring the meeting. Miss Margaret E. Forsyth, of the religious education department of

Japanese, Korean and Chinese to Speak at Big Meeting

Teachers' College, Columbia University, is chairman.

Other members are Bishop Francis J. McConnell, New York; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Omaha, Neb.; Bishop William Newman Ainsworth, M. E. Church, South; Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; Marion Cuthbert, national board, Y. W. C. A.; Dr. Robert Searle, New York Federation of Churches; the Rev. Dr. William B. Spofford, Church League for Industrial Democracy; Dr. Ralph E. Diefendorfer, Methodist Board of Foreign Missions; Paul Kern, Municipal Civil Service Commission, and Leopold Godowsky, noted pianist.

Also, Prof. Daniel J. Fleming, Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Charles J. Hendley, vice-president, American Federation of Teachers; Sarah Lyon, executive secretary, foreign division, Y. W. C. A.; Helen Hall, Henry Street Settlement; Mrs. Bessie Boyce Cotton, Y. W. C. A. and Dale De Witt, Unitarian minister.

Also, Dr. Leslie Moss, editor, Christian World Faith; Philip J. Jaffe, managing editor, *Amerasia*; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; the Rev. Dr. William Lloyd Ives, St. James Presbyterian Church; the Rev. Dr. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Abyssinian Baptist Church; Mrs. E. P. Roberts, national board, Y. W. C. A.; A. Philip Randolph, president, National Brotherhood of Railway Porters; Mrs. Donald Ogden Stewart, and William Hinckley, chairman, American Youth Congress.

Also, Rev. John P. Davis, Rev. Roy H. Wilkins, Rev. James H. Hubert, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Rev. Lorenzo H. King, Rev. Elmer Carter, Dr. Charles A. Pettioni, Dr. P. M. Savory, Katherine Terrill, executive secretary, Congregational Church Action Committee; Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union, and Dr. Harry F. Ward.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 10

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1937.

**JAPAN DENOUNCED
AT RALLY OF 10,000****47 Labor, Religious and Civic
Leaders Join in Meeting at
Madison Square Garden****NATIONAL BOYCOTT URGED****Chinese Consul General Deplores
United States Arms Embargo
Against His Country**

The Japanese military invasion of China was denounced last night at a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. Support in this country of the Chinese cause was urged and a nation-wide boycott of Japanese goods was advocated.

The meeting was called by the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People. It was sponsored by forty-seven labor, civic and religious leaders, among them Bishop William Newman Ainsworth, Bishop Francis J. McConnell and Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. Nearly 10,000 attended.

Dr. Tsune-chi Yu, Consul General of the Chinese Republic, representing his Government, expressed its appreciation of the efforts made in the United States in behalf of China.

He cited Chiang Kai-shek's report of a shortage of trained surgeons and medical supplies to alleviate suffering among the victims of Japanese troops and warplanes. He also declared that the Chinese are bewildered by the application of the arms embargo imposed by the United States government, saying "this blow has been more severe than any from our enemy. This blow has deprived us of that moral support which has been so necessary to us. It has weakened our power to resist the enslavement which threatens us. It has given moral and physical encouragement to those who would destroy us."

The Rev. Dr. Willard Lyon, former national secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in China, declared Japan was not justified in using measures of aggression and armed conquest.

Joseph Curran, general organizer, National Maritime Union, said the invasion of China by Japan was an open violation of the Kellogg Peace Pact and the Nine Power treaty.

Rabbi Stephen E. Wise of the Free Synagogue asserted the people in this country are proud to be friends of the Chinese. He characterized the invasion of China by the Japanese as "flagrant."

The Rev. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, presided. He is national chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me pass this over to you. Do you have any explanation as to how your name appears on the letterhead as a national sponsor?

Bishop OXNAM. I have no explanation whatsoever other than the one I gave you. I did not sponsor any of those united front organizations. I was fundamentally opposed to it. I did not believe that you could cooperate with the Communists for any worthy end.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't it possible, Bishop, that one of the associations indicated earlier to which you belonged and which had the same sponsors and because of that fact they may have used your name without any notification whatever?

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I have no knowledge of that, Mr. Clardy, but it seems to me that kind of thing was done in these organizations because it is evident they would do it if they wished to do it. There is no morality there to begin with, and in the next place I read to you from the committee record which indicated that they had had this kind of problem certainly in California.

Mr. CLARDY. Let me tell you something that prompted my question. We have had a lot of sworn testimony to the effect that many good people have been placed on what they call a "sucker list" and that they use those names either by notification or otherwise and it has just occurred to me in view of your statement that your name got on one of those "sucker lists." I will ask you if you do not agree that that is a tenable theory?

Bishop OXNAM. It seems to me that might well be so when dealing with people who have no morality that they will do anything that tends to their ends.

Mr. CLARDY. I am glad you agree with me that they are the most godless people on the face of the globe.

Mr. VELDE. When did you first know that your name was used as a sponsor of this organization?

Bishop OXNAM. I think when I saw it in one of the releases of this committee, but it would be difficult for me to recall it. I am sorry.

Mr. VELDE. We did think that you would be interested in knowing that your name was used as a sponsor and if it had not been brought out you wouldn't know that your name was used as a sponsor.

Bishop OXNAM. It is almost impossible to keep up with those organizations. I think your committee lists hundreds, if I recall correctly, and I did not know about it, I am sorry, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now I offer into evidence this document about which we are speaking, which is marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 11." which is this letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and I think this has been cited by one of the committees and contains a large list of leading Communists, such as Paul Robeson, Dorothy Parker, and others who were active in it. And recently it was listed in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, we cannot hear very well on account of the acoustics in the room, but is this the letter dated April 6, 1939?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. On the back page of which are listed as many as 150 sponsors?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that the letter you refer to?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to turn to the Protestant Digest. In the Protestant Digest⁷ your name has appeared in the June-July 1941 issue representing you as a member of the editorial advisers. If I am correct, your answer to that was that you were invited to serve on the editorial board of the Protestant Digest in March of 1940, but 2 years later, in February of 1942, you submitted your resignation. Is that correct? (See Oxnam exhibits Nos. 12 and 13, pp. 3641-3644.)

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe I am reading directly from your own answer that was published.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know at the time you were active in it or when you were an editorial adviser, that the Protestant Digest was a pamphlet which was in many ways subversive? Did you know that Louis Budenz, a former Communist, later testified in public hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on November 22, 1946, pages 31 and 32 of the transcript, as follows:

I learned toward my latter days in the Communist Party from material I read in the New Times, which is now the name of the Communist International magazine, that the Communists everywhere plan to wage war on the Catholic Church as the base for obliterating all religion. Also, this policy was developed in an article to which I shall call your attention setting forth the ideas that I learned, namely, of the program to arouse the Protestants against the Catholics in this country as a means of causing confusion in the United States.

I have enough confidence in the American Protestant to know that it is not going to succeed, but I have to point to this because it is in black and white in an official article. I knew about this before I left and pointed to it very temperately in my statement as I left. This matter was presented to me in a

⁷ The Protestant Digest was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, p. 48, as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal." The California Committee on Un-American Activities, in its 1948 report, pp. 93, 225, and 320, cited the Protestant Digest as a "Communist publication" later known as the Protestant.

The June-July 1941 issue of Protestant Digest, above referred to, was published by Protestant Digest, Inc., with offices at 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City, under General Manager Kenneth Leslie. The August-September 1942 issue of the Protestant (Digest dropped from name) listed the publisher as Protestant Digest, Inc., with offices at 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and listed Kenneth Leslie again as general manager. The January 1949 (p. 1) issue of the Protestant lists the publisher as Protestant Digest, Inc., with offices at 128 Manhattan Avenue, New York City, and Kenneth Leslie as editor and managing director.

In an editorial comment on p. 5 in the April-May 1947 issue of the Protestant, Kenneth Leslie defines the purpose of the publication as follows: "It is the purpose, the mission of the Protestant to build bridges between communism and Christendom, while being perfectly aware that there are both Communists and Christians who do not wish to build bridges * * *." Leslie continues: "* * * communism is a child of Christendom, Jewish and Christian values are the seeds of communism. * * * So also communism is a long suppressed and betrayed element in Christian and Jewish church life."

Louis F. Budenz, former Communist, testified as follows in public hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on November 22, 1946 (p. 32):

"* * * I learned, toward my latter days in the Communist Party, from material I read in the New Times, which is now the name of the Communist International magazine, that the Communists everywhere plan to wage war on the Catholic Church as the base for obliterating all religion. Also, this policy was developed in an article to which I shall call your attention setting forth the ideas that I learned, namely, of the program to arouse the Protestants against the Catholics in this country as a means of causing confusion in the United States. I have enough confidence in the American Protestants to know that that is not going to succeed, but I have to point to this because it is in black and white in an official article. I knew about this before I left, and pointed to it very temperately in my statement as I left. This matter was presented to me in a conference by the comrade who worked up the material for this article for the political committee. He advised me the aim was to extend the work of the Protestant magazine. That is a magazine whose name is Protestant, but which is engaged largely in being anti-Catholic and the responsible Jewish organizations have recently condemned it, as you may know."

conference by the comrade who worked up the material for this article for the political committee. He advised me the aim was to extend the work of the Protestant magazine. That is the magazine whose name is Protestant but which is engaged largely in being anti-Catholic and the responsible Jewish organizations have recently condemned it, as you may know.

That is the statement by Louis Budenz, testifying before this committee, as I stated, on November 22, 1946. The Protestant Digest was cited by this committee in 1944 as a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal.

Bishop OXNAM. Would you like me now to answer the question you have raised?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; if you please.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I would very much appreciate the privilege of answering this question once and for all. I realize you are pressed for time.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question at this point?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Bishop Oxnam, this had troubled me as much if not more than all the others that are in the files because only recently we have had testimony and I presided in the taking of that testimony that will be released as soon as it can be printed, which demonstrates clearly that that magazine was published as the result of a Communist directive and plot, that it was nefariously started through cleverly using some good people and I wanted you to know that because in your answer and explanation I wish you would cover thoroughly your connection with it. It is most difficult for me to believe that you had any knowledge of that and since that testimony has not been made public I thought I should tell you about it in advance.

Bishop OXNAM. I am very grateful to you, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. VELDE. If I may interrupt, Bishop, we have had another roll-call and the committee will stand in recess for 20 minutes.

Bishop OXNAM. Will you allow me to answer this fully when we come back?

Mr. VELDE. Certainly.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will come to order. Proceed, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. Bishop Oxnam, I would like to ask you now—

Mr. VELDE. I would suggest that you read the last question or let the reporter read it and the Chair and committee would appreciate it very much, Bishop, if you would limit your answer to the subject material as nearly as possible.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think I can make it easier by stating a specific question. Were you an editorial adviser of the Protestant?

Bishop OXNAM. I was an editorial adviser of the Protestant. This matter, however, is of such importance that I requested the Chair to answer it properly and Mr. Clardy's statement brought in information that was, of course, new to me, and because of the importance of this, Mr. Chairman, there are three matters that I would like to stress in connection with the direct answer to the question.

First, you will please note that my relation to the Protestant Digest and to all the other organizations and I say all—there were 2 or 3 that

have been named—my relationship was prior to the time that they were declared subversive and I had resigned from these 2 or 3 organizations prior to that time. I want that in the record.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question at this point?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Bishop, weren't they declared subversive because of the activities they engaged in during the time that you were connected with them?

Bishop OXNAM. I am not familiar with when these organizations were declared subversive, nor do I know that they have ever been heard by any committee or by the Attorney General. But to the major matter, Mr. Chairman, first regarding the Protestant Digest and then the second and I reply to that because it was brought into the question by your counsel in his reference to Mr. Louis Budenz. The Protestant Digest was a magazine that I had seen upon the stands from time to time. There is a Catholic Digest, an excellent digest of Catholic magazine articles. I thought there was a proper place for a similar magazine among Protestants.

When I received an invitation from the editor whose name was Kenneth Leslie, a man whom I did not know and I think I have never met but more than once or twice in my life, he invited me to go on the editorial board. He sent me a letter and the names upon the editorial board were upon that letter.

There were the names of Rev. Dr. George A. Buttrick, president of the Federal Council of Churches, one of the distinguished ministers of this Nation; Dr. William Ernest Hocking, who was a professor at Harvard University; Dr. Rufus M. Jones of the American Friends Service, one of the outstanding Quakers of this Nation; Rev. Dr. Reinhold Niebur of the Union Theological Seminary, who is I suppose the outstanding theologian in the United States today. I need not read the entire list, but there was also Dr. Russell Conwell Barbour, the editor of the National Baptist, one of the leaders of the Baptist Church.

Now that letterhead also carried this statement—

The Protestant Digest wakens those of us who happen to be Protestants to a realization of our responsibilities and interests in the world.

That was signed by Eleanor Roosevelt. I asked Mr. Leslie in a letter that I wrote to him just what editorial advice meant: Would it mean board meetings regularly? What would we be called upon to do?

He replied that it would be as much or as little as we would want.

I went into this and I have forgotten when it was, 1940, was it—yes, in March of 1940.

On February 11, 1942, I wrote this letter to Mr. Kenneth Leslie:

I find that the Protestant is engaged in numerous activities related to national policy, legislation and the like, and that statements go forth from the magazine to the public, quite apart from the magazine itself. Many gain the impression that such statements have the approval of your editorial advisers. Several years ago, I decided not to serve in bodies unless I could give sufficient time to the formulation of policy to justify my name as a board member or adviser. So far, there have been no meetings of the group associated with the Protestant, and the material that appears is never considered by this group. I think I must ask you to accept my resignation and to drop my name from the list of editorial advisers.

I resigned. But, why did I do that?

Mr. VELDE. What was the date?

Bishop OXNAM. February 11, 1942.

Mr. VELDE. How long were you an editorial adviser?

Bishop OXNAM. I have stated that I was an editorial adviser from I believe March 1940 to February 1942. Please remember this was a monthly magazine, that for a time was published only once in 2 months. Now, why did I resign? Because Mr. Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union one day came to me and said, "Bishop, I wonder if you know who is really back of the Protestant Digest."

I said, "What do you mean?"

He said, "I would look into it very carefully. I think that magazine has Communist support."

Mr. Roger Baldwin is a man who knew that whole field intimately. I resigned because of what he told me, after having looked into the matter.

Interestingly enough, one of the most influential churchmen, Edwin Holt Hughes, who was formerly Bishop here in Washington, was an adviser. I called him and told him immediately upon receiving this information from Mr. Baldwin that he ought to get his name off that list. That is my relationship to the magazine.

Mr. FRAZIER. Did I understand you to say that you did resign as editor of this magazine prior to the time it had been declared a Communist-front organization?

Bishop OXNAM. I was never an editor. I was on the board called the advisory board. The board never met, as a matter of fact. One ought not to be related to any board that does not meet, but I was on that board. I did resign in 1942. I think the Attorney General's list came out, if I recall correctly, in December 1947.

Mr. KUNZIG. I might add that the lists are retroactive.

Bishop OXNAM. I have heard that but I have never been able to understand how a list can become retroactive in the sense of saying that an organization was subversive 20 years ago because somebody found it subversive 20 years later. I do not understand that, but that is apart from this and I realize that.

Mr. Chairman, the second matter, which is the important matter, was the anti-Catholicism of this magazine. I want to make this statement here for the record. Personally, I abhor religious division. In an hour when faith is under attack around the world, there ought not to be religious division. I have been one who has been working for the reunion of the Christians of the world. It so happens that upon one or two issues I have had to take a stand and some have interpreted that as anti-Catholicism. I want the same liberties for every Roman Catholic that I want for every Protestant. I want the same liberties for the Roman Catholic Church that I want for the Protestant Church. We worship the same God. We adore the same Christ. We are inspired by the same Holy Spirit.

Reference was made to this matter and I want to say that there is no anti-Catholicism in my spirit whatsoever. There ought not to be religious division and I think this may clear this matter, at least for the record. Please remember Mr. Louis Budenz was quoted in this

matter. This comes from an address, an Episcopal address, I made to the general council of the Methodist Church in 1948 and which was signed by every Bishop of the Methodist Council of Bishops.

Here is what I said, in part:

Protestant churches must continue the present brotherly and inspiring cooperation with the Eastern Orthodox churches until such time as Protestantism is itself reunited. They may then consider union with Eastern Orthodoxy which it is prayerfully hoped may be consummated. When the full union of Protestantism and of Eastern Orthodoxy is accomplished and the Christians of the world belong to but two great churches, the leadership of that day may be Christian enough and creative enough to kneel before a common altar, beg forgiveness of the Christ for disunity and, sharing in the bread and wine of Holy Communion, rise in His Spirit to form the Holy Catholic Church to which all Christians may belong.

I don't want anything in this record that would suggest anti-catholicism in my spirit.

I happen to be the only Protestant, I think, who has ever had the privilege of signing a statement with Cardinal O'Connell which we worked out together and was signed in Boston when there was anti-Semitism there and Jewish boys were being beaten in the streets. That happens to be my spirit and when Mr. Budenz refers to that item I would like to refer to this item.

Mr. VELDE. In my opening statement I mentioned, of course, that this is not to be construed by anyone as an investigation of religion or of religious freedoms in this country. I regret very much that you brought the subject of anticatholicism up at all.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, it was brought up by your counsel, not by me.

Mr. VELDE. As you know, 8 out of 9 members of this committee are Protestants. We do not investigate, we do not have anything to do with matters of religion whatsoever. We are interested in the protection of our constitutional freedoms. The right to worship God is a right of every person and I do say that bringing the matter of catholicism or any other faith as represented in this country is out of order in this particular hearing.

Bishop OXNAM. I do not mean to be out of order, but your counsel raised that question and I want to make it clear that there is no anticatholicism in my spirit, and what I am saying is precisely what you are saying.

Mr. VELDE. Our counsel raises the issue of subversive activities, citing the Protestant as a pro-Communist organization.

Bishop OXNAM. Didn't he use the term "anticatholicism"? I think he did.

Mr. KUNZIG. It was in an article by Louis Budenz, Mr. Chairman. I would like to hand you a document marked—

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman. Did I make myself clear? I wouldn't have brought that in. Didn't he raise that issue?

Mr. KUNZIG. We will go right on with the subject.

I hand you a document—

Mr. Chairman, might I ask that there be order in the room?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question apropos at this point?

Mr. KUNZIG. You stated, Bishop Oxnam, that you left this organization in February 1942. Can you explain why your name is listed

as an editorial adviser in August-September 1942, as is shown on this Oxnam exhibit No. 13?

Bishop OXNAM. Exhibit No. 13, the list on the masthead of the Protestant?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Bishop OXNAM. No, I don't think it is necessary to explain it. I have the letter here and my recollection of the date of it. Whether my name appeared later has nothing to do with me, sir. When did it cease appearing, do you know?

Mr. KUNZIG. It appeared a long time after this. We are talking about the period of 1942. Did you make any public effort to speak against this magazine as a Communist magazine?

Bishop OXNAM. Just a moment, it was no Communist magazine, so far as I knew, so far as the people who were related to it knew, so far as I knew. In February 11, 1942, I resigned. You are showing me an issue of August-September 1942. I did not even know there was an issue between February and this. I have heard that the magazine was published monthly through May of 1940 and bimonthly, monthly again and now quarterly. It has dwindled to a pamphlet size by now and is begging for money. I don't know anything about it following February 11, 1942.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the date of the last exhibit?

Mr. KUNZIG. August-September 1942.

Mr. DOYLE. If it was Communist dominated you would expect them to take advantage of the Bishop's name in the 6 months, wouldn't you?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle, with all respect to you, we have asked all members to follow the written, the regular rules of procedure. So would you please address the Chair?

Mr. DOYLE. I will the next time. I thought there was a lull and recess in the meeting.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like at this time to put into evidence testimony given by Manning Johnson, a former member of the national committee of the Communist Party, on July 13. The testimony was given July 13 and 14, 1953 before this committee.

This is the question as asked by me:

Mr. KUNZIG. You stated that the magazine, the Protestant Digest, later called the Protestant, met the various turns of policy of the Soviet Union and the twists and the turns in the Communist line as it went through the years. Could you document that, please, with illustrations taken from the magazine?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I can. I have here the Protestant Digest, December 1938, the period when the Communist Party was building the United Front, and we find in this edition of the Protestant Digest an article by William Spofford. It was a reprint from The Witness, September 22, 1938.

Then Mr. Johnson answered further:

The subject of the article is "Bill Spofford Hails United Front."

Then later on Mr. Johnson testified:

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to present to the committee an article published in the Protestant April-May 1942. The author of the article is David Easton and is an article in which he follows the Communist Party line on religion by attempting to show in this article that Marxism and democracy and a liberal religious faith are one.

Mr. Johnson went on in answer to my question which was:

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further documents, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I have. I have in my hand a copy of the Protestant Digest of January 1940, which shows that the Protestant Digest worked against America's entry into the war at the time when the Communist line was peace for America as long as Russia and Germany were tied together in a pact.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have this document in my hand marked "Johnson Exhibit No. 25" and I offer it into evidence at this point.

Then the document was received in evidence. Then Mr. Johnson went on to say:

Mr. JOHNSON. I have an article entitled "Two Speeches by Kenneth Leslie."

Mr. KUNZIG. What is the date of the article?

Mr. JOHNSON. October-November 1942, Protestant Digest. The subject of the article is "The Second Front." This article was written after Hitler's attack on Russia, and it was in accord with the Communist Party's national campaign to compel America to go along with Soviet Russia on the opening up of a second front in Europe.

Then we marked the document as an exhibit and Mr. Johnson went on to say:

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to show to the committee an article from the Protestant, June-July 1942, "Whose Property Is This War?" by Kenneth Leslie, in which he calls for the making of Timoshenko, the Russian military commander, commander in chief of the whole allied forces.

And then, finally, the question was:

Then would you say that the institution of the publication of the magazine Protestant Digest—and I might add Protestant Digest and the Protestant are the same. They dropped the word "Digest" a little later.

The question was—

Then would you say that the institution of the publication of the magazine Protestant Digest was a concrete example of the way in which the party line is handed down from Moscow and finally put into effect down in the lower echelons?

And the answer by Johnson in the sworn testimony before this committee was:

Of course, Mr. Chairman, it is to be understood that there were deviations from this policy, but these were only minute. They did not in the least destroy the most important aspects of the line which the party wanted to carry out in the religious field.

Mr. MOULDER. Who is Mr. Johnson?

Mr. KUNZIG. Manning Johnson is a witness who appeared before this committee. This was about a week ago and was in Washington a few days ago.

Bishop OXNAM. May I answer, please? Might I ask first is the counsel testifying? I heard all of this about the Protestant. What has it to do with me? I indicated when I resigned and why. And I do not quite understand this long recitation of a witness of a day or so ago.

Mr. JACKSON. I think that the relative point is that although, as you say, the Protestant was not cited as a Communist publication until after your separation, the fact is that the activity of the publication which led to its citation was going on at the time that you were an editorial advisor. I do not say that you contributed to it in any way. However, I think that it is relative and material and it cannot be deleted.

It seems to me that your statement indicating that you ceased to be an editorial adviser before the citation of the publication as being Communist-dominated in no way alters the substantial fact that the Protestant was before that date engaged in activities which later brought it under Federal scrutiny.

Bishop OXNAM. But when reference is made to the United Front, and in 1935 there is a remark in an article where I have opposed it, that America must not accept communism in order to oppose fascism.

Mr. VELDE. You are getting out of line, Bishop, and I would like to have you answer the questions as nearly as possible.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. VELDE. In a precise manner and in response to the questions, if you can.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, might I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Bishop Oxnam, the testimony that was read to you is only a portion of that that I referred to earlier when I made the statement intended to be helpful to you. But some questions suggested themselves to me, and I address these to you in all the spirit of Christian charity that I can summon up.

It seems to me that in view of the fact that you have continually attacked all investigating committees, including this one, and that is certainly your right, because I am not any more immune to criticism than you or anyone else, but the fact that you have done so, and that then this committee in taking sworn testimony discovers things such as this magazine when an organization or a magazine known as the Protestant or Protestant Digest that was Communist in origin and inception and in practice in ways that perhaps even you did not see, it occurs to me should demonstrate to you, sir, that only a committee of this kind is equipped to ferret out the truth which you could not discover despite the fact that you were associated with the organization for the period that you were.

Now, I say that in all Christian charity, but may I address myself to another thing that has lain heavily on me ever since you attacked the committee like that on February 24 of this year which caused me, on the 25th, to take the floor and for about 30 seconds to point out that I thought you had been most un-Christian in impugning to me affairs which had existed in the past. You did not know me. You had never heard of me. I had heard briefly of you, but I really knew nothing of you. It was an implication of criticism by association, because I had been made a member of the committee which had not acted and with which I had nothing to do up to that point, which had not even had a hearing because at that time it made it very plain and very clear, to me at least, that you were, through this method—

Mr. VELDE. Are you asking him a question, Mr. Clardy?

Mr. CLARDY. I will. I am building up to it. I want to ask him something very personal on it, and it is a matter of personal privilege, more or less, because it troubles me.

The question is this: When you made that speech and then when we exchanged brief communication, why did you not exhibit the spirit of charity that I think all of us should have and frankly admit that you did not intend to include me or Mr. Scherer in the blanket indict-

ment which you delivered against the entire committee and on which we had just been appointed?

Mr. VELDE. The Chair has previously announced that we are interested in concluding this hearing today, and there is no reason why we should argue in this particular vein, and I believe the committee will agree that we are here to ascertain facts to determine whether or not the Bishop has been harmed in any way by the activities of this committee, and as I said before, and I regret it very much that the Bishop brought personalities into this, in the first place, and I do not think that we should pursue any further personalities. And so I ask you to withdraw your question if you would, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I bow to the ruling of the Chair. I will talk with you off the record after this is over, Bishop.

Bishop OXNAM. I would count it an honor to chat with you afterward and I would like to show you a copy of the address and explain the reason for it, and since the question is withdrawn I cannot say further.

Mr. DOYLE. Bishop, may I ask you this, please, in view of the fact that you were on the advisory committee or board of the Protestant Digest from March 1940, from the beginning of it until February 1942, how much did they pay you in salary or compensation for being on that?

Bishop OXNAM. As a matter of fact of course there was no remuneration involved. Many groups often ask me. For instance I am serving as an advisory member, I believe, on the Religious Book Club. We do not meet. We receive nothing. The experts do the work. It is a bad policy and one ought to sit with a group of that kind.

Mr. JACKSON. You also contributed to the Protestant?

Bishop OXNAM. I made an address which they published. It had something to do with clerical fascism and they asked if they could reprint it and I said they could.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is entitled "Monsignor Sheen and Clerical-Fascism."

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, that article appeared.

Mr. MOULDER. While you were serving as editorial adviser, did you contribute or advise in any connection whatsoever with the report that was made by Mr. Budenz?

Bishop OXNAM. I am sorry I did not get the question, sir. I would like to get it. I couldn't quite hear. It is very difficult in this room.

Mr. MOULDER. The reference was made to a statement awhile ago which was published in the Protestant Digest and I am asking you as to whether or not you made any contributions or had any connection or knowledge or contributed toward the article whatsoever.

Bishop OXNAM. I state in the letter of resignation: "So far there have been no meetings of the group associated with the Protestant."

There were letters from Mr. Leslie generally dealing with some attempt to work out some national pronouncement of some kind. I think there was a banquet organized in New York about Protestantism Answers Hate. It had to do with anti-Semitism at the time. That was about all the relationship. The editorial board never met.

Mr. MOULDER. Then your answer to that question is "No," you did not contribute or have any association with Mr. Budenz in the writing of that article?

Bishop OXNAM. Oh, no. I never met Mr. Budenz. I had one letter from him, but that is all.

Mr. VELDE. Now, you are examining the exhibit that has been presented to you.

Bishop OXNAM. It is not necessary. I know that article, thank you, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Could I see that, Counsel?

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I then offer into evidence Oxnam exhibits Nos. 11, 12, and 13, which are the documents we have just been discussing involving the Protestant and one previous, American League for Peace and Democracy, which we discussed earlier before the recess.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(American League for Peace and Democracy, letterhead, dated April 6, 1939, Oxnam exhibit No. 11; the Protestant Digest, June-July, contents page, Oxnam exhibit No. 12; and the Protestant, August-September 1942, list of editorial advisers, Oxnam exhibit No. 13 were received in evidence.)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 11

(Letterhead dated April 6, 1939)

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Monthly magazine: The Fight

April 6th, 1939

National Office
268 Fourth Ave., room 701
New York, N. Y.
Cable Address
Amleag, New York
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PROTESTANT

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(Part 1)

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THE

PROTESTANT

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THE PROTESTANT

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1942

NOTES ON PERSONS

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VOL. IV

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1942

No. 7

INDIA: THE WAR'S DOUBLE EXPOSURE

Editorial by KENNETH LESLIE

LADY EMPIRE

EMPIRE is an old lady, blind to all but her jewels toward which she reaches her greedy hands. Younger empires in the East and in the West have bullied her and slapped her, but she has lost perspective along with the vitality of her own young days when she did the bullying and the slapping. With these graduates of her own school of empire now at her throat she would not believe they were not still her admiring pupils. She had been so long admired, so long kowtowed to. She dallied with them, played at lovers with them, tut-tutted their brutality toward the Jews in the West and the Chinese in the East (world bearers of humanism). Then she

Sir, did you ever contribute to a magazine or publication entitled "Soviet Russia Today"?⁸

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir. I wrote one article for Soviet Russia Today, I think, dealing with the Yalta pact. That article was so changed by the editors that when I received a second invitation, I replied that I could never contribute another article to any magazine that treated an article in that fashion.

Mr. KUNZIG. You had no way of stopping the publication of the changed version once it was already out of your hands?

Bishop OXNAM. I sent my copy to the editor. All respectable magazines print what you send, or, if there is to be editorial change, they send it back to you for your permission. No such return occurred, and that was my only relationship with that group.

May I point out that these matters were not in the files. You are bringing in a number of items here that were never in any of the released files to which I am referring, and I realize what is being done publicly. There is an attempt to build up a relationship that misrepresents me completely, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. These are all parts, sir, of the Oxnam files of the Committee on Un-American Activities. This Soviet Russia Today was cited as a Communist—

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. May I point out, Bishop, there is no intention at all to do what you are talking about, but to demonstrate one fact, that you obviously did not, when you made some statements about what is in our files, actually know the facts. That is the purpose.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I have releases to which I have referred over the period of 7 years that have been sent out officially, and I have been referring to those releases. If there is additional information, Mr. Clardy, thank you for letting me know, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Witness, remember, you agreed to answer questions about anything, any organizations that you joined.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; I did.

Mr. VELDE. So I see no reason why we should continue. In order to get the record straight and to do justice to this matter, we are in a public forum, as I mentioned a while ago, and we must do justice. We owe it to the American people; you owe it to the American people, and we must do justice.

Mr. KUNZIG. I wish the record to show, Mr. Chairman, that Soviet Russia Today was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities report March 29, 1944; also cited in report June 25, 1942, which, I believe, was prior to the time of this contribution of yours. It was cited as a Communist-front publication by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House

⁸ Soviet Russia Today. 1. Cited as a Communist front. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in report, June 25, 1942, p. 21.)

2. Cited as a "Communist-front publication." (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, H. Rept. 1953, on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950 (originally released October 23, 1949), p. 108.)

3. Among the more important Communist-front organizations "for the sole purpose of carrying on propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union." (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1948, p. 169.)

4. A magazine published by Friends of the Soviet Union and distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass. "The articles and pictures in this magazine seek to show the great benefits and advantages enjoyed by Russian workers, stressing the theme that Russia is the only successful nation in the world today." (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938 pp. 281 and 517.)

Report 1953, and also by the California committee in 1948, and the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report in 1938.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. May we let counsel finish?

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to introduce Oxnam exhibit No. 14 into evidence at this time.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection Oxnam exhibit No. 14 will be admitted.

(The magazine Soviet Russia Today referred to was marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 14" and received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit No. 14.)

Mr. KUNZIG. This states that you were a contributor there, sir, on the front page. It is not the article you wrote, but it states you were a contributor.

Bishop OXNAM. Then you are not interested in what I said?

Mr. KUNZIG. If you have it here, I would be glad to put it in the record.

Bishop OXNAM. I do not. I can get it, and I would like to have it in because I would like it to be known what I say when I put my signature on it.

Mr. VELDE. I suggest he be allowed to examine—

Mr. KUNZIG. He said he did not care to, because it is not his article. I therefore would like to offer into evidence as exhibit 15 the document which you will then send to me, sir, which we will incorporate with your permission, Mr. Chairman, in the record, so that exactly what the bishop said may be in the record. Is that right, sir?

Mr. VELDE. I do not know. This is a little bit unusual procedure, whether we can admit evidence that has not been prepared.

Mr. KUNZIG. The bishop said he has the document and wishes it be made part of the record, and may I suggest, it is only fair to make it part of the record.

Mr. VELDE. Is it already prepared?

Mr. KUNZIG. He has written an article sometime ago which article he has and will send to us, which was in Soviet Russia Today. This exhibit here merely lists him as a previous contributor. It says, "Amongst recent contributors, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam." The article written for Soviet Russia Today is not here, and Mr. Oxnam says he will present it to us, and I think it should be a part of the record.

Mr. CLARDY. May I suggest something, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. I would like the judgment of the committee on this matter.

Mr. CLARDY. I think the proper method is the usual one, to have it received at the conclusion of the hearing when the bishop has it ready and have it marked as a late filed exhibit to be included in the record.

Mr. VELDE. May I have some expression of opinion regarding this?

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Chairman, if the bishop wants to include it, I see no reason why it should not be included in the record. Did I misunderstand the bishop? Did you say you wanted to submit that as a part of the record?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Frazier, thank you, sir. The counsel, I thought, was presenting the article I had written as evidence. I find that he is not, and it seemed to me that the article itself ought to be in

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PAUL GRAUBER is the pseudonym of a European writer and journalist.

Our cover, entitled "Friends," seemed to us to carry the spirit of bright new hope in the Soviet Union today after so many years of bitter fighting against the fascist enemy

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For Unity And Understanding

YOUR magazine, since its inception, has striven to create a firm foundation for American-Soviet friendship. It is obvious now that such friendship, mutual understanding and respect serves America's most vital interests. To secure a peaceful, prosperous and purposeful future for all mankind, the USA and the USSR must continue to work in the closest harmony, in the same spirit that enabled our coalition to force Hitler Germany to its knees.

Today our task is more vast, more urgent and more grave than ever before. Reactionary forces are actively seeking to turn our country from the progressive path (blazed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt), to the great world statesman.

With insane recklessness they employ calumnies, distortion, and even loose talk of war against our great Soviet ally.

Your magazine must and will continue to combat valiantly with truth, distortion, with honest fact, slander and reckless talk of war with unremitting energy. It is the only source from which that slander and incendiary talk stems. We know from your numerous letters that you support us in this role.

But we also need financial support. The cost of publication, as you know, has risen. To meet our deficit and conduct our current work, we shall require \$20,000. We ask that you, and your friends, contribute generously so that your magazine can continue to tell the truth about the Soviet Union.

Send in your contribution today—for unity and understanding with the Soviet Union.

Sincerely yours,

Anna Louise Strong

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

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This is to certify that the above is a true and correct copy of the original as shown to me by the Cashier of the Bank of New York and Company, New York, on the 31st day of December, 1890.

Wm. J. ...
 Cashier of the Bank of New York and Company, New York.

the record instead of the reference that was made here with the implications that lie in the subsequent statements by the counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. And I agreed with you.

Mr. VELDE. Let me ask you, Bishop, this article is a matter of public information. It has been published?

Bishop OXNAM. It was published, sir, but the article that I sent to them differs from it considerably, and I would like both to be in your possession.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. He has explained he sent an article in for publication, and it was changed.

Mr. CLARDY. I know, but do you mean, Bishop, that you can give us the original manuscript?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. And then a copy of the magazine so that we may compare the two.

Bishop OXNAM. Quite, that is exactly what I had in mind.

Mr. CLARDY. I think that would be excellent, but I am suggesting that technically—this is purely a matter of legality—that it should be received and marked as a late filed exhibit when you have it ready.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you very much.

Mr. CLARDY. Could you identify the approximate date?

Bishop OXNAM. I am afraid I could not offhand, sir.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Clardy asked for a date.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair is ready to rule. Oxnam exhibits Nos. 15 and 16, one of which is the version which was published, and one of which is the version that Bishop Oxnam presented for publication, will be admitted into the record at this point without objection.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

(The manuscript presented to Soviet Russia Today and the published version referred to were received in evidence as Oxnam exhibits Nos. 15 and 16.) (See pp. 3648 and 3649.)

Bishop OXNAM. Do you wish this date that Mr. Clardy asked about?

Mr. CLARDY. I would appreciate it, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Won't the publication show the date of it? You might give us the date.

Bishop OXNAM. In the letter of December 16, 1946, in which they make a request is this—that is as close as I can get to it—"In the article I contributed to the magazine sometime back I was astounded to note the editorial changes that eliminated any word critical in nature."

It was prior to December 16, 1946; I suppose quite close to that date, within months.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, my impression is that in view of the fact that the Bishop is being confronted with this, as I understand it, for the first time now, and that you are calling attention to the fact that the front page of this magazine lists him as "amongst recent contributors." I think it very pertinent to list some of the other contributors to the same magazine. I notice there there are quite a few other recent contributors. There is a United States Senator listed here, for instance—two of them. There are two of them listed here as recent contributors, and other well-known names to the American public.

Mr. VELDE. Does the gentleman want to investigate or to—

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 15

(Part 1)

A Churchman Evaluates the Crimea Conference
by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President of
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ
in America and Bishop of The Methodist Church, New York Area.

The agreement reached at Yalta is "applied idealism" of a high order. It reaffirms the inflexible resolve of the United Nations to defeat the common enemy. It insists that physical victory is not enough. We must go on and win the moral victory that will result in a secure and lasting peace, which will "afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." The Atlantic Charter is referred to specifically three times in the official statement of the Crimea Conference. It appears that the fundamental principles of the Atlantic Charter are to be regarded as a guide to the United Nations in the forthcoming conference at San Francisco. The Crimea Conference renewed the pledge that all peoples shall have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live; announced plans for the relief and rehabilitation of liberated peoples; reaffirmed the rejection of fascism by peace-loving nations; and re-stated the resolve to extirpate fascism wherever found; and announced plans and the date for the eagerly awaited Conference of the United Nations in which the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are to be considered and improved and a general international organization of the peace-loving nations of the world established.

Underlying these significant announcements are two fundamental facts; first, the full participation of the United States of America in attempts to solve the extraordinarily difficult problems of Europe; second, the apparent abandonment of policies wherein individual nations sought to reach solutions in their own interest, with the consequent acceptance of a policy in which joint action by at least the Big Three would be taken. Churchmen recognize the fact that Russia has been pursuing alternate policies at the same time, one based upon the assumption that the United States would not collaborate in the post-war world, the other based upon the assumption that the United States would. The first meant unilateral agreements designed to assure security for Russia in the post-war world. The other meant the announcement of the willingness to collaborate and to reach joint decision. It appeared for a time that both England and Russia were moving forward upon the basis of individual decision. It appeared further that the aloofness of the United States might mean a repetition of the American action that followed the last World War. It is with a great sense of relief that churchmen now know that the clear intent of our government is to collaborate and the equally clear intent of the other members of the Big Three is to move on the basis of joint action. It now becomes necessary that our leaders have the full support of the American people to the end that we may progress toward the goal of world law and order.

The religious forces of the world will regard the decisions of the Crimean Conference as marking substantial and significant advance toward world law and order. I believe they will support our statesmen in these proposals. I believe they will support the plans for a general international organization that will no doubt emerge from the forthcoming conference of the United Nations. Religious leaders everywhere realize that the ethical ideals of religion must now be translated into the realities of world law and order, economic justice and racial brotherhood. It is a significant, and perhaps symbolic, fact that the Crimean Conference held in the former summer palace of a Czar should seek to build a world in which the common man shall come to his rightful place. It is equally significant that the Conference to be held in San Francisco will meet in a city named for St. Francis of

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L. IRIN and **B. BRODOVSEY** are Soviet journalists.

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The boy on the cover is Boris Nikolayev, one of the best students in the Nakhimov Naval Academy of the USSR.

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IRINA ALEKSANDR, WILLIAM ROSE RENZI, HELEN BRAND, HENRIETTA RUCKMANER, HOLGER CAHILL, JOSEPH E. DAVIES, THEODORE DREISER, HOWARD EAST, HAROLD L. ICKES, RT. REV. HEWLETT JOHNSON, DEAN OF CANTERBURY, ROSE MAURER, HARRIET MOORE, SENATOR JAMES E. MURRAY, SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER, ARTHUR UPHAM POPE, D. N. PRITT, M.P., QUENTIN REYNOLDS, ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, ANNA SEGHERS, EDWIN SEAVER, DR. HENRY E. SIEGIST, KONSTANTIN SIMONOV, HUGAR SNOW, JOHANNES STEFIE, FRIDERICK L. SCHUMANN, ANNA LOUISE STRONG, GENEVIEVE TAGGARD, VALERY J. TERESHTENKO, SIDNEY WEBB, MAX WERNER, ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS, ELLA WINTER

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A teacher writes: "Your magazine is the best source of information on our Soviet ally for class-room use that I have found."

A G.I. Joe writes: "Your magazine is a source of inspiration."

A trade unionist writes: "I take the greatest interest in your accounts of current happenings in the USSR which I cannot find elsewhere."

A farm woman writes: "I read that article on Soviet rubber and could not get it out of my mind. I too am experimenting with a wild rubber plant."

A churchman writes: "Your magazine is an outstanding example of literary social significance."

A government official writes: "I find your magazine indispensable."

An American patriot writes: "The best insurance to keep our country with a friendly attitude toward Russia is to have at least a million subscribers to SRT."

This is just a random sampling of letters received from appreciative readers. That so many different types of people find a common ground of interest in our pages demonstrates, we believe, that our magazine has an important function in building the national unity and the understanding of our allies essential to back up the historic Crimea decisions.

Every reader who becomes a subscriber helps solve wartime distribution problems. Every new subscriber helps to extend the influence of our magazine into ever larger groups.

Subscribe today—and get your friends to subscribe. With each subscription goes a copy of the important book by Dr. Harry Ward (see back page) "The Soviet Spirit."

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY,
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Dear Sirs:

I enclose \$2.00 for which please enter my subscription to *Soviet Russia Today* for one year and send me my copy of *The Soviet Spirit* by Harry F. Ward.

Name

Address

City

Zone Number.....State

A CHURCHMAN EVALUATES YALTA

ANNAM EXHIBIT NO. 16 (Part 2)
by BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

THE agreement reached at Yalta is "applied idealism" of a high order. It reaffirms the inflexible resolve of the United Nations to defeat the common enemy. It insists that physical victory is not enough. We must go on and win the moral victory that will result in a secure and lasting peace which will "afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." The Atlantic Charter is referred to specifically three times in the official statement of the Crimea Conference. It appears that the fundamental principles of the Atlantic Charter are to be regarded as a guide to the United Nations in the San Francisco conference.

The Crimea Conference renewed the pledge that all peoples shall have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live; announced plans for the relief and rehabilitation of liberated peoples; reaffirmed the rejection of fascism by peace-loving nations; re-stated the resolve to extirpate fascism wherever found; and announced plans and the date for the eagerly awaited Conference of the United Nations in which the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are to be considered and improved and a general international organization of the peace-loving nations established.

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cies, one based upon the assumption that the United States would not collaborate in the post-war world, the other based upon the assumption that the United States would. The first emphasized agreements designed to assure security for Russia in the post-war world. The other meant the announcement of the willingness to collaborate and to reach joint decision. It appeared for a time that both England and Russia were moving forward upon the basis of individual decision. It appeared further that the absence of the United States might mean a repetition of the American action that followed the last World War. It is with a great sense of relief that churchmen now know that the clear intent of our government is to collaborate and the equally clear intent of the other members of the Big Three is to move on the basis of joint action. It now becomes necessary that our leaders have the full support of the American people to the end that we may progress toward the goal of world law and order.

The religious forces of the world will regard the decisions of the Crimean Conference as marking substantial and significant advance toward world law and order. I believe they will support our statesmen in these proposals. I believe they will support the plans for a general international organization that will no doubt emerge from the forthcoming conference of the United Nations. Religious leaders everywhere realize that the ethical ideals of religion must now be translated into the realities of world law and order, economic justice and racial brotherhood. It is a significant, and perhaps symbolic, fact that the Crimean Conference, held in the former summer palace of a Tsar, should seek to build a world in which the com-

mon man shall come to his rightful place. It is equally significant that the Conference to be held in San Francisco will meet in a city named for St. Francis of Assisi, who revealed in his prison the principle that men go on, not only as individuals but as nations, namely, "He who would become the greatest among you must become the servant of all."

Of course, there will be fundamental differences of opinion concerning the solution reached in the matter of Poland. There is no solution to the Polish question full, satisfactory to all sides. It is impossible to reconcile the interests and preserve the full support of each party involved in the situation. It is difficult to reconcile the interests of the Polish intelligentsia and the Polish peasant. The history that lies behind the present decision is not well known among Americans. The solutions are not to be found. Those who are loyal to the present proposal concerning Poland are obligated to present a better solution rather than to reject the plans for an ordered world because the solution proposed for Poland does not suit them.

I believe religious leaders are reasoning in the fact that the leaders of the great nations has been sufficiently far-visionsed to take all present practical steps necessary to defeat the common enemy, and more, to establish the organization essential to the control of power and the further extension of justice. They have been equally far-seeing in renewing their pledge to principles. It is principle that summons men to further advance. The Atlantic Charter does not represent the last step in international relations, but it was a first step. Its ideals must be held aloft before men to further advance. Crimea is indeed "applied idealism," deserving the support of idealists and realists alike.



OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 15

(Part 2)

A Churchman Evaluates the Crimea Conference --2

Assissi, who revealed in his person the principle that must guide us, not only as individuals but as nations, namely, "He who would become the greatest among you must become the servant of all."

Of course, there will be fundamental difference of opinion concerning the solution reached in the matter of Poland. There is no satisfactory solution to the Polish question. It is impossible to reconcile the interests of Russia, Poland and Germany and receive the full support of each party involved in the solution. It is difficult to reconcile the interests of the Polish landlord and the Polish peasant. The history that lies behind the present decision is not well known among Americans. Easy solutions are not to be found. Those who object to the present proposal concerning Poland are obligated to present a better solution rather than to reject the plans for an ordered world because the solution proposed in the case of Poland does not suit them.

I believe religious leaders are rejoicing in the fact that the leadership of the great nations has been sufficiently far-visioned to take all presently practical steps necessary to defeat the common enemy, but, more, to establish the organization essential to the control of power and the further extension of justice. They have been equally far-seeing in renewing their pledge to principles. It is principle that summons men to further advance. The Atlantic Charter does not represent the last step in international relations, but it was a first step. Its ideals must be held aloft beckoning men to further advance. Crimea is indeed "applied idealism", deserving the support of idealists and realists alike.

Mr. DOYLE. No, I do not want to investigate.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Produce any United States Senators?

Mr. DOYLE. I have heard of Senators and—

Mr. VELDE. I think with all due respect to you, Mr. Doyle, we are getting out of the realm of this investigation.

Mr. DOYLE. I do not think it is out of the realm of the investigation to show the actual fact. We are only naming one person as a recent contributor, and there are a dozen or two dozen in the same magazine. That is the purport of my question. I just wanted the record to show that there are other distinguished Americans who are also contributors to that book. I think it is very pertinent and very material to this question of the bishop.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Doyle, will you yield a moment? You have no doubt in your mind at all about the fact that that is a Communist magazine, have you, regardless of who may have contributed to it, good or bad?

Mr. DOYLE. Of course this is the first time I have had it called to my attention, so I have no knowledge on the fact.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I believe the gentleman from California has an

excellent suggestion, and I would request permission to read into the record the names of those who, together with Bishop Oxnam, have been among the recent contributors.

Mr. VELDE. Permission is granted.

Mr. JACKSON. Irina Aleksander, William Rose Benét, Millen Brand, Henrietta Buckmaster, Holger Cahill, Joseph E. Davies, Theodore Dreiser, Howard Fast, Harold L. Ickes, Rt. Rev. Hewlitt Johnson, Capt. Sergei N. Kournakoff, Rose Maurer, Rev. William Howard Melish, Harriet Moore, James E. Murray, Claude Pepper, Arthur Upham Pope, D. N. Pritt, M P, Quentin Reynolds, Ernest C. Ropes, Isidor Schneider, Anna Seghers, Edwin Seaver, Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, Konstantin Simonov, Edgar Snow, Johannes Steele, Frederick L. Schuman, Anna Louise Strong, Genevieve Taggard, Valery J. Tereshtenko, Sidney Webb, Max Werner, Albert Rhys Williams, Ella Winter.

Mr. CLARDY. Will the gentleman yield.

Mr. VELDE. I recognized the gentleman, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I want to ask Mr. Jackson if he did not recognize a considerable number of those names, and I am specifically excluding you, Bishop, from the question—a great many of those are already publicly identified as Communists in the files of this committee, do you not recognize that?

Mr. VELDE. Let us proceed in regular order.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. While they are discussing the contributors to this last periodical, I think we missed the fact that the Protestant Digest, which has been marked Oxnam exhibit No. 12, in which the good bishop publishes the lead editorial on Fulton Sheen, has also an article in that same publication entitled, "Let my people go," by Cedric Belfrage. Belfrage testified before this committee and was identified as a member of the Communist Party. He is now being deported by the Department of Justice.

Mr. VELDE. May we proceed in regular order?

I would like to state again that in order to finish this hearing today, there is a lot of material which we have to develop, and we must confine our questions and answers to the subject matter under discussion, which I previously announced, and we would appreciate it if the members and the counsel and the witness as well could follow that procedure.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, if we could deal with some of the errors that I have tried to point out, we could perhaps clear the record. I realize what is being done here, and I am trying to answer, sir, responsibly, but I particularly referred to errors in the record which I think could be cleared if I were questioned upon them.

Mr. KUNZIG. We will come to one now, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. That was one of the groups listed there. The committee's mimeographed report, on which you later answered, said that on December 26, 1941, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties issued a press release to the effect that an open letter will be addressed to the President and the Congress of the United States, opposing antilabor legislation as a dire threat to the unity essential for the defeat of Japan, and your name appeared as one of the signers. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 17, pp. 3757 and 3758.)

In January 1943, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed a message to the House of Representatives which was a

plea for the discontinuance of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, and your name appeared as a signer on that. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 18, pp. 3659-3668.)

Now, if I am correct, sir, your answer was that you never at any time belonged to the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and never signed any statement for or on behalf of the organization.

Bishop OXNAM. That is correct, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that as to this organization you never had anything to do with it at all?

Bishop OXNAM. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have any knowledge that the Marshall foundation, which is a Communist-cited fund, gave \$65,000 to this group and was a large financial backer to this organization?

Bishop OXNAM. Since I was not a member of it and had no relationship with it, I had no knowledge concerning this until you state it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any idea at all how your name came to be used and how your name was listed as a signer in both of these messages?

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You will note that the first message was December 1941, and the second was January 1943. During that period of time it was never brought to your attention so that you might disclaim it in any way?

Bishop OXNAM. I have tried to say that I had no relationship that I recall at all with that organization.

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, may I ask you, when did you first learn that your name was used in this connection?

Bishop OXNAM. Several of these I knew nothing about, sir, until I saw the releases of this committee.

Mr. VELDE. Again I want to say and I hope you appreciate the fact that this committee has done some service in releasing those files, because you, like any other American citizen, would be interested in whether your name was used in connection with Communist-front organizations. I am sure you appreciate that.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, if that information were sent to me, it would be of service, but when that information is broadcast, and it is assumed that I belong to organizations I did not belong to, that is the disservice that I am requesting the committee to end as far as I am concerned.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the record I should like to incorporate into the record, and to be brief, the Communist background, the cited background of this organization—

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, why should that be in? Is that pertinent when I have said I do not belong to it? Why does he insert in my record a whole Communist relationship to an organization I do not belong to?

Mr. VELDE. Because we want to get the record straight. We have your denial of belonging to the organization, and this will be inserted into the record as your denial of belonging to the organization so that we finally may get your record straight so that we may inform the American people regarding their activities, what you did belong to and what you did not belong to.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. May I further clarify? To what is your denial being entered? It is being entered to this exhibit. It seems to me that in order to make the complete record, it is necessary to show on what the allegation was founded, and then enter against that the denial of your association with the organization. In that particular it is important.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection the matter will be so incorporated.⁹

Mr. KUNZIG. We turn to the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.¹⁰ This was 1938 and 1939, and I believe you referred to this earlier. These are letterheads of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, dated July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939, which lists the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a national sponsor, and I believe you answer—you may prefer to answer yourself here, if you wish, sir. Were you ever a national sponsor? (See Oxnam exhibit Nos. 19 and 20, pp. 3669 and 3670.)

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I have explained that when the Spanish people sought the freedom that we possess, I was in complete sympathy with the endeavor of those people to become free. I think every American will understand that. Several committees were organized to aid them, just as at present I am a member of Congressman Judd's Committee To Aid the Intellectuals in China. If some Chinese should some day be proved to be a Communist who has been aided by Congressman Judd's committee, I suppose some committee 20 years from now might be having somebody up asking about that.

Now, in this matter there was an interfaith division of what was

⁹The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948; by Attorney General Francis Biddle, in the Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687; by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports of Mar. 29, 1944, p. 50, June 25, 1942, p. 20, and Jan. 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12; by the congressional committee on Un-American Activities in its report No. 1115, Sept. 2, 1947 p. 3; and by the California committee on un-American activities in its 1948 report, pp. 201 and 327.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was described by former Attorney General Biddle, in a memorandum reprinted in the Congressional Record of Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7687 as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program among those who would never affiliate themselves openly with the party. Membership in the national federation or its affiliates likewise consists of those sympathetic to the stated aims of the organization, who may or may not be aware of its Communist control, as well as party members and fellow travelers.

"* * * In a pamphlet issued by the national federation it is stated that it was organized to coordinate several existing organizations concerned with the preservation and further realization of democratic rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. * * * Its method of operation, like that of International Labor Defense, the legal-aid arm of the Communist Party with which it is closely affiliated, is the creation of special committees for specific cases.

"In one of its publications the federation states that it was founded because our constitutional guarantees are in danger: as individuals we are powerless, but all together we are strong. * * * It demands the end of the Gestapo activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the abolition of the Dies committee.

"* * * Most of the national sponsors and most of the national executive committee and many of the local heads of the federation are leaders of Communist organizations or are prominently identified with Communist activities.

"The activities of the national federation have been manifest chiefly in the various committees specially created for the defense of certain individuals. The defenses of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation. * * *

¹⁰The Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 p. 82. The committee said: "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these organizations, said the committee, was the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.

The organization was also cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948 report, pp. 319, 335, and 336; the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938 report, pp. 394 and 395; and the Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report of April 27, 1943, p. 3.

called the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. I did belong to that. I despised Franco and that entire regime just as I did Stalin and do the regimes in Russia today.

Now, in the matter of sending medical aid to these people, I have no apology for that whatsoever. I did belong, and I find that other individuals such as Norman Vincent Peale—Dr. Peale was a member of the same committee. We thought we were in a good humanitarian organization and were doing our best to help what we thought to be a worthy cause. Now, then—

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt just a minute, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You say you thought. Have you found out since that it was a Communist-front organization?

Bishop OXNAM. I found out subsequently this, that an organization—this was dated November 7, 1946, which was titled the "Action Committee To Free Spain Now"—picked up these other organizations, such as the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, and listed on the back of this letterhead these organizations which included my name. Immediately upon seeing that I wrote this letter: "Will you be good enough to withdraw my name from the list of sponsors. I have just received your letter of November 7."

Now, being in an organization that we believed to be following a worthy purpose, and there were distinguished individuals in it—I mentioned the name of one of them—the moment that one became aware—and that was evident to me because there was reference here to the Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, which I think was tied up in the Communist movement. I resigned from it. I have no apologies whatsoever for belonging to organizations whose purposes were believed to be proper in the interests of serving people who were engaged in what I think to be an endeavor to become free. I am very sorry that Communists have sought to infiltrate those organizations. We have to be on the alert, but bringing these matters in years afterward, adding them up one after another, I am afraid, is giving an incorrect impression of what my particular position is. I appreciate, however, the opportunity, sir, to testify on this matter.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interpose a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Bishop, I am prompted to remark in connection with that that I, too, was approached to enter those organizations at the time. I had no difficulty whatsoever in recognizing them because it was in the public press that they were Communist in origin, and I did not join.

Now, that is the point I have been trying to make all along. This committee and its membership can serve a useful purpose because some of us do have, I think, a little bit better perception of what is going on behind the scenes than others.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate Mr. Clardy's statement. Some of us would like to have opportunity some day to tell what we have been doing in getting at the causes of communism, seeking to remove those causes around the world. There is a common service that can be rendered, I grant you that, but I do not want anybody to think that we were a group of people who somehow could not understand a situation of this kind, men like Norman Vincent Peale and

others. I do not frankly think this Spanish freedom matter and inter-faith was a matter of common knowledge, sir, at that time. If so, you had information I did not have, and I am glad you had it.

Mr. CLARDY. It was in Michigan, anyway.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer into evidence Oxnam exhibits 17 and 18 which were from the previous group that we mentioned which I did not offer into evidence.

Bishop OXNAM. May I ask what these are?

Mr. VELDE. Will you exhibit them?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir. I will show them to you.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I do not recognize this at all. I have not seen it. It is going into the record—

Mr. KUNZIG. Look at it very carefully. This is the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties which we discussed a few moments ago. We discussed the documents and I did not at that time offer them into evidence, and I am offering them now.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute while the witness examines this—if you will, please, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sure he ought to have every opportunity to examine them.

Mr. KUNZIG. He can look at any document, Mr. Doyle, at any time.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I testified I had no relation to this organization, and I take it I can save the time, Mr. Chairman, by returning this. I have never seen this to my best knowledge, and I am certain I never saw that.

Mr. KUNZIG. These are the two messages—

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOYLE. On account of the acoustics again at this end of the committee, I am not sure, Bishop Oxnam, but I thought I heard you say something about you presently being on a committee that is helping some group in Red China. Did I hear you so to state?

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir. What I said was that Congressman Judd, one of the Members of Congress at the present time, has organized a committee to aid Chinese intellectuals who are refugees from the present regime in China. I am a member of that executive committee. I have not had an opportunity to attend the meetings but have read their minutes. It has nothing to do, sir, with Red China except refugees from Red China.

Mr. VELDE. At this point we have had another call from the House, and the committee will recess for 30 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p. m., the hearing recessed to 6:05 p. m., during which time Representative Francis E. Walter entered the hearing room.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

The Chair would like to make an announcement. Due to the fact that we have had three rollcalls on the House floor today, our schedule has been interrupted. Counsel for the witness has to leave tomorrow afternoon for Europe, so we will proceed until 7 o'clock and take a recess for 1 hour, until 8 o'clock, and then attempt to finish our

hearing before midnight, at least, I hope. Is that satisfactory with the witness and counsel?

Bishop OXNAM. That is quite satisfactory with me, sir. I trust it is with Mr. Parlin.

Mr. PARLIN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much your courtesy in this matter.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, during the recess I conferred with counsel for the Bishop and also with the witness personally, and he stated that he wished to put in the record a comment to the effect that Wendell Willkie had also contributed to one of these magazines and also put in the article on Monsignor Sheen. I respectfully request, sir, at this time that the witness be permitted to make a statement to that effect and give these to me, and I shall offer them into evidence at this time.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, of course this is irrelevant material to this hearing, but in all fairness to the witness I suppose that we should allow this to be inserted in the record at this point. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 22, pp. 3681 to 3685.)

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire what it is he is talking about? I cannot understand. What is the article?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, you requested me to explain it, and I think I can. You recall that the counsel referred to an article that I had written for the Protestant Digest. He announced the topic. The topic, unfortunately, gives an erroneous opinion—in fact, it was not my topic. It was the topic of an editor. The title was "Monsignor Sheen and Clerical Fascism." There is nothing in this article that suggests directly or indirectly that Monsignor Sheen is a Fascist or a Fascist sympathizer. It deals with an entirely different matter, and I would very much like, since the counsel made reference to this, to have the article itself appear in the record which is a respectful approach to a distinguished leader of the church concerning a proposal he made relative to a world court, and I also would like to have on record that in the Protestant Wendell Willkie also contributed an article, and it makes it a little more clear why some others might have contributed an article. That is a request.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection those two articles will be admitted into the record. Those two articles are printed material and public information; are they not?

Bishop OXNAM. This is in a bound volume. I will have to have it photostated for you, if I may, because I have all my other articles in it.

Mr. VELDE. Are there two articles?

Mr. KUNZIG. One is an article? Is that correct?

Bishop OXNAM. One is an article. The other, I do not even know what Mr. Willkie said.

Mr. VELDE. That will be marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 22."

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

(The article referred to was received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit 22.)¹¹

Mr. KUNZIG. At this time, Mr. Chairman, I should like to offer into evidence Oxnam exhibits Nos. 17 and 18, which are several points

¹¹ Oxnam Exhibit No. 22 appears in numerical order.

back prior to the last break, but I want to get them in the record. It is the same type of document that we have had going along—documents which we have discussed and which should be in the record because we have discussed them back and forth.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be admitted.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, it is with the understanding that Bishop Oxnam denies having any knowledge of his name being used in that connection.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; I think the record is clear on that point.

Mr. VELDE. Is there objection, Mr. Jackson? If not, they will be admitted.

(The two messages referred to were received in evidence as Oxnam exhibits Nos. 17 and 18.)

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. We were talking, I believe, before the last call, about the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and also you then discussed and yourself mentioned a more modern Spanish situation of 1946 in which your name was used improperly.

Bishop OXNAM. Quite.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to hand you Oxnam exhibits Nos. 19 and 20, which have to do with this Medical Bureau and North American Committee, so that you may see the documents, and I want the record to be clear, since we have broken in between here and had a recess, that you, I believe, stated that you authorized your name to be used but subsequently resigned when it became apparent to you that the organization was other than what you had thought.

Bishop OXNAM. The Medical Bureau and North American Committee, and so on, I tried to explain earlier. I believe I was a sponsor of the organization. My recollection is that this was one of the first organizations to drive Communists out. I think Mr. Roger Baldwin led a movement to insist that there be no Communists allowed in the organization. I may be wrong. I was a sponsor.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence these documents marked "Oxnam Exhibits Nos. 19 and 20," sir.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, the documents will be introduced in evidence at this point.

(The documents, letterheads of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy were received in evidence as Oxnam exhibits Nos. 19 and 20.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Sir, the American Committee for Spanish Freedom¹² is another one of the organizations which was listed in this committee—

Bishop OXNAM. I think I referred to that; did I not? I think that is the organization I referred to.

¹² The American Committee for Spanish Freedom was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark, in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board released April 27, 1949.

The California Committee on Un-American Activities in its 1948 report, p. 125, stated that "the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, which was avowedly organized in July 1944, to fight for legislation ending American diplomatic relations with Spain and supplying American military aid for a Spanish revolution."

* * * The national offices of this organization are located at 55 West 42d Street, New York City (p. 115). * * * the key position of this Communist front is held by a member of the Communist Party. Allen Chase is the secretary. In 1936 Allen Chase was a candidate for Congress in New York on the Communist Party ticket."

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 17

(Part 1)

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES
1400 L St., NW Washington, DC - National 7720

December 26, 1941.

~~For Release A.M. and P.M. Times, Monday, December 23, 1941.~~

Declaring that "defeat of Japan and her Axis partners will require that complete unity of our people which today is a reality", 352 prominent Americans signed an open letter to the President and the Congress of the United States opposing pending anti-labor legislation as "a dire threat to this essential unity" it was announced today by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The signers endorsed the calling by the President of the labor - industry conference which reached an agreement on Wednesday banning strikes and lockouts for the duration of the war and submitting all labor disputes to settlement by peaceful means.

In releasing the list of signers, George Marshall, Vice-Chairman of the Federation pointed out that despite the labor - industry agreement a bloc of anti-labor Senators have renewed their campaign for enactment of repressive legislation.

"The agreement reached by the conference is an important contribution to national unity", Mr. Marshall said. "The continued insistence upon passage of repressive legislation imperils that unity."

The open letter states in part:

"...America needs as never before the quick, willing, wholehearted cooperation of its workers....

"We cannot forget that one of the first steps in the coming of German and Italian fascism was the passage of anti-labor legislation similar to that now being considered in the Congress of the United States.

"All of these proposals remove, in varying degree, labor's freedom to arrive voluntarily at agreements covering employer-employee relations. There is not one of these anti-labor bills which does not take away some of the hard earned rights of American working men and women."

Among the 352 signers of the letter were:

Lawrence Tibbett, Metropolitan Opera star;
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church, Boston;
Carl Van Doren, editor;
Dr. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, former president, American Assn. of Schools of Social Work;

Countee Cullen, poet;
Miss Constance Biddle, of Philadelphia;
Dr. Franz Boas, anthropologist;
Irving Caesar, songwriter;
Dean C.M. McCann, New York University;
Miss Katherine Locke, actress;
Dr. Max Lerner, Williams College;
Judge Louise Charlton, Birmingham, Ala.;
Pietro DiDonato, author;
Dr. Mary E. Woolley, President Emerita, Mt. Holyoke College;
Dr. Sherwood Eddy, author;
Moss Hart, playwright;
Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, of Chicago;
Emmett Gowen, author;
Dr. William A. Neilson, President Emerita, Smith College;
Waldo Frank, writer.

A complete list of the signers is attached.

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OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 17

(Part 2)

Rev. Ir. J. Pierce Newell, Superior, Wisconsin
 Edward Newhouse, writer, New York
 Robert Newsum, writer, New York
 Robert Hastings Nichols, New York
 Maxwell Nurnberg, writer, Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Eugene O'Brien, writer, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Martha Oser, writer, New York
 Thomas O'Sheel, writer, New York
 Elaine Owen, New York
 Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Boston, Mass.
 Myra Page, writer, New York
 Rev. George L. Paine, Boston, Mass.
 William Patterson, Chicago, Ill.
 Rev. Stephen Peabody, Congregational Church, San Jose, Calif.
 Dr. Helen Peak, Randolph Macon Women's College, Lynchburg, Va.
 Dr. J.S. Fennepacker, Dean, Intermountain Union College, Billings, Montana
 Anna M.W. Fennypacker, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Lionel C. Ferera, New York
 Henry W. Pinkham, Newton Centre, Mass.
 P. Hewisin Pollock, First Presbyterian Church, Bozeman, Montana
 Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Councilman, New York
 Elmer J. Pradt, Webster Groves, Mo.
 Phelps Putnam, writer, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
 Prof. Harrie Franklin Rall, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
 Rev. Francis P. Randall, Woodbridge, Conn.
 Dr. Evelyn Rankin, Lynchburg, Va.
 Dr. Dillwyn P. Ratcliff, University of Cincinnati
 Prof. Walter Reutenstrauch, Columbia University
 Charles Recht, Esq., New York
 J.W. Reed, Portland, Oregon
 Rebecca Reis, New York
 Ettore Bella, playwright, New York
 Dr. James Ruegger, Cincinnati General Hospital
 Bertha C. Reynolds, Long Island, New York
 J. B. Reynolds, President, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.
 L. Willard Reynolds, Poplar Ridge, N.Y.
 Prof. Bernard F. Riess, Hunter College, New York
 Lester Leake Riley, Douglaston, L.I., N.Y.
 Frederic I. Rinaldo, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Mary W. Rittenhouse, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, N.Y.
 Anna Rochester, writer, New York
 Wellington Roe, writer, St. George, Staten Island, N.Y.
 Paul Romaine, writer, Chicago, Ill.
 Harold J. Rose, songwriter, New York
 Rev. Clifton Hayward Rose, Danielson, Conn.
 Lillian Rose, Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Sam Ross, writer, Chicago, Ill.
 Henry Roth, writer, N.Y.
 Ralph H. Rowe, City Missionary Society, Boston, Mass.
 Madeline Ruthven, Beverly Hills, Calif.
 Helen G. Sahler, New York
 Dorothy Sainsbury, New York
 Prof. Philip L. Schenk, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
 Rev. A. J. Scherer, New Orleans, La.
 Paul A. Schilpp, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Pauline O. Schindler, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Prof. Arthur M. Schloesinger, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Isadore Schneider, writer, New York
 Prof. T.C. Schneirla, New York University
 Mark Schorer, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Dr. Harry Schrickel, University of Cincinnati
 Irving Schwab, New York
 Dr. Carlton F. Scofield, Buffalo, N.Y.
 Prof. Franklin B. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley College
 Prof. Lawrence Sears, Dept. of Philosophy, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.
 Elizabeth Sessions, Hampden, Mass.
 Frank C. Seymour, Lancaster, Mass.
 Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Law School, University of Chicago
 Sidney Sheldon, New York
 Wilmer Shore, West Los Angeles, Calif.
 Samuel Sillen, writer, New York
 Dr. E. Donald Sisson, Louisiana State University
 Charles Edward Smith, writer, New York
 Dr. Randolph B. Smith, Director, Cooperative School for Teachers, New York
 Rev. F. Hastings Smyth, Cambridge, Mass.
 Isabel Walker Soule, writer, New York
 C. A. Stanfield, Esq., Hot Springs, Arkansas.
 Barrie Stavis, playwright, New York.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 1)

A Message to the House of Representatives

January, 1943 sees the birth of a new Congress, the 78th Congress of the United States. It marks the fourteenth month of our fight for freedom. It heralds the year in which victory can be won.

The year 1943 can be a victorious one for the people of the United States and for their allies of the United Nations. In 1943, a united people, of many nations, of diverse creeds and races, can destroy forever the tyranny and terror of the Axis aggressors.

We can succeed only if we are united. We know that we must defeat all who would divide us. We know that the unity of America, and the unity of America with its allies, must be complete.

That is why we express our grave concern over the possible renewal of the Dies Committee by the House of Representatives.

We have observed the divisive workings of the Dies Committee and its chairman, Martin Dies. It is our belief that, on the basis of its record, the Committee must be terminated, because:

1. The Dies Committee, by allowing itself to become a forum for the proponents of intolerance and hatred, has undermined the very foundations of national unity, and has violated our pledge that all loyal Americans, irrespective of their racial, religious or political beliefs shall be united in common struggle against the enemy.
2. The Dies Committee, by continued and repeated attacks on our great ally, the Soviet Union, has utilized its resources to obstruct the cooperation of the United Nations which is a prerequisite for victory.
3. The Dies Committee has attempted, by its unprincipled and unfounded attacks on trade unions and their officials, to destroy the American labor movement which is a vital and decisive factor in the war effort, and which has made the war record of our free workers the pride of the nation.
4. The Dies Committee not only has deliberately suppressed information concerning the activities of Nazi cohorts in this country but has gone out of its way to shield such Axis propagandists as Pelley, Winrod, Viereck, Hudson, Kullgren, Sanctuary, Edmonson, True, and many others now convicted or under indictment for sedition by the Government of the United States.
5. The Dies Committee, to hide its flagrant fraternizing with fascists, has utilized its Congressional prestige to continue an undemocratic, un-American and openly obstructionist campaign of vilification against thousands of the staunchest supporters of the war and of the democratic way of life, and has campaigned equally vic-

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 2)

COUGHLIN'S "Social Justice":

"In your appreciation of the work accomplished by Dies, employ some of your leisure moments to write him a letter of encouragement. In fact, a million letters, brought to his desk, would be an answer to those who

are bent on destroying him and the legislative body which he represents."

("Social Justice" suspended publication when the Government began a probe of its seditious contents.)

WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY:

"I founded the Silver Legion in 1933, contiguous with the appearance of the so-called New Deal of the Democratic administration, at Asheville, N. C.; to propagandize exactly the same principles that Mr. Dies and this committee are engaged in prosecuting right now." (*Dies Committee Hearings*, Volume 12, pp. 7207-8, February 7, 1940.)

"I subscribe to that so completely . . . with the work

which has been done by the Dies Committee—and I have expressed it outside in publications—that if its work continues and goes on, the Silver Shirt Legion stops. We have no more use for it." (*Hearings*, Volume 12, p. 7247.)

(Convicted of sedition August, 1942, and sentenced to 10 years in prison.)

FRITZ KUHN, Leader of German American Bund:

"I am in favor of it (the Dies Committee) to be appointed again and I wish them to get more money." (*New York*

World-Telegram, Dec. 8, 1939.)

AXIS RADIO

For many months the short wave monitoring service of the Federal Communications Commission recorded and analyzed all broadcasts emanating from Axis-dominated countries. The Birmingham (Ala.) *Age-Herald* reported "The man most frequently and approvingly quoted (on Nazi propaganda broadcasts) is a man who

has made much of the word 'American.' . . . He is the most popular American as far as the Rome-Berlin radios are concerned. . . . His name is Martin Dies. . . . In all their quotations from Mr. Dies, no one has heard a single criticism of him by the Axis radio."

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

MARTIN DIES ON FOREIGN POLICY:

"I am as anxious as anyone to see the defeat of Hitler, and I hope Russia is licked at the same time." (Speech before the American Institute of Laundering Conven-

tion, October 19, 1941, reported in *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 20, 1941.)

Sponsored by the

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

1123 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
January, 1943

1400 I Street N.W., Washington, D. C.



OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 3)

I heroby join in signing the January, 1943 "Message to the House of Representatives," opposing renewal of the Dies Committee:

THE FOLLOWING HAVE SIGNED THE MESSAGE AS INDIVIDUALS.
ORGANIZATIONS ARE LISTED FOR IDENTIFICATION ONLY.

- DR. HAROLD AARON, New York, N. Y.
REV. RALPH C. ABLE, St. Louis, Mo.
REV. CHARLES P. ACKLEY, New York, N. Y.
LOUIS ADAMIC, writer, Milford, N. J.
COMFORT A. ADAMS, Consulting Engineer, Philadelphia, Pa.
SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS, author, Auburn, N. Y.
GEORGE P. ADAMS, Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
THOMAS ADDIS, Professor of Medicine, Stanford University, San Francisco, Calif.
EVELYN ADLER, Director War Activities, United Office & Professional Workers of America, New York, N. Y.
REV. EDWIN E. AIKEN, JR., Lynn, Mass.
REV. GROSS W. ALEXANDER, Lyndhurst Methodist Church, Lyndhurst, N. J.
EDWARD S. ALLEN, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.
FAY E. ALLEN, Member City Board of Education, Los Angeles, Calif.
JAMES EGERT ALLEN, President, N. Y. State Conference, N.A.A.C.P., New York, N. Y.
REV. WILBUR C. ALLEN, Ebenezer Presbyterian Church, Kimball, W. Va.
GORDON W. ALLPORT, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
REV. PAUL JOHNSON ALLURED, First Presbyterian Church, Holly, Mich.
RABBI MICHAEL ALPER, New York, N. Y.
CARL ALBERT, editor, Washington, D. C.
EARL ALPHEG, Clifton Unitarian Church List, Louisville, Mo.
DOROTHY ANDERSON, Office Secy., Ohio & Western Pa. District, Y.W.C.A., Springfield, Ohio.
REV. WILLIAM C. ANDERSON, First Evangelical and Reformed Church, Bremen, Ind.
ROBERTA ANTHONY, teacher, Springfield, Mass.
REV. BEDROS K. APELIAN, Fairlawn, N. J.
BENJAMIN APPEL, novelist, New York, N. Y.
REV. ELMER J. F. ARNDT, Chairman, Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Webster Groves, Mo.
LESLIE R. ARNOLD, Chairman, New England Chapter, Progressive Librarians' Council, Boston, Mass.
HARRIETTE ASHBROOK, writer, Mitchell, Neb.
REV. CHARLES AUSTIN, The Church of All Nations, New York, N. Y.
F. DUKE AVNET, attorney, Baltimore, Md.
WAYNE BAKER, National Vice-President, Association of Internos & Medical Students, Chicago, Ill.
PEGGY BACON, artist, New York, N. Y.
DONALD W. BAILEY, Professor of Psychology, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
ELIZABETH BAKER, New York, N. Y.
FRANK E. BAKER, President, State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wis.
HELEN CODY BAKER, writer, Chicago, Ill.
JAMES F. BALDWIN, Professor, Emeritus, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
REV. ARCHIE D. BALL, Hackensack, N. J.
REV. LEE M. BALL, Methodist Church, Lake Mohawk, N. Y.
REV. ALBERT H. BALLER, Methodist Congregational United Church, Durham, Conn.
MARTHA H. BALMER, teacher, Portland, Ore.
REV. ROBERT W. BANGALL, St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
REV. WILLIAM BARLEN, Middletown Springs, Vermont.
S. L. M. BARLOW, President, Citizens Committee for the Arts, New York, N. Y.
ADRIAAN J. BARNOUW, Professor, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
REV. NORMAN B. BARR, Minister Emeritus, Chicago Presbytery, Chicago, Ill.
JOHN BARRROW, librarian, Berea College, Berea, Ky.
LIONEL C. BARROW, President, N. Y. Branch, N.A.A.C.P., New York, N. Y.
JOHN BARTSE, International Representative, United Automobile Workers, Indianapolis, Ind.
REV. JOSEPH BARTH, Vice-President, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, Miami, Fla.
REV. MARSHALL E. BARTHOLOMEW, Presbyterian Church, Mansfield, Pa.
DR. PAUL J. BAUERBERG, Yonkers, N. Y.
HOWARD BAY, scenic designer, New York, N. Y.
JOSEPH WARREN BEACH, Professor of English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
BESSIE J. BEARDEN, National Treasurer, The Council of Negro Women of America, New York, N. Y.
MAX BEADCHT, General Secretary, International Workers Order, New York, N. Y.
REV. C. HARRISON BECKER, First Presbyterian Church, Morrison, Ill.
ALICE S. BELESTER, Chairman, United Conference on High Cost of Living.
REV. O. W. BELL, Methodist Church, New London, Conn.
THOMAS BELL, author, Brooklyn, N. Y.
GRAY BEMIS, Executive Secy., South California District, International Workers Order, Los Angeles, Calif.
WILLIAM ROSE BENET, Associate Editor, Saturday Review of Literature, New York, N. Y.
MRS. HAROLD BENJAMIN, National Social Studies Committee, A.A.U.W., College Park, Md.
DEAN HAROLD BENJAMIN, College of Education, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
JOHN C. BENNETT, Professor, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif.
REV. S. R. BENNETT, First Universalist Church, Elgin, Ill.
ELMER A. BENSON, Appleton, Minn.
R. W. BERGSTROM, Business Agent, Local 1139, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, Minneapolis, Minn.
ALYAH BESSIE, writer, New York, N. Y.
MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, President, National Council of Negro Women, Washington, D. C.
DOROTHY BETHURUW, Professor of English, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
DR. HENRY LAMBERT BIBBY, Kingston, N. Y.
JOHN BICKNELL Canton, N. Y.
CONSTANCE E. BIDDLE, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
RAY A. BILLINGTON, Professor of American History, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
DR. CARL A. L. BINGER, New York, N. Y.
CLARIDA G. BINGER, teacher, New York, N. Y.
RAYMOND T. BIRGE, Chairman, Dept. of Physics, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
DR. K. A. BISHARA, Head of the Syrian Protestant Church of Greater New York, Brooklyn, N. Y.
IVAN BLACK, public relations counsel, New York, N. Y.
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, Cambridge, Mass.
DR. HOWARD W. BLAKE, New York, N. Y.
REV. MYLES D. BLANCHARD, Congregational Church, Libon, N. H.
TAYLOR BLEDSOE, attorney, Asheville, N. C.
RABBI MAURICE J. BLOOM, Temple Beth Jacob, Newburgh, N. Y.
R. E. BLOUNT, retired teacher, Oak Park, Ill.
DR. GEORGE BLUMER, Professor Emeritus, Yale Medical School, Pasadena, Calif.
JOHN M. BLY, Registrar, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn.
DR. ERNST P. BOAS, New York, N. Y.
BART J. BOK, Associate Professor of Astro-nomy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
JOHN W. BOLLINGER, President, Farmers Union Livestock Commission Co., Feshar, N. D.
DEAN AHVA J. C. BOND, Alfred University School of Theology, Alfred, N. Y.
HUGH A. BONE, Instructor in Government, Queen's College, Bryside, N. Y.
EDWARD H. BONNALL JR., Advisor, Christian Youth Council of Iowa, Fairfield, Iowa.
REV. LESTER L. BOOBAR, First Methodist Church, Bangor, Maine.
PHILIP H. BOOTHROYD, President, Lenier Co. Local, Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of Colorado, Loveland, Colo.
ALLEN BORETZ, writer, West Los Angeles, Calif.
EDWIN G. BORING, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
LOUIS B. BOWDIN, attorney, New York, N. Y.
JEAN L. BOUWIE (Mrs. W. Russell), New York, N. Y.
RICHARD O. BOYER, writer, New York, N. Y.
BAYARD RÖYSEN, writer, Winchester, N. H.
REV. DWIGHT J. BRADLEY, Director, Council for Social Action, New York, N. Y.
FREDERICK D. BRAMHALL, Professor of Political Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.
MARY E. BRANCH, President, Tillotson College, Austin, Texas.
MRS. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, Washington, D. C.
BLAISFORD B. BRAZEL, Chairman, Department of Economics, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.
ROY BRAZEL, Secretary, Farmers Union, No. 641, Vilgas, S. D.
SOPHONISA P. BRECKENRIDGE, Professor of Public Welfare, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
WILLIAM BRECKSTONE, chemist, New York, N. Y.
JOSEPH BRESSLER, Assistant Professor, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
JAMES L. BREWER, Postmaster Bar Association, Parkchester, N. Y.
DR. DOROTHY BREWSTER, New York, N. Y.
JOHN BRIDGE, Professor, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER, Professor of History, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
JOSEPH R. BRODSKY, Counsel, International Workers Order, New York, N. Y.
J. E. BROLINE, State Board Member, South Dakota Farmers Union, Winner, S. D.
JEROME E. BROOKS, editor, New York, N. Y.
VAN WYCK BROOKS, writer, Westport, Conn.
CHARLES E. BROUGHTON, editor, Sheboygan, Wis.
JULE BROUSSEAU, novelist, New York, N. Y.
DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, President, Palmer Institute, Sedalia, N. C.
DR. ESTHER LUCILE BROWN, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N. Y.
DR. GEORGE L. BROWN, Chairman, Salvage Committees, Paulsboro, N. J.
HAROLD BROWN, Secy.-Treas., Montana Farmers Union, Great Falls, Mont.
HAROLD CHAPMAN BROWN, Professor of Philosophy, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.
DR. SARA W. BROWN, Washington, D. C.
ALFRED A. BROWNE, Editor, Hillside Productions, Hillside, N. Y.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 4)

- M. S. BRUCE**, Managing Editor, *The People's Voice*, Hialeah, Mont.
- EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER**, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, New York.
- FRANK BRUNO**, Vice-President, Tennessee State C.I.O. Industrial Union Council, Memphis, Tenn.
- ASHLEY BUCK**, author, New York, N. Y.
- REV. EDWIN T. BUHRER**, Third Unitarian Church, Chicago, Ill.
- E. Z. BURDICK**, Dean of Students, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- WALTER J. BURKE**, Secy. Treas., Wisconsin State Industrial Union Council, Milwaukee, Wis.
- HEHRY M. BURLAGE**, Professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- LOUIS E. BURMAN**, Organizational Secy., Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.
- JANE BURR**, Authors' League of America, New York, N. Y.
- SAM BURT**, Manager, Joint Board of Fur Dressers and Dyers, New York, N. Y.
- REV. STANARD DOW BUTLER**, Herkimer, N. Y.
- REV. ELMER W. BUTLER**, Congregational Church, Canandaigua, N. Y.
- WITTER BYNNER**, writer, Santa Fe, N. M.
- JOHN L. BUYS**, Professor of Biology, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y.
- REV. EDWARD A. CANILL**, First Congregational Society, Chalmers, Mass.
- WILLIAM CAHNI**, Editor, *News of Connecticut*, New Haven, Conn.
- EVA CAMPBELL**, Democratic State Central Committee, First District, Detroit, Mich.
- REV. FRANCIS C. CAPOZZI**, Episcopal Church, Wind Gap, Pa.
- MORRIS CARMOVSKY**, actor, New York, N. Y.
- ISABELLE K. CARTER**, Associate Professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- WILLIAM MORE CASE**, Chairman, Nevada Conference of Jews and Christians; Chairman, Commission on Religion, Nev. Economic Conference, Reno, Nev.
- G. P. CASEY**, attorney, Hope, Ark.
- THOMAS E. CASEY**, Assistant Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, Division No. 46, Waco, Tex.
- HARRY M. CASSIDY**, Professor of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
- ZACHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.**, Professor of Law, Cambridge, Mass.
- CHAS. G. CHAKERIAM**, Assistant Professor of Economics, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- ROBERT C. CHALLMAN**, Assistant Professor, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- D. W. CHAPMAN**, State President, Montana Farmers Union, Great Falls, Mont.
- HON. LOUISE O. CHARLTON**, Honorary President, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Birmingham, Ala.
- RABBI ELIAS CHARRY**, Germantown Jewish Center, Philadelphia, Pa.
- REV. DON M. CHASE**, Methodist Church, Redding, Calif.
- RUSSELL N. CHASE**, President, Ohio Chapter, National Lawyers Guild, Cleveland, Ohio.
- ALVIN B. CHRISTMAS**, State Director, Pennsylvania Farmers Union, Centertop, Pa.
- HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL**, President, Allis-Chalmers Workers Union, Local 248, United Automobile Workers, C.I.O., West Allis, Wis.
- PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER**, Tennessee Regional Director, C.I.O., Knoxville, Tenn.
- REV. BENJAMIN H. CLARK**, First Unitarian Society, Loconia, N. H.
- ELMER C. CLARK**, Acting Chairman, Casting Division, International Union of Mine, Mill, Smelter Workers, Toledo, Ohio.
- REV. MERRILL F. CLARKE**, Congregational Christian Church, New Canaan, Conn.
- EARL L. CLUHA**, Financial Secretary, Local 1145, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, Honeywell, Minn.
- M. ROBERT COBBLEDICK**, Associate Professor of Economics, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- CHARLES J. COE**, Farm Research, New York, N. Y.
- GEORGE A. COE**, Retired Professor of Education, Claremont, Calif.
- HAROLD G. COFFMAN**, President, George Williams College, Chicago, Ill.
- RABBI HENRY COHEN**, Galveston, Texas.
- DR. LOUIS H. COHEN**, Norwich, Conn.
- NORMAN F. COLEMAN**, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
- LOUIS COLMAN**, International Labor Defense, New York, N. Y.
- REV. J. ROSS COLQUHOUN**, St. John's Episcopal Church, Mantola, Minn.
- DEAN E. N. COMFORT**, Oklahoma School of Religion, Norman, Okla.
- PHILIP W. L. COX**, New York University, New York, N. Y.
- REV. C. CLAYTON COMSTOCK**, City, N. Y.
- EUGENE P. CONNOLLY**, Secy., N. Y. County Committee, American Labor Party, New York, N. Y.
- REV. E. M. CONOVER**, Director, Interdenominational Bureau of Architecture, New York, N. Y.
- LINCOLN CONSTANCE**, Assistant Professor of Botany, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
- DR. JEROME E. COOK**, St. Louis, Mo.
- REV. GEORGE S. COOKE**, Unitarian Church, Northampton, Mass.
- ELIZABETH SPRAGUE COOLIDGE**, Patroness of Music, Coolidge Foundation, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- DR. THOMAS COOLING**, Detroit, Mich.
- ESTHER W. COOPER**, Executive Secy., Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.
- REV. ORLO C. CORBETT**, Flat Creek Baptist Church, Gilboa, N. Y.
- PAUL COREY**, author, Cold Springs, N. Y.
- GIOVANNI COSTIGAN**, Professor, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- J. A. COTTON**, Former President of Knoxville Collage, Henderson, N. C.
- FREDERICK A. COUNTS**, Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- THOMAS L. COWAN**, Chairman, Brooklyn Elts Civil Liberties League, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- GRACE L. COYLE**, Cleveland, Ohio.
- C. M. CRAMLET**, Associate Professor of Mathematics, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- REV. FRANK D. CRANDALL**, Second Church, Salem, Mass.
- REV. HENRY H. CRANE**, Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Mich.
- REV. WILLIAM C. CRAWNER**, Church of the Good Shepherd, York, S. C.
- REV. ARTHUR M. CRAWFORD**, Asbury Methodist Church, Erie, Pa.
- PAUL F. CRESSY**, Professor of Sociology, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
- RABBI ABRAHAM CRONBACH**, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- EPHRAIM GROSS**, Professor, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- H. W. CROSS**, Vice-Pres., Consumers Union, Springfield, Mass.
- JOSEPH E. CURRAN**, President, National Maritime Union, New York, N. Y.
- EDWARD ELY CURTIS**, Professor of History, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- ELIZABETH ARMOUR CURTISS**, Lecturer in Economics, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- HAZEL MORTON CUSHING**, educator, Scranton, Wash.
- GEORGE DAHL**, Professor of Old Testament, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
- HENRY W. L. DANA**, professor, Cambridge, Mass.
- REV. JOHN I. DANIEL**, Highland Avenue Congregational Church, Orange, N. J.
- MARCIA DAVENPORT**, writer, New York, N. Y.
- DR. HAROLD W. DAYEY**, labor relations consultant, Chicago, Ill.
- JOY DAVIDMAN**, poet and novelist, New York, N. Y.
- FRED D'AVILA**, Editor, *Baltimore C.I.O. News*, Baltimore, Md.
- DAVID DAVIS**, Business Rep., Local No. 155, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, Philadelphia, Pa.
- REV. EARL C. DAVIS**, Paterfamilias, Mass.
- FRANK C. DAVIS**, Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
- JOHN W. DAVIS**, President, West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va.
- JOHN P. DAVIS**, attorney, Washington, D. C.
- REV. LEWIS M. DAVIS**, Seymour Methodist Church, Seymour, Conn.
- REV. JOHN WARREN DAY**, Dean of Grace Cathedral, Topeka, Kan.
- REV. ROBERT B. DAY**, First Unitarian Church, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
- W. J. DECKER**, Secretary, San Diego Industrial Union Council, San Diego, Calif.
- HUGH DE LACY**, President, Washington Commonwealth Federation, Seattle, Wash.
- ELEANOR DENING**, retired teacher and camp director, New York, N. Y.
- HY DENERSTEIN**, Organizer, Local 16, United Office & Professional Workers of America, New York, N. Y.
- WALTER DENNIS**, Fin. Secy., Local 22, United Steel Workers of America, Silver Grove, Ky.
- CHESTER McA. DESTLER**, Chairman, Dept. of History, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- BABETTE DEUTSCH**, writer, New York, N. Y.
- REV. CHARLES DE VRIES**, First Unitarian Church, West Union, Mass.
- REV. DALE DE WITT**, Regional Director, Middle Atlantic States, American Unitarian Association, New York, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN H. DETRICH**, Minister Emeritus, First Unitarian Society, Minneapolis, Minn.
- MARJORIE DILLEY**, Associate Professor of Government, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- GEORGE DILLON**, writer and editor, 830th Signal Service Co., Ft. Meade, Md.
- HEDELY S. DIMOCK**, Dean, George Williams College, Chicago, Ill.
- W. D. DIZER**, Professor; President, St. James Baptist Young Peoples' Union, Boswell, Ohio.
- BELLA V. DODD**, Legislative Rep., Teachers' Union of New York, New York, N. Y.
- STANLEY D. DODGE**, Associate Professor of Geography, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- DR. WITHERSPON DODGE**, Greenville Director, Textile Workers Union of America, Greenville, S. C.
- JAMES A. DOMBRROWSKI**, Exec. Secy., Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Nashville, Tenn.
- DR. ARNOLD DONOVAN**, dentist, New York, N. Y.
- ELIZABETH DONNAN**, Professor of Economics, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- JULIUS DOUBEK**, Secy., Manitowoc Central Labor Council, Manitowoc, Wis.
- HARL R. DOUGLAS**, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
- OLIN DOWNES**, music critic, New York, N. Y.
- MURIEL DRAPER**, author, New York, N. Y.
- THEODORE DRESSER**, novelist, Hollywood, Cal.
- DANIEL DRIESEN**, Int'l Rep., American Communications Association, Washington, D. C.
- REV. WILLIAM H. DUDLEY**, Congregational Church, Homer, N. Y.
- REV. HUBERT N. DUKES**, First Congregational Church, Jackson, Mich.
- REV. ARTHUR DUMPER**, Former Dean of Trinity Cathedral, Newark, N. J.
- JOHN DUNN**, News Editor, *Federated Press*, New York, N. Y.
- ZARA DU PONT**, Cambridge, Mass.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 5)

- REV. M. O. DYVIK, Our Saviour's Evangelical Lutheran Church, New York, N. Y.
- JOHN DZENIT, businessman, Santa Barbara, Calif.
- MORACE A. EATON, Professor of English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
- CYDIE EDDY, author, Port Washington, N. Y.
- C. G. EDELEN, President, Plymouth Local 51, United Automobile Workers, Detroit, Mich.
- REV. J. EARLE EDWARDS, Colleges Village, N. Y.
- T. EDWARDS, Hettering, N. D.
- CHARLES D. EGLEY, Mgr., Farmers Union Livestock Commission Co., South St. Paul, Minn.
- GILBERT S. EILES, Secy., Central Labor Council, Shabogyan, Wis.
- NAT. EINHOORN, Executive Secretary, Newspaper Guild, New York, N. Y.
- ALBERT EINSTEIN, Princeton, N. J.
- CLARENCE EKLUND, Buffalo, Wyoming.
- MRS. LEWIS A. ELDRIDGE, Great Neck, L. I., N. Y.
- DR. LEWIS A. ELDRIDGE, JR., Great Neck, L. I., N. Y.
- SEBA ELDRIDGE, Professor, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
- REV. FREDERICK M. ELIOT, Unitarian Association, Boston, Mass.
- ALBERT I. ELKUS, composer; educator; Professor of Music, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
- HENRY ELLISON, Free Press Corporation, Grand Coulee, Washington.
- CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, Professor of Sociology, Duke University, Durham, N. C.
- DR. LEO ELOSSEER, Clinical Professor of Surgery, Stanford University, San Francisco, Calif.
- GERTRUDE ELY, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- EDWIN R. EMBREE, author, Chicago, Ill.
- S. ENEE, Instructor, Dept. of Economics, University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
- PAUL ENGLE, Assistant Professor of English, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
- MRS. ROSS ENSWINGER, Registrar, Southern Union College, Wadley, Ala.
- ARCHBISHOP WILLIAM ERNEST (JAMES I), Patriarch, African Orthodox Church, New York, N. Y.
- HUGO ERNST, General Secy.-Treas., Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America.
- DEAN ALVIN E. EVANS, Law School, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.
- REV. ARTHUR WALMYN EVANS, Congregational Church, Rochester, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN BARTLE EVERTS, Carmel, N. Y.
- REV. THOMAS D. EWING, Windermere Presbyterian Church, East Cleveland, Ohio.
- HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, Professor of Sociology, N. Y. University, New York, N. Y.
- REV. ARTHUR W. EARNUM, St. Mary's Parish, Atholville, N. C.
- REV. ALFRED L. FAUST, First Methodist Church, Richmond Hill, N. Y.
- PAUL J. FAY, Professor of Psychology, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
- DR. ERNST FEISE, Professor of Medicine, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, Md.
- RABBI ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG, Denver, Colo.
- REV. GEORGE C. FETTER, University Baptist Church, Minneapolis, Minn.
- SARA BARD FIELD, writer and poet, Los Gatos, Calif.
- JAMES RAY FILES, Chairman, Charter Revision Committee, Los Angeles, Calif.
- REV. JOHN W. FINDLEY, University Presbyterian Church, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.
- IRVING FINEMAN, writer, Shaftsbury, Vt.
- REV. WALTER P. FINK, Clifton Unitarian Church, Louisville, Kentucky.
- REV. JACOB FISCHER, Clifton Unitarian Church, Louisville, Kentucky.
- M. H. FISHER, Professor of History, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.
- REV. WELLS H. FITCH, Secretary, N. Y. Congregational Christian Conference, Riverhead, New York.
- JAMES L. FITZPATRICK, Editor, The Wisconsin Teacher, Milwaukee, Wis.
- ABRAHAM FLAXER, President, State, County & Municipal Workers of America, New York, N. Y.
- LEON FLEISCHER, N.A.A.C.P., Bridgeport, Conn.
- REV. JOSEPH F. FLETCHER, Church League for Industrial Democracy, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- REV. JOSEPH S. FLIPPER, Senior Bishop, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Atlanta, Ga.
- ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Secy., Women's Committee, Communist Party, New York, N. Y.
- MRS. MITCHELL FOLLANSBEE, Illinois League of Women Voters, Evanston, Ill.
- THOMAS FOLEY, Field Organizer, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, Minn.
- GUY STANTON FORD, Washington, D. C.
- REV. JOHN R. FORSYTH, Rosedale Gardens Presbyterian Church, Plymouth, Mich.
- BERTHA JOSSELYN FOSS, New York, N. Y.
- WALDO FRANK, writer, New York, N. Y.
- MITCHELL FRANKLIN, Professor of Law, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
- GEORGE WILLARD FRASIER, State College, Greeley, Colo.
- ROYAL WILBUR FRANCE, Professor of Economics, Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla.
- ELIZABETH P. FRAZIER, Religious Educator, Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
- IRA HENRY FREEMAN, newspaperman, New York, N. Y.
- HARRY W. FREEMAN, attorney, Houston, Tex.
- REV. EDWARD SNIVELY FREY, United Lutheran Church, Lemoyne, Pa.
- REV. STEPHEN H. FRITZMAN, Unitarian Youth Commission, Boston, Mass.
- REV. G. SHUBERT FRYE, Presbyterian Church, Syracuse, N. Y.
- EVA WATSON FRYE, Syracuse, N. Y.
- LESLIE A. FURLONGE, President, General Alumni Association of Shaw University, New York, N. Y.
- JAMES L. FURRY, Secretary, Barberton Labor Union, Barberton, Ohio.
- WENDELL H. FURRY, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- WANDA GAG, Author's League, New York, N. Y.
- ROBERT F. GALBREATH, New Wilmington, Pa.
- W. HORSLEY GANTT, Baltimore, Md.
- DR. RUDOLPH GANZ, President, Chicago Musical College, Chicago, Ill.
- LEO GALLAGHER, attorney, Los Angeles, Cal.
- DR. MERRITT G. GARLAND, Chairman of the Social Action Committee, Essex North Association of Congregational Christian Churches, Bradford, Mass.
- KATE GRANEN H. GARTZ, Altadena, Calif.
- EDWARD W. GELDREICH, Instructor of Psychology, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kan.
- HUGO GELLERT, artist, New York, N. Y.
- W. W. GERMAN SR., Louisville, Ky.
- JAMES J. GIBSON, Associate Professor of Psychology, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; Captain, Air Corps, Flying Training Command.
- REV. CHARLES G. GIRELIUS, Unitarian Church, Barnaveld, N. Y.
- WILLIAM GLAZIER, Research Director, Oil Workers Organizing Campaign, (C.I.O.), Houston, Tex.
- JOSEPHINE M. GLEASON, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- ELIOT J. GLESTER, attorney, Civil Rights and Liberties Committee, National Lawyers Guild, Hartford, Conn.
- MYMAN N. GLUCKSTEIN, attorney, Chairman, Law Committee, N. Y. County American Labor Party, New York, N. Y.
- BEN GOLD, President, International Fur & Leather Workers Union of U. S. & Canada, (C.I.O.), New York, N. Y.
- ALFRED G. GOLDBERG, attorney, Milwaukee, Wis.
- DR. ISIDOR GOLDBERG, Louisville, Ky.
- DR. MAURICE GOLDBERG, New York, N. Y.
- LOUIS GOLDBLATT, Field Representative, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union, New York, N. Y.
- BEN GOLDEN, New York, N. Y.
- DR. ALEX GOLDMAN, Bronx, N. Y.
- LEONARD H. GOLDSMITH, National CIO Representative, Newark, N. J.
- JOSEPH M. GONZALEZ, Menion, Ohio
- ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH, Professor of the History of Religion, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- EYERETT W. GOODHUE, Professor, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- ERNEST GOODMAN, attorney, Detroit, Mich.
- WILLYSTINE GOODELL, Associate Professor of Education (retired), Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- R. A. GORDON, Department of Economics, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
- ESTHER ALLEN GOW, League of Women Voters, Columbus, Ohio.
- REV. GEORGE LORENZO GRAMBS, Bayonne, N. J.
- REV. JOHN C. GRANBERY, Editor, The Emancipator, San Antonio, Texas.
- W. BROOKE GRAVES, Department of Political Science, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
- REV. CHARLES S. GRAY, Methodist Church, Gaylordville, Conn.
- WILLIAM D. GRAY, Professor of History, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- ROWLAND GRAY-SMITH, Professor of Philosophy, Emerson College, Boston, Mass.
- REV. WALTER F. GREENMAN, Newton, Mass.
- REV. CORNELIUS GREENWAY, All Souls Universalist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- BISHOP J. A. GREGG, Secy., Bishops' Council, Kansas City, Kan.
- REV. W. E. J. GREY, Our Saviour's Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill.
- BENJAMIN O. GRUENBERG, educator, New York, N. Y.
- REV. ALEXANDER J. J. GRUETTER, Episcopal Church, Toledo, Ohio.
- DR. BETHINA WARBURG GRIMSON, New York, N. Y.
- SAMUEL GRUBER, Secy., Stamford Industrial Union Council, C.I.O., Stamford, Conn.
- HARRIET GUIGNON, Philadelphia, Pa.
- RALPH H. GUNDLACH, Associate Professor of Psychology, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- MARY J. GUTHRIE, Professor of Zoology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- J. H. HADLEY, General Chairman, S.A.L. System Federation, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Tampa, Fla.
- REV. HERMAN J. HAHN, Riverside Salem Church, Buffalo, N. Y.
- RABBI J. L. HAHN, Congregation Mt. Sinai Anshel Emah, New York, N. Y.
- REV. B. FRANK HALL, Central Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, Mo.
- ROYAL G. HALL, Professor, Albion College, Albion, Mich.
- DR. MARION FRANKLIN HAM, clergyman, author, Belmont, Mass.
- DR. ALICE HAMILTON, Professor Emerita, Harvard University, Haddys, Conn.
- L. R. H. HANKINS, Northampton, Mass.
- F. M. HANKS, JR., psychologist, Bennington College, Bennington, Vt.
- ARTHUR J. HANNEY, attorney, Albany, N. Y.
- LEWIS R. HARDY, Louisville, Ky.
- CARL A. HALLOUST, Representative, Minneapolis United Automobile Workers, C.I.O., Minneapolis, Minn.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 6)

- S. RALPH HARLOW, professor, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- DAWSON M. HARNISH, Secretary of School Board, Richmond, Pa.
- LUCIUS C. HARPER, Executive Editor, The Chicago Defender, Chicago, Ill.
- MRS. ANTON S. HARRINGTON, Scholastic County Committee, Farmers Union, N. Y. Milk Shed, Gilboa, N. Y.
- DR. CHARLES MORGAN HARRIS, Jersey City, N. J.
- DR. D. L. HARRIS, St. Louis, Mo.
- ELAM HARRIS, Clifton Unitarian Church List, Louisville, Ky.
- GERALD HARRIS, President, Alabama Farmers Union, Birmingham, Ala.
- M. LA FAYETTE HARRIS, President, Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.
- MARGUERITE TJADER HARRIS, Editor, Direction, Darien, Conn.
- ROBERT J. HARRIS, Associate Professor of Government, Louisiana State University; Editor, Journal of Politics, Baton Rouge, La.
- H. HARRISON, Secy.-Treas., Central Labor Union, Jefferson City, Mo.
- REV. JOSEPH HARTE, St. George's Episcopal Church, Rochester, N. Y.
- DAVID L. HATCH, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- ELMER MAUCK, Secy.-Treas., Chain Service Restaurant-Employees Union, Local 42, New York, N. Y.
- REV. EDLER G. HAWKINS, St. Augustine Presbyterian Church, New York, N. Y.
- ROLAND HAYES, concert artist, Brookline, Mass.
- REV. TRUMAN L. HAYES, Barnstable, Mass.
- ALINE DAVIS HAYS, New York, N. Y.
- GEORGE WEDGER, Professor of History, Cincinnati Branch, A.C.L.U., Cincinnati, Ohio.
- TRAVIS K. HEDRICK, Publicity Director, Oil Workers Organizing Campaign, C.I.O., Houston, Texas.
- REV. ARTHUR HEEB, Unitarian Church, Northfield, Mass.
- A. J. HELLMAN, Clifton Unitarian Church List, Louisville, Ky.
- FLORENZ HEISER, University of Connecticut, Norwich, Conn.
- REV. LEONARD HELIE, First Church in Roxbury, Mass., Brookline, Mass.
- MARION HELLSTERN, President, South Valley County Farmers Union, Hinsdale, Mont.
- WILLIAM KEMP, Clifton Unitarian Church List, Louisville, Ky.
- REV. G. THEODORE HEMPELMAN, Clifton Unitarian Church, Louisville, Ky.
- CHARLES J. HENDLEY, President, Teachers' Union of City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- MRS. GEORGE T. HENDRIE, Birmingham, Mich.
- ALICE HENDRICKSON, Secy., Milwaukee Chapter, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Milwaukee, Wis.
- HARRY E. HENSON, teacher, Coldwater, Mich.
- MRS. THOMAS N. HEPBURN, Hartford, Conn.
- DR. I. W. HELD, New York, N. Y.
- MEL' J. HEINWITZ, General Representative, Wisconsin State C.I.O., Milwaukee, Wis.
- JEROME R. HELLERSTEIN, attorney, New York, N. Y.
- DONALD HENDERSON, General President, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, Philadelphia, Pa.
- AMY HEWES, Professor of Economics, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
- CLYDE V. HICKLESON, San Antonio, Texas
- HOWARD V. HICKS, Financial Secy., Meadcof Miners Union, Local 188, Masco, Tenn.
- PHILIP M. HICKS, Professor of English, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- S. A. HICKS, Business Representative and Secy.-Treas., Midwest District Council No. 12, Minneapolis, Minn.
- FLORENCE HIER, Associate Professor of French, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- REV. JOHN S. HIGGINS, Gethsemane Episcopal Church, Minneapolis, Minn.
- REV. CHARLES A. HILL, Hartford Avenue Baptist Church, Detroit, Mich.
- WALDEMAR B. HILLE, Director of Music, Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill.
- REV. CLIFFORD W. HILLIKER, North Congregational Church, Middletown, N. Y.
- RANDALL S. HILTON, First Unitarian Church, Altou, Ill.
- HARRISON S. HILES, manufacturer, Philadelphia, Pa.
- ALFRED HIRSCH, Editor, Wisconsin CIO News, Milwaukee, Wis.
- IRA A. HOBART, American Legion Post 579, 41 Cooperstown Dept., Burlington Flats, N. Y.
- THAYER HOBBSON, publisher, New York, N. Y.
- REV. CHESTER E. HODGSON, Newark, N. J.
- KATHERINE HOFFMAN, Administrative Secy., Greater Newark Industrial Union Council, C.I.O., Newark, N. J.
- REV. FRANK O. HOLMES, Unitarian Church, Concord, N. H.
- REV. D. D. HOLT, Lynchburg, Va.
- WILLIAM C. HOUR, Assistant Professor of Biology, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y.
- CHARLES M. HOUSTON, attorney, Washington, D. C.
- DANIEL HOWARD, Chairman, Connecticut Conference on Social and Labor Legislation, Windsor, Conn.
- REV. GEORGE G. HOWARD, Hecksbeck Unitarian Church, Hecksbeck, N. J.
- ARTHUR HOWE, West Orange, N. J.
- BEN HOWE, Jackson Heights, Long Island, N. Y.
- REV. LEE A. HOWE, JR., Onside Baptist Church, Onside, N. Y.
- CLARENCE Y. HOWELL, teacher, New York, N. Y.
- JOHN F. HOYT, Portsmouth, N. H.
- LEO HUBERMAN, author, New York, N. Y.
- MRS. H. M. HUGGINS, President, Louisiana Congress Colored Parents and Teachers, Baton Rouge, La.
- LANGSTON HUGHES, author, New York, N. Y.
- EDWIN M. HUGHES, librarian, Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill.
- S. O. HUKKE, Farmers Union, Winger, Minn.
- M. M. HUNT, professor, Providence, R. I.
- LAURENCE F. HUNT, Program Secy., Harlem YMCA, New York, N. Y.
- REV. HAROLD B. HUNTING, clergyman and author, Greenfield, N. H.
- ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, Professor of Geography, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- MRS. A. W. HUNTON, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- W. A. HUNTON, professor, Howard University; Secy.-Treas. Council of United Negro Labor Leaders of Washington, Washington, D. C.
- DR. LOUISE M. INGERSOLL, Ashville, N. C.
- FRANCES A. INGWEILLER, National Farmers Union, New Haven, Mich.
- JOHN ISE, Professor of Economics, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
- ABRAHAM J. ISSERMAN, attorney, Newark, N. J.
- REV. HUGH JACK, Northminster Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Mich.
- HULAN E. JACK, Assemblyman, 17 AD., New York County, New York, N. Y.
- REV. EDGAR S. JACKSON, Bridgeport, Conn.
- REV. F. W. JACKSON, Almond, N. Y.
- LOUIS L. JAFFE, Professor of Law, University of Buffalo Law School, Buffalo, N. Y.
- REV. W. M. JERNAGIN, Chairman Executive Board, Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, Washington, D. C.
- GEORGE W. JOEL, Vice-President and Editor, The Dig. Press, Inc., New York, N. Y.
- REV. BEDE A. JOHNSON, Methodist Federation for Social Service, Los Angeles, Calif.
- CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Director, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
- REV. JAMES R. JOHNSON, JR., Ebenezer A.M.E. Church, Roanoke, Va.
- VICTOR JOHNSON, Dean of Medical Students, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- VIENA P. JOHNSON, State Secy., Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association, St. Paul, Minn.
- DAVID D. JONES, President, Bonnetts College, Greensboro, N. C.
- ELSIE VOORHEES JONES, Professor, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
- REV. JOHN PAUL JONES, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- REV. WILLIAM SAFFORD JONES, South Parish, Portsmouth, N. H.
- PAUL JARRICO, writer, Hollywood, Calif.
- THOMAS JASPER, Assistant Manager, International Fur & Leather Workers Union, 125, C.I.O., New York, N. Y.
- ROBERT JOSEPHY, Vice-President, Local 19, United Office & Professional Workers of America, New York, N. Y.
- HARRY M. JUSTIG, President, Union of Yugoslav Americans, New York, N. Y.
- REUBEN L. KAHN, Director of Clinical Laboratories, University Hospital, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- ARTHUR KALLET, author, New York, N. Y.
- FRANCIS FISHER KANE, former U. S. Attorney, Eastern District of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- ALEXANDER KAJUN, Professor, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
- MR. & MRS. FREDERICK L. KATZ, Rosbury, Conn.
- WILBUR G. KATZ, Chicago, Ill.
- MARIE L. KAYSER, Alhambra, Calif.
- VANT W. KEBKER, Gaithersburg, Md.
- REV. J. CLYDE KEEGAN, Cody, Wyo.
- HELEN KELLER, Westport, Conn.
- PAUL KELLOGG, editor, New York, N. Y.
- MORRIS KEMP, professor, Kansas City, Mo.
- EDITH M. KEMPTHORNE, National Secy.-Camp Fire Girls of America, New York, N. Y.
- ALBERT J. KENNEDY, University Settlement, New York, N. Y.
- BISHOP PAUL E. KERN, Methodist Church, Nashville, Tenn.
- DR. LONIN E. KERR, Public Health Administrator, Oberlin, Ohio.
- FRANCIS S. KINDER, economist and journalist, Denver, Colo.
- REV. WILLIAM P. KING, Nashville, Tenn.
- DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY, Svedy, New York
- FREDA KIRCHWEY, Editor, The Nation, New York, N. Y.
- EDWARD C. KIRKLAND, professor, Brunswick, Maine
- REV. JAMES KNAPP, All Saints Church, Hartford, N. Y.
- HAROLD V. KNIGHT, Editor, North Dakota Union-Farmer, Jamestown, N. D.
- ARTHUR KOBER, writer, New York, N. Y.
- REV. C. FRANKLIN KOCH, Lutheran Church House, New York, N. Y.
- HARRY KOGER, International Representative, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers of America, CIO, Suffolk, Va.
- JULIA CHURCH KOLAR, Woodside, Long Island, N. Y.
- EUGENE KONECZY, Acting Managing Editor, Fraternal Outlook, New York, N. Y.
- ALFRED KREYNBORG, author, New York, N. Y.
- REV. ALBERT E. KRISTJANSSON, Unitarian Church, Bino, Wash.
- GEORGE D. KUDLER, New York, N. Y.
- J. K. KYLE, Chairman, Welfare County Progressive Committee, Whitewater, Wis.
- REV. RALPH E. KYPER, Unitarian Church, Northampton, Mass.
- M. S. KNEBELMAN, professor, Pullman, Wash.
- LEONARD LAGEMAN, Secy.-Treas., Minnesota State C.I.O. Council, Minneapolis, Minn.
- ALEXANDER LAING, Assistant Librarian, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- GRAHAM A. LAING, Professor of Economics, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif.
- EDWARD LAMB, Vice-Pres., National Lawyers Guild, Toledo, Ohio.
- REV. ALFRED M. LAMBERT, St. Monica's Episcopal Church, Hartford, Conn.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 7)

- CORLISS LAMONT, author and teacher, New York, N. Y.
- MARGARET LAMONT, New York, N. Y.
- REV. WILLIAM E. LAMPE, Secretary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
- DR. WALTER LANDAUER, Professor of Genetics, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
- R. O'HARA LANIER, Acting President, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
- EDWARD LANDON, artist, New York, N. Y.
- REV. WALTER LANPHEAR, Chairman, Republican Town Committee, Chaplin Congressional District 2, Chaplin, Conn.
- DR. LINDA B. LANGE (retired), Phila., Pa.
- ALFRED G. LARKE, Secy.-Treas., Greater Buffalo Industrial Union Council, C.I.O., Buffalo, N. Y.
- JOHN F. LARSON, Secy.-Treas., Local 492, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers, Minneapolis, Minn.
- U. S. LATHROP, Secy., Lee County Taxpayers Association, Dannelton, Iowa
- IRVING LITNER, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. ROBERT W. LAWSON, Unitarian Church, Reading, Mass.
- DR. CATHERINE D. LEALLAD, New York, N. Y.
- DR. ROBERT WARD LEPPER, psychologist, Eugene, Ore.
- REV. DU BOIS LE FEVRE, First Unitarian Church, Youngstown, Ohio
- J. A. LEIGHTON, Professor Emeritus, Ohio State University, Worthington, Ohio
- RABBI EMIL W. LEIPZIGER, New Orleans, La.
- DR. EMIL LENGYEL, Jackson Heights, Long Island, N. Y.
- WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD, Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- KENNETH LESLIE, Editor, The Protestant, New York, N. Y.
- DEAN WALDO E. LESSINGER, College of Education, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
- MERIDEL LE SEUER, writer, Minneapolis, Minn.
- RABBI LEE J. LEVINGER, Wells Falls, Wash.
- N. LEVINSOHN, Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
- CHARLES G. LE VITA, Editor, City News, Local 111, State, County & Municipal Workers of America, C.I.O., New York, N. Y.
- GILBERT LEWIS, President, New Castle County Industrial Union Council, Wilmington, Del.
- REV. WILLIAM W. LEWIS, Unitarian Church, Keene, N. H.
- W. MORRIS LEZENBY, Secy., Atlantic County Central Labor Union, AFL, Atlantic City, N. J.
- PAUL LIEBMANN, Assistant Professor of Biblical History, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- IVER C. LIND, Minneapolis, Minn.
- BEA LINDGREN, Secy.-Treas., Hennepin County C.I.O. Council, Minneapolis, Minn.
- SAMUEL MCCUINE LINDSAY, New York, N. Y.
- RALPH LINTON, Chairman, Dept. of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- REV. HERMAN J. LION, Marlboro, Mass.
- EUGENE J. LIPMAN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio
- PHILIP LOEB, New York, N. Y.
- KATHERINE LOCKE, actress, New York, N. Y.
- REV. HARRY LONGLEY, Episcopal Church, Charleston, W. Va.
- REV. P. HENRY LOTZ, Methodist Church, Toulon, Ill.
- MURLAND R. LOWELL, Committee-man, Farmers Union, New York Mills Shed, Massena, N. Y.
- REV. EDGAR A. LOWTHER, Chairman, Social Relations Commission, San Francisco Church Federation, San Francisco, Calif.
- NATALIE LUGCOCK, College Advisor, YWCA, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
- JOSEPH LUKOVICH, McKees Rocks, Pa.
- DAVID L. LURIE, social worker, White Plains, N. Y.
- FLORENCE H. LUSCOMB, Vice-Chairman, Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, Cambridge, Mass.
- CLIFFORD T. MCAYOY, Legislative Director, Greater N. Y. Industrial Union Council, C.I.O., New York, N. Y.
- ELIZABETH MCCAUSLAND, writer and artist, New York, N. Y.
- ELMER MCCLAIN, attorney, Runnymede Farm, Lumb., Ohio
- CHARLES W. MC CONN, Dean, New York University, New York, N. Y.
- REV. F. W. MCCONNELL, Methodist Church, Veneto, Pa.
- CLAUDE MC DONALD, Fin. Secy., Local 1152, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, Minneapolis, Minn.
- WILLIAM MCFEE, writer, Brookfield, Conn.
- REV. WM. MC GEE, All Souls Unitarian Church, Santa Cruz, Calif.
- JAMES H. MCGILL, businessman, Valparaiso, Ind.
- HOWARD MCKENZIE, Vice President, National Maritime Union, New York, N. Y.
- WILLIAM AYER MCKINNEY, businessmen, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. WILLARD L. MCKINSTRY, Nantucket Reformed Church, Nantucket, Mass.
- REV. WALTER A. R. MCPHERSON, Monomers Community Church, Ridgeland, N. J.
- REV. JOHN A. MAC COLLUM, Walnut Street Presbyterian Church, President, Philadelphia Housing Association, Philadelphia, Pa.
- GEORGE MACDONALD, President, Hennepin County Industrial Union Council, Minneapolis, Minn.
- HOWARD A. MACDONALD, Brookfield, Mass.
- REV. GEORGE MACKAY, First Congregational Society, Unitarian, Eastport, Maine
- DR. GEORGE W. MACKENZIE, Phila., Pa.
- MRS. WALTER MADDOCK, Catholic Missionary Club, Bismarck, N. D.
- NORMAN R. F. MAIER, Professor, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- T. LOUIS MAJORS, International Representative, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, Minneapolis, Minn.
- L. MALAMUD, Norwich State Hospital, Norwich, Conn.
- ALBERT MALTZ, writer, Los Angeles, Calif.
- DAVID MANDEL, attorney, Perth Amboy, N. J.
- ARTHUR J. MANDELL, attorney, Houston, Tex.
- LEWIS F. MANLY, Medford, Mass.
- ROSALIE MANNING, Southwest Harbor, Maine
- REV. H. E. MANSFIELD, Community Church, Albanville, Wis.
- DR. W. H. MANWARING, Professor Emeritus, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.
- RABBI HARRY S. MARGOLIS, Mount Zion Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
- HERBERT E. MARKS, music publisher, New York, N. Y.
- REV. HAROLD P. MARLEY, Unitarian Church, Dayton, Ohio
- GEORGE MARSHALL, Chairman, Nat'l. Federation for Constitutional Liberties, New York, N. Y.
- JAMES W. MARTIN, professor, Lexington, Ky.
- REV. GEORGE T. MASERDA, Whitefish, Mont.
- KIRKLEY F. MATHER, Professor of Geology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- REV. WILLIS D. MATHIAS, Emmanuel Evangelical and Reformed Church, Allentown, Pa.
- F.O. MATTHIESSEN, Professor, Harvard University, Boston, Mass.
- GEORGE MATIS, Secy.-Treas., Montgomery County Farmers Union, N. Y. Mills Shed, Johnsville, N. Y.
- LOWNDES MAURY, attorney, Butte, Mont.
- REV. DWIGHT MAWREY, Channing Memorial Church, Newport, R. I.
- DR. STANLEY MAY, Associate Professor of Psychology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- REV. ROBERT MAYHEW, Greenville Union Congregational Church, Greenville, Maine
- REV. S. ROBERT MAYER-OAKES, Unitarian Church, Providence, R. I.
- CONRAD HENRY MEHLMAN, Professor, History of Christianity, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.
- STEWART MEIGS, President, California State Board of Agriculture, Carpinteria, Calif.
- HENDERSON MELLOW, Vice-President, Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, Penna. Division, Mercersburg, Pa.
- DR. KARL MENNINGER, author, Topoka, Kan.
- YEHUDI MENCHIN, President, United Office & Professional Workers of America, New York, N. Y.
- REV. HARRY C. MESERVE, First Unitarian Church, Buffalo, N. Y.
- CLYDE R. MILLER, Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- REV. PAYSON MILLER, First Unitarian Society of Hartford, W. Hartford, Conn.
- REV. WILBURN B. MILLER, Fairhaven, Mass.
- SAUL MILLS, Secy.-Treas., Greater N. Y. Industrial Union Council, C.I.O., New York, N. Y.
- JACK MINK, Secy., Washington Industrial Union Council, Washington, D. C.
- PAUL S. MINEAR, Evanston, Ill.
- DR. GEORGE R. MINOT, Professor of Medicine, Harvard University, Boston, Mass.
- BRUCE MINTON, Washington Editor, New Masses, Washington, D. C.
- CHARLES MICHAEL MITZELL, President, Pennsylvania Farmers Union, Shrewsbury, Pa.
- REV. ARTHUR NEWELL MOORE, Unitarian Society of Houlton, Houlton, Maine.
- DOUGLAS MOORE, Professor of Music, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- JOHN F. MOORE, Assistant Professor of English, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- REV. JOSEPH G. MOORE, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Evansville, Ind.
- EDGAR M. MOORMAN, Farm Bureau Federation, Brookfield, Mo.
- JOHN F. MOORS, senior partner (retired), Moors & Cabot, Brookline, Mass.
- DAVID L. MOOSE, International Representative, Textile Workers Union, Lumberton, N.C.
- ELIZABETH MOOS, teacher, Bronx, N. Y.
- REV. RICHARD MORFORD, Executive Secy., United Christian Council for Democracy, New York, N. Y.
- BERTRAM MORRIS, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- FRANK MORRIS, Secy., Hartford Central Labor Union, AFL, Hartford, Conn.
- FRANK E. MORRIS, Professor of Philosophy, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- ADOLPH MOSER, Clifton Unionist Church List, Anchorage, Ky.
- REV. CHARLES F. MOTT, Methodist Church, Grafton, Ohio
- REV. WALTER MUELLER, Stanley Congregational Church, Chatham, N. J.
- JAMES MULROONEY, President, Chain Service Restaurant Employees Union, Local 42, New York, N. Y.
- REV. IRVING R. MURRAY, Unitarian Minister to Students in Greater Boston, Cambridge, Mass.
- FREDERICK MYERS, Vice-President, National Maritime Union, New York, N. Y.
- REV. SKILLMAN E. MYERS, First Congregational Society, Unitarian, Burlington, Vt.
- DR. ABRAHAM MYERSON, Boston, Mass.
- DR. SAM NELKEN, Norwich State Hospital, Norwich, Conn.
- REV. A. A. NELSON, First Congregational Church, Rockford, Mich.
- L. NEWBURGH, Professor of Clinical Investigation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- MABEL NEWCOMER, Professor, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- PUDLEY NICHOLS, film writer and director, Los Angeles, Calif.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 8)

- ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS, Professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N.Y.
- ALFRED S. NICHOLLS, Davenport, Iowa
- KARL S. NIEBYL, Associate Professor of Economics, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
- REV. KAMILL NIELSEN, Charleston Unitarian Church, Charleston, S. C.
- S. R. NIBBLEY, President, State Board of Directors, Pease, Division of Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, East Petersburg, Pa.
- REV. WILLIAM S. NOBLE, North Baltimore Church of Christ, North Baltimore, Ohio
- JOHN S. NOLLEN, Chairman of War Savings Committee for Iowa, Grinnell, Iowa
- LIVERNE E. NOON, Vice-President, Meenepin County Industrial Union Council, Minneapolis, Minn.
- JOSEPHINE NORSTRAND, Executive Secy., Wisconsin State Conference on Social Legislation, Milwaukee, Wis.
- MRS. NIXON NORRIS, Santa Barbara, Calif.
- STERLING NORTH, Literary Editor, Chicago Daily News and New York Post, Chicago, Ill.
- THEODORE E. NORTON, Librarian, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
- ROSE M. NOTZ, Board of Directors, Dayton Y.W.C.A., Dayton, Ohio.
- WILLIAM C. NOTZ, Vice-President, Local 947, United Automobile Workers, CIO, Dayton, Ohio
- STANLEY NOWAK, Michigan State Senator, Detroit, Mich.
- CATHERINE OAKES, Assistant Professor of English, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- JERRY O'CONNELL, Former Congressman from Montana, Butte, Mont.
- HARVEY O'CONNOR, writer, Chicago, Ill.
- TOM O'CONNOR, writer, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- BISHOP G. ASHTON OLDHAM, Bishop of Albany, Albany, N. Y.
- OSCAR OPHEIM, Chairman, Farmers Union, Local 1103, Bucyrus, N. D.
- REV. EDMUND A. ORTIZ, Unitarian Church of Hertsburg, Pa.
- MATHEW L. FARGE OSBORN, Educational Director, Alabama Farmers Union, Birmingham, Ala.
- MRS. ERLING OSNES, Secy., Huntley Project, Farmers Union 573, Pompy's Hill, Mont.
- H. A. OVERSTREET, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, College of The City of New York; Lecturer, New York School for Social Research, New York, N. Y.
- MARY WHITE OYINGTON, Treasurer, NAACP, Washington, D. C.
- REV. G. BROMLEY OXNAM; The Methodist Church, Boston, Mass.
- WALTER PACH, artist, Mexico; D.F., Mexico.
- GEORGE L. PAINE, Chairman, Boston branch of Fellowship of Reconciliation, Boston, Mass.
- REV. ALBERT W. PALMER, Congressional Church, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. CLAY E. PALMER; First Congregational Church, Yankton, S. D.
- WILLIAM B. PALMER, Dept. of Economics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- JULIAN PARK, Buffalo, N. Y.
- REV. GEORGE LAWRENCE PARKER, Unitarian Church, Denver, Mass.
- DR. Z. RITA PARKER, New York, N. Y.
- RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS, Bishop of California (retired), San Francisco, Calif.
- ROBERT D. PATTON, Professor of Economics, Ohio State University, Galena, Ohio
- IRENE PAULL, Editor, Midwest Labor, Duluth, Minn.
- JEROME F. PAYNE, Deputy Postmaster (retired); Chairman, Local Selective Service Board 415, Gouverneur, N. Y.
- MILLEN PEAK, Professor of Psychology, Randolph-Macon Women's College, Lynchburg, Va.
- REV. WILLIAM W. PECK, First Parish Church, Unitarian, Groton, Mass.
- EMANUEL PEARSON, Farmers Union, Seco, Mont.
- ANNA M. W. PENNYPACKER, Phila., Pa.
- MRS. LIONEL C. PERERA, JR., Chairman, Board of Directors, Young Men's Vocational Foundation, New York, N. Y.
- REV. HAYEN P. PERKINS, Pekin, Ill.
- E. C. PETERS, President, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.
- STUART PETTINGILL, businessman, Redlands, Calif.
- TERRY PETTUS, Executive Secy., Washington Commonwealth Federation, Seattle, Wash.
- JOSEPH D. PHILLIPS, President, Washington Industrial Union Council, Takoma Park, Md.
- S. I. PHILLIPS, Social Studies Instructor, Ellsworth Junior College, Iowa Falls, Iowa
- RABBI DAVID PHILPSON, Dean of American Unitarian Society, Cincinnati, Ohio
- REV. W. HAROLD PIATCHAPP, Clarkson Methodist Church, Clarkson, Mich.
- FRANK PIRKEY, Clifton Unitarian Church List, Louisville, Ky.
- HERMAN A. POHL, General Secy.-Treas., International Wood Carvers' Association of North America, Somerville, Mass.
- REV. G. A. POLLARD, Highland Congregational Church, Portland, Ore.
- ARTHUR UPIAM POPE, Chairman, Committee for National Morale, New York, N. Y.
- HENRY W. POPE, New York, N. Y.
- GRACE PORTER, New York, N. Y.
- KENNETH W. PORTER, Professor of History, Westar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- REV. EDWIN MCNEILL POTEAT, Euclid Ave. Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio
- REV. A. LESLIE POTTER, Methodist Church, New Hartford, N. Y.
- REV. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., Councilman of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- REV. OWEN W. PRATT, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Decatur, Ill.
- LEE PRESSMAN, General Counsel, C.I.O., Washington, D. C.
- DAVID PREJANT, attorney, Milwaukee, Wis.
- MELVA L. PRICE, teacher, New York, N. Y.
- PHILIPS PUTNAM, writer, Jamaica Plains, Mass.
- ELMER K. PYLE, Barts County Farm Bureau Association, Mohrsville, Pa.
- MICHAEL J. QUILL, President, Transport Workers Union of America, New York, N. Y.
- MILTON RADER, President, Nature Friends of America, East Orange, N. J.
- MELVIN RADER, Department of Philosophy, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- REV. ROBERT RAILE, Unitarian Church, Dallas, Texas
- ROBERT W. RAFUSE, Department of Political Science, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
- FREDLYN RAMSEY, Assistant Professor of Economics, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- LEON A. RANSOM, Professor, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
- BISHOP KEVERDY C. RANSOM, AME Church, Wilberforce, Ohio
- JACK RASKIN, Secy., Civil Rights Federation, Detroit, Mich.
- HARRY J. RATHBUN, Professor of Law, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.
- CALLEMAN RAWLEY, social worker, St. Louis, Mo.
- FREDERICK L. REDIFER, Director, Progressive Education Association, New York, N. Y.
- WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH, Professor of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- JAMES B. REED, Assistant Chemist, Frankford Arsenal, Philadelphia, Pa.
- REV. J. W. REED, Methodist Church, Portland, Ore.
- GEORGE J. REISS, Union County Central Labor Union, AFL, Elizabeth, N. J.
- H. H. REMMERS, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, W. Lafayette, Ind.
- REV. FREDERICK REUSTLE, Van Wyck Avenue Congregational Church, Jamaica, N. Y.
- BERTHA C. REYNOLDS, Consultant in Social Work, Long Island City, N. Y.
- L. WILLARD REYNOLDS, Minister of Friends Meeting, Clintondale, N. Y.
- OSCAR K. RICE, Assoc. Prof. of Chemistry, University of No. C., Chapel Hill, N. C.
- DEAN E. RICHARDSON, Edwin Methodist Church, Syracuse, N. Y.
- WILLIAM GORHAM RICE, JR., Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- WALLINGFORD RIEGGER, musician, New York, N. Y.
- BERNARD F. RIESS, Assistant Professor of Psychology, Hunter College, New York, N. Y.
- REV. FREDERICK W. RINGE, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Tammi, Ill.
- MARY W. RITTENHOUSE, District Secy., Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- HANNA ROADS, Professor of History, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- REV. WALLACE W. ROBBINS, Pres., Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, St. Paul, Minn.
- REV. BENJAMIN C. ROBESON, Mother AME Zion Church, New York, N. Y.
- PAUL ROBESON, concert artist; Chairman, Council on African Affairs; Enfield, Conn.
- REV. A. H. ROBINSON, First Unitarian Church, Plainfield, N. J.
- EARL ROBINSON, composer, New York, N. Y.
- REV. JAMES H. ROBINSON, Church of The Master, New York, N. Y.
- REID ROBINSON, President, International Union, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, Denver, Colo.
- REV. FREDERICK A. ROBLEE, Bay City, Mich.
- WELLINGTON ROE, Editor, Richmond Labor News, Babylon, N. Y.
- JOHN H. ROEHL, Social Justice, Madison, Wis.
- REV. CHARLES D. ROEHL, President, Philadelphia Synod, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Roynsford, Pa.
- HUBERT W. ROGERS, Professor, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
- PAUL ROMAINE, businessman, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. CUTHBERT R. ROME, Syracuse, N. Y.
- DR. M. J. ROSEMAN, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- REV. CLIFTON H. ROSS, West End Congregational Church, Bridgeport, Conn.
- EDWARD ALLSWORTH ROSS, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- DR. MILTON R. ROSS, dentist, New York, N.Y.
- WALTER ROTHMAN, Librarian, Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati, Ohio
- REV. RALPH H. ROWSE, Congregational Church, New York, N. Y.
- ELBERT RUSSELL, professor, Duke University, Durham, N. C.
- LAWRENCE J. RYAN, Business Agent, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Local 502, CIO, St. Marys, Pa.
- GEORGE H. SABINE, Professor, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- SHIRLEY SAFFRON, President, Local 17, United Office and Professional Workers of America, Bayonne, N. J.
- ELEEN SAHLER, sculptor, New York, N. Y.
- E. DWIGHT SALMON, Professor, Williams College, Amherst, Mass.
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(Part 9)

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- REV. A. J. SCHERER, Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church, New Orleans, La.
- WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN, Vice-President, American Bible Society, New York, N. Y.
- PAULINE G. SCHINDLER, writer, Los Angeles, Calif.
- MARGARET SCHLAUCH, educator, New York, N. Y.
- ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Professor of History, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- HAROLD SCHLOSBERG, Associate Professor of Psychology, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- THELMA SCHNEER, actress, New York, N. Y.
- T. C. SCHNEIRLA, Assistant Professor of Psychology, New York University, Flushing, N. Y.
- MARGARET SCHOCH, Hollywood, Calif.
- H. G. SCHRICKEL, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- IRVING SCHWAB, attorney, New York, N. Y.
- REV. CLINTON LEE SCOTT, Independent Christian Church, Gloucester, Mass.
- FRANKLIN D. SCOTT, Professor of History, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- REV. HAROLD SCOTT, Unitarian Church, Flint, Mich.
- REV. J. H. SCOTT, President, East Carroll Baptist Sunday School Association, Lake Providence, La.
- VIDA D. SCUDDER, Professor Emerita, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
- REV. CARL ALBERT SEAWARD, Director of Christ Church; Director, Barnard Memorial School, Dorchester, Mass.
- EDWIN SEAYER, author, New York, N. Y.
- REV. RICHARD W. F. SEEBODE, Westminster Unitarian Church; Chairman, Rhode Island Inter-Church Commission for Social Action, Providence, R. I.
- RUTH SEIGIL, Educational Director, Joint Board of Ford Distasters and Dyers, Newark, N. J.
- V. FREDA SEIGWORTH, Cleveland, Ohio
- JOSEPH P. SELLY, President, American Communications Association, New York, N. Y.
- HOWARD SELSAM, Director, School for Democracy, New York, N. Y.
- RHODA W. SEVELY, Edgewood Arsenal Local 227, United Furniture Workers of America, Baltimore, Md.
- JOHN P. SEWARD, Assistant Professor of Economics, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- DR. E. HERBERT SEXTON, dentist; Member, Board of Directors, Westfield Cooperative Buying Club, Westfield, N. J.
- REV. WAITSTILL H. SHARP, Unitarian Church, Westley Hills, Mass.
- MARY J. SHAW, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- REV. A. J. SHERER, Trinity Evangelical Reformed Church, New Orleans, La.
- GUY EMERY SHIPLEY, Editor, The Churchman, New York, N. Y.
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OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 18

(Part 10)

- ROSEMOND TUREL**, Associate Professor of English, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
- REV. WILLIAM A. TYLER**, Congregational Church, Clermont, Calif.
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- LOUIS TYROLER**, attorney, Athens, Ohio.
- JEAN STARR UNTERMEYER**, writer, New York, N. Y.
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- WILLSON WHITMAN**, writer, Woodside, L. I., N. Y.
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July 6, 1938

Miss Alice Barrows
2010 O Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Barrows:

Enclosed please find a receipt for \$20.00, which you
remitted to us in payment for Dr. Odio Perez's ex-
penses, incurred in his speaking engagement in
Washington.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Film and Speakers Bureau

By: *Pearl W. Lovenstein*
Pearl Lovenstein

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no. 16

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 20

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COMMITTEE TO AID**
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 BISHOP FRANCIS I. McCONNELL, DR. WALTER CANNON, Co-Chairmen... REX PITKIN, Secretary, Michigan Chapter

February 2, 1939

Dear Friend:

Events of the past two weeks have shown us the tremendous suffering the thousands of women and children of republican Spain are undergoing in their struggle against the fascist invaders.

Heartrending appeals for aid have come to us, the democratic people of the United States, for food and medical supplies.

The people of Spain are waging a war against Fascism, not only for the protection of their country but to preserve peace and Democracy all over the world.

Won't you, as a friend of Democracy, help them in their fight by sending your contribution to this office for trans-shipment to these heroic people?

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mitchell Webb

Mitchell Webb, secretary

 MW: MF
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 #26
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Mr. KUNZIG. You referred to the fact a few moments ago in testimony that you received a letter from a group called Action Committee to Free Spain Now, and American Committee for Spanish Freedom. That is the one I am talking about. You referred to the first of the two, and you said you wrote and asked that your name be withdrawn. You also stated that previously in your answer in a Washington newspaper that you authorized your name to be included in what you think was called the Interfaith Division of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I testified to all that a moment or two ago and read Dr. Norman Peale's name in that connection, I think.

Mr. KUNZIG. You say you wrote it once, asking your name be withdrawn from the list of sponsors. Did you write directly to the American Committee for Spanish Freedom?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, that was the organization to which I wrote.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Samuel J. Novick, who was listed as treasurer of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom? I will hand you a document marked "Oxnam Exhibit 21." (See p. 3678.)

Bishop OXNAM. No, as a matter of fact, in all these organizations my name was used because I was in harmony with what I believed to be a worthy purpose. Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of my own church, I believe, was chairman of the Interfaith Division, a man in whom I have complete confidence, and that was the basis of my name.

I do not know Mr. Novick—yes, Bishop Hartman's name is listed here: is it not?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Bishop Lewis O. Hartman's name is listed there, and your name is listed as one of the sponsors.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir, I testified to that.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the record must show clearly, and to have the record clear, I wish to incorporate, Mr. Chairman, the fact that this American Committee for Spanish Freedom was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in 1949.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, ought there not to be in the record when I belonged to it?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes. Let us put completely in the record when you belonged to it, sir. It was January 21, 1946, the period for which activities of this group were cited as subversive.

Bishop OXNAM. This, Mr. Chairman, brings up a whole ex post facto situation where activities are alleged about which no one knew, and it is now used as evidence of subversive interest. I personally hope that we may have in mind what is being done here. When the Attorney General lists this group as subversive, that becomes a public matter. Membership after that, I think, is a very serious question. But if we raise the question years before, it seems to me that is hardly—well, you will pardon me—it troubles me.

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, I am just a little bit puzzled at how you could belong to such an organization, having stated that you had been anti-Communist all your life, and not realize that the Communist Party was infiltrating these particular organizations. Can you explain that?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I can explain it. These organizations generally were for what we believe to be worthy purposes. You give your name to an organization for what you believe to be a worthy purpose. This does not mean that an organization is meeting—a

sponsor does not meet with an organization. I never attended any meeting of this organization. Now, who will say, with the hindsight of the present, "Why didn't you—why don't you understand?"

I am belonging to organizations now, for instance—General Spaatz has one that has to do with people behind the iron curtain or something. He wrote me and wanted to know if I would sponsor that organization. I was glad to do it. One lends his name. Perhaps we ought to come to the place where you lend your name to nothing. I think as a matter of fact we are in danger of getting right to that place, but please do not think of one sitting with a board and receiving reports and all of that—that is not the nature of these organizations, and I must say they were no doubt cleverly set up and cleverly handled. Perhaps some people are astute enough to know the real Communists and what they are doing, but even a committee, as influential as this committee—I wonder if it really had the names of the individuals who were really the espionage people of danger. I do not know, but I do not know whether the Rosenbergs or whether the rest of that group were known to the committee. Maybe so. But I have sometimes wondered if we are not spending so much time in this guilt by association business that we are not getting at the fundamental matter. Some of us would like to help upon that, and as I said a little earlier, sir, this whole question of causes—I wish there were opportunity in a committee like this to deal with Asia as I think I know it and to make some suggestions to remove the causes.

Mr. WALTER. Do you think that lending your name to this type of an organization might have indirectly strengthened an organization, the purpose of which was to undermine the Government of the United States?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Walter.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I know, Mr. Walter. I was asking through the chairman. I appreciate the question very, very much. When an organization is formed, as you believe, for a worthy purpose, the sending of medical relief to people who are seeking freedom in Spain—you lend your name to that. You do not lend your name to what you are describing as a subversive organization.

Now, perhaps one should have some way of finding this out. Frankly, during the period that you describe, please remember, we were moving through the war—

Mr. WALTER. You are talking about a different organization. I am talking now about the American Committee for Spanish Freedom.

Bishop OXNAM. Quite.

Mr. WALTER. A political organization, not the medical organization you are talking about.

Bishop OXNAM. These organizations—this organization had an interfaith division. Please remember that you are dealing there with a question of dictatorship, sir. Franco was surely an ally of Hitler during the war. These people were still wishing to get their freedom, their political freedom, and one was cooperating with that attempt. I think there is no question as to Franco's relationship during the war, is there?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, the Bishop refers to guilt by association, and I should like to point out that the Communists in their en-

deavors in these organizations were attempting to make their propaganda effective and innocent by association by the use of such names as yours, sir, and Norman Vincent Peale.

Isn't it your considered opinion, sir, that a great many people came into the organizations actually to serve the ends of the Communist Party, actually to serve the conspiracy, because names such as yours, carrying a tremendous prestige, were used and did appear on those various letterheads and documents of the organizations concerned?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Jackson, I believe the Communist Party is a conspiracy. I believe the conspirators ought to be discovered and by due process tried and if found guilty, punished. I think, however, that we are much more aware of the conspiracy itself today than we were aware of conspiracy some years ago, and I believe Mr. Clardy will make the point, and properly, that is one place that this committee has made substantial contribution, but to assume that one is thoroughly acquainted with conspiracy—you are dealing with conspirators here whose fundamental purpose is to keep from you what they are doing, and I don't believe that Norman Vincent Peale nor others in that group would lend their names knowingly to any conspiracy, nor did I.

Mr. JACKSON. I don't think that you fully answered my question. My question was: Isn't it a reasonable assumption that a great many people were brought into these organizations which we now know were Communist dominated organizations, and were brought in by virtue of the fact that on the letterheads there appeared the names of substantial Americans?

My question was: Don't you think that the use of those names by these organizations did in fact bring into the groups a great many American citizens who might otherwise never have been associated with the group except for the fact that prominent names did appear?

Bishop OXNAM. Personally, Mr. Chairman, I think that when one lends his name to an organization, if the name is of strength he may be giving some strength to the organization. He lends his name, however, not to an organization that is a conspiracy in his knowledge, and I don't think the inference should be drawn later that he did that thing.

Now, if you wish to say is your name influential here, there, or elsewhere, it depends entirely on how much influence you have and, of course, when Wendell Willkie wrote an article for the Protestant, I suppose that that gave the Protestant magazine a higher standing in some groups than it would have had without it, but I don't like the implication of guilt here in what is being said. You are really not saying it and yet it carries from what you say.

It is like so much of this material that goes out, the release of material that I delivered an address at a penitentiary and said a certain thing. As a matter of fact, I never said it.

Now, when the committee itself does the very thing that you are saying I am doing—

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, it wasn't the committee that released it. It had been in the newspapers and was public information.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I am so glad you put that here. An announcement in a newspaper has only the strength of the announcement, but when the Committee on Un-American Activities, a committee of the United States Congress, takes up a newspaper report

and includes it in a file, it has an entirely different standing, and the committee, I think, by releasing on its official letterheads is doing the very thing that Mr. Jackson is accusing some of us who may have lent our names, because sending out this information is damaging, and particularly when it isn't true.

For instance, when it says I wrote an article on Stalin and names the date and page and paper, when I never wrote it—I have heard from that all over the United States; letters have come in about me writing a letter on Stalin and saying certain things. I never wrote the article, and I gave to this committee a photostat of a paper and it was shown to be written by another man, and I subsequently received an apology from Mr. Wood, the chairman of the committee.

Now, I think Mr. Jackson is right, when you lend your name you do give certain influence, and when the committee lends its name in certain statements concerning me it is doing precisely the same thing, and that is why I am here asking this record to be cleared.

Mr. VELDE. We will cooperate in every way in clearing the record and that is the purpose of this hearing.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Bishop, don't you feel that when a person whose name does lend something to an organization permits his name to be used he is charged with a greater degree of responsibility in connection with the use of his name than is someone whose name isn't significant?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir, I do agree; and I think this—

Mr. WALTER. Then don't you think that you were, to say the least, very careless in permitting your name to be used by anybody that saw fit to be using it?

Bishop OXNAM. I have not allowed my name to be used by anybody that saw fit. If you will list all that has been brought in here—you have a handful of organizations, and I think I have shown in some cases, I believe, these organizations were worthy organizations.

I don't lend my name loosely, and I don't think this committee would like to feel it was lending the committee prestige loosely to the circulation of information concerning me. It is the same thing.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it truly spreading misinformation when there comes into the possession of a committee of Congress, or any other responsible group, material which lists in printed form the name of an individual or group of individuals as being associated with suspect organizations? Is there not a reasonable assumption, in the light of our personal experiences through life, that in at least some of the cases, the use of the name is authorized? In the final analysis a man's character is in his own charge and he can neither delegate responsibility for its misuse nor escape the consequences of subsequent disclosures of its use by unauthorized persons.

If it is simply a matter of one letterhead, Bishop—and I mention this because of your reference to Norman Vincent Peale—that is one thing. I do not know whether Mr. Peale's name appears on a number of such documents or not, but I am inclined to think that it does not.

In your case they are not few in number. The total forms a considerable amount of documentation.

It appears to me that the committee would certainly be derelict if it did not draw upon all available sources for the information it must have.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I have been asked a question by Mr. Jackson. I would very much like to answer it.

One of the proposals I made to this committee had to do with the release of such items before an individual was consulted to find out whether or no the material was true. Now, there is the fundamental issue. If, for instance, you receive information and then with an investigative setup such as this committee must possess fail to come even 300 yards to an office to ask whether or not this is true and you still release it, that to me is the question, and it would seem to me there ought to be some procedure whereby we do not release material concerning an individual that is unverified, for which the committee assumes no responsibility, and Mr. Wood wrote me saying that the release of these files does not represent a conclusion or an opinion of the committee, and yet here went out a story that I had written an article that I never had written. It did me considerable damage, and I could go through listing others. That is what I am trying to get at, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly, Bishop, that is not the fault of the committee. You must blame that on someone else besides the committee if the story went out that was adverse to you and quoted some of the material in the public files. The committee, as I said before, only assembles this information which has been made public a long time ago.

Bishop OXNAM. But, Mr. Chairman, when the committee will send out a statement that was not a matter of public information, namely, that I had written an article that I hadn't, and I cited the paper, and that goes out, sir, with the official letterhead of this committee, and the committee says it has no responsibility for it, I can't understand that because that article was a matter of public record, it is true, but I hadn't written it, and I sent the photostat here which showed that another person had written it, and that is the point.

Mr. VELDE. That was an occurrence that happened during the 82d Congress.

Bishop OXNAM. It happened during the time Mr. Wood was chairman of the committee, and he himself sent me a copy of the release which had been sent to Senator Wherry, including that, and that same release was sent to other individuals upon request, just as, for instance, on I think it was March 31 of this year when one of our own leaders of our church wrote you for the file concerning me. You released that file; it went to him, and those files have been going out, and that, to me, is the embarrassing thing.

If we could get the files straight, or a man who is concerned could be interviewed, I would have come over here to sit down with anybody, your investigators, your counsel, or anybody, and talked it over.

Mr. VELDE. Let me say this, that as far as our actions, the actions of this committee of the 83d Congress, are concerned, we are certainly not responsible for the actions of our predecessors.

However, I do feel that Judge Wood, in his chairmanship of this committee, has been entirely fair and has done everything he could in line of his duty imposed upon him, like it is imposed upon us at the present time, to expose the persons, to expose subversive propaganda. Judge Wood is a great American, and he did everything that he could to be fair to people who appeared before this committee as a witness, and to be fair to the American public.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I know I have heard it spoken of that there has been distinct improvement in the matter under this committee, and one appreciates that very much, but in the case of Mr. Wood, I do not know the gentleman. I never met him. It was months before I could get even an acknowledgment to the letter, and I was requesting respectfully that these files be so changed that they tell the truth, and I had to write again and again, and even send telegrams before I could get a response.

That is what I am talking about, sir, and it puts one in an awfully difficult light here to appear to be combating a committee. That isn't it at all.

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, I am sure we are trying to accommodate you and counsel, and if we go on with this we will not finish by midnight.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. First, I will preface it this way, that I am sure you have no complaint about the speed with which we granted you a hearing here today. You must assume that as soon as you requested an opportunity to appear here your request was granted at once.

Bishop OXNAM. That is true, and you adjusted the time due to the fact that I was going to Europe, and the chairman's telegram was very, very cordial.

Mr. CLARDY. I mentioned earlier that we have about ready, as soon as the printer returns it, some very important testimony that you were discussing before this last question came up, and that is of the methods that the Communists used in getting good names as a front. I want to recommend it to you because you will discover in that testimony when it comes out some very startling facts about groups and about the general plan.

Now, my question is this: Don't you think that anyone who occupies a position in connection with education, or a clergyman, does, as Mr. Walter has suggested, occupy a special position that calls for a special care in these troubled days in joining any organization, since the Communists have spread their conspiracy so far? Don't you think that this committee, therefore, is doing a good job in letting all of you know who these organizations are and how the Communists operate?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Clardy, when this committee published a volume called Communism in Action, which, I believe, was largely under the direction of Mr. Griffiths, Dr. Griffiths, the librarian in Congress, that is, the legislative research librarian, it did an excellent job, and if you will pardon me, sir, I could use the method that has been used in misrepresenting many of us—I am not saying the committee.

I could take the description of religion in Russia that appeared in that book and show that one was guilty of such sympathy for Russia that he ought to be hauled up. What was happening? It was a correct description of what was going on. That is what we need. We need the facts, and the kind of volume that you mentioned.

When we deal with the facts, that is what we need. When we have the releases, however, that are not factual, that begins to involve a man's personal liberty, and that is the issue I am after here.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. This has apparently been about a 15-minute period of observations. I just wish to make the observation, therefore, that I think the members of the committee, my colleagues, have manifested much wisdom in these last few minutes with the Bishop, and I think the Bishop also has given the benefit of much wisdom and suggestions to the committee.

I would be less than true to myself if I didn't say that I think the Bishop has given us something to think about, as well as I think we have given him something to think about.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you.

Now, may we proceed in regular order.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like to offer in evidence, then, this document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 21," which the witness has already seen, American Committee for Spanish Freedom.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(The letterhead American Committee for Spanish Freedom above referred to was received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit No. 21.)

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to turn, sir, to another organization entitled "The National Committee To Abolish the Poll Tax."¹³ The National Committee To Abolish the Poll Tax, I might add, Mr. Chairman, is a cited organization by the California committee as a Communist organization.

Your name, sir, is listed as one of the sponsors of this organization.

I hand you a document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 23" so that you may see the date, March 8, 1946, in which this cited Communist organization has you listed as a sponsor. (See pp. 3687 and 3688.)

It was cited, sir, so the record may be correct, in 1947, a year after this time when you were listed.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I don't know anything about this organization. I would like to see the poll tax abolished, as a matter of fact. That is an opinion that has no relevance here, but I don't know anything about this organization.

I do see the name of a lady I know, Mary McLeod Bethune, a distinguished Negro leader, and I don't know the others.

I would have to answer, to the best of my recollection, I have no knowledge concerning this, although I do see the name of the Rt. Rev. Henry W. Hobson, the Episcopal bishop of southern Ohio here, and if I had time—I see here another one, Fiorello H. LaGuardia. And I am interested in this, sir; I find the name of the Most Rev. Robert Lucey, of the Roman Catholic Church, in this list.

I must say it is a pretty good list. Here is Mrs. J. D. Bragg, who is the head of the Women's Organization of the Methodist Church.

I had never seen this before that I recall, but I wouldn't be likely to be thought in bad company in the light of some of the names that I have read there.

I must say I don't recall it, sir, and that is the best answer I can give.

¹³ The California Committee on Un-American Activities in its 1947 report, p. 45, describes the National Committee To Abolish the Poll Tax as "among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which "serve several other important Communist Party purposes. To begin with they are splendid money-collecting media, but more important, they serve as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion."

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 21

(Part 1)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE for SPANISH FREEDOM

55 West 42nd Street • New York 18, N. Y. • LACKAWANNA 4-9814

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Director

January 21, 1946

Hon. John S. Wood, Chairman
House Committee on Un-American Activities
House Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Your request that this organization voluntarily produce its books and records for your Committee on January 23rd was not wholly unexpected. One of our sponsors, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, had already been approached by your Committee. This approach, if it may be called that, was more in the form of a threat than anything else. To quote Dr. Peale himself:

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"I received a long distance telephone call recently from a man who identified himself as being connected with the House of Representatives "Committee on Un-American Activities," commonly known as the Rankin Committee. This man expressed concern that I should be included on the roster of a committee known as the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. This committee is headed by Bishop L.O.Hartman, resident in the Boston area of The Methodist Church.

"Starting with Bishops Hartman and McConnell, the man phoning me went through the entire roll of the committee and stated why he regarded each man mentioned as being either a Communist in fact or as a "front" or fellow traveler. He asked me to repudiate the Spanish Committee. Why, I cannot imagine, unless he wanted to use it in some way to damage the Spanish Committee.

"I then told him that I had known Bishops Hartman and McConnell all my life, and that if they are Communists, so am I. He asked why these bishops were always "mixed" up with Communists," and I replied that a bishop had to associate with all kinds of people, sometimes even church committees. He still seemed to mourn my association with these "reds."

"As a matter of fact, I do not care who is on the Spanish Committee, or what their social point of view may be. I believe conditions in Spain are bad, and I want to do something about it. If Joe Stalin himself wants to go along with me on that, it's O.K. with me. That does not mean I have become a Communist." (Sions Herald-Nov.28,1945)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 21

(Part 2)

-2-

To: Hon John S. Wood

January 21, 1945

"As a matter of fact, I do not care who is on the Spanish Committee, or what their social point of view may be. I believe conditions in Spain are bad, and I want to do something about it. If Joe Stalin himself wants to go along with me on that, it's O.K., with me. That does not mean I have become a Communist."
(Zions Herald, November 28, 1945)

Since the House Committee on Un-American Activities is charged to investigate the extent, character and objects of UN-American propaganda activities in the United States; the diffusion within the United States of subversive and Un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries, or of a domestic origin, and attacks the principles of our form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation, we naturally shall not comply with your request.

By no stretch of the imagination can the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, which is devoted to the welfare and interest of the American people, be called Un-American.

For your information, the American Committee for Spanish Freedom is an organization that was formed in July, 1944 for the primary purpose of organizing support for Congressman John M. Coffee's Resolution, H. Res. 100, which was later amended to H. Res. 312. We enclose copies of both resolutions.

If your committee would take the time to study these resolutions and speeches and would further investigate and make public the documented records in the files of the State Department on Axis-Franco relationships, you would be forced to conclude that only those who support Franco are Un-American, and that the American way would be best exemplified by this country's keeping clean of fascist Spain by breaking all diplomatic and commercial relations with the Franco regime.

We look forward to your support of H. Res. 312.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed)

Lewis O. Hartman
Chairman

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH FREEDOM

cc: All members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities
Hon. Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 21

(Part 3)

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OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 22

(Part 1)

PROTESTANT DIGEST

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No. 12

MSGR. SHEEN AND CLERICAL-FASCISM

Editorial by BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

It is not a far cry from the assumptions of finality to those authoritarian practices that destroy opposition, and reveal the essence of Fascism. Dictatorship is repugnant to free men, whether it be that of a state or of a church. It makes little difference whether it be a brown shirt, a black shirt, a red shirt, or a shirt with the collar on backwards. Let the church remember that the political shirt-makers are sewing at once with a double thread, "a shroud as well as a shirt." If religionists march the road of dictatorship it will become the march of death.

THE opinions of the distinguished Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen are entitled to respectful consideration. He is at once a thoughtful personality and a spokesman for one of the great Christian churches.

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(Part 2)

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PROTESTANT DIGEST

June-July

Recently, writing upon the question of post-war political and social organization, he said: ". . . there should be created an international organization which will respect the rights of God, assure mutual independence of peoples, impose fidelity to agreements and safeguard the true liberty and dignity of the human person."

Seeking to implement this proposal, he calls for a legislative and executive body, "a judicial body which would pass final judgments on the problems submitted through democratic processes by the legislative bodies" and a coercive body to assure obedience to decisions.

Then follows a statement that is the occasion for this editorial: "The judicial body would be composed exclusively of representatives of religious groups, and would be empowered to direct nations to the higher good of the human community . . . the point of having such a judicial body of this kind is to insure that in the future war be declared by ethical and moral groups and not by political groups, as they are at present . . . too long has politics set limits to religion; it is now time for religion to set limits to politics and to politicians."

Monsignor Sheen is willing to leave to the Jewish and Protestant religionists their right to nominate their representatives to this judicial body. He assures us the Catholic Church is an organization peculiarly qualified to name its representatives, and because of its catholicity offers "a sure token of impartiality."

What happens to democracy when churches seek to set limits to politics, and how a body appointed by a church when declaring war can avoid becoming political, he does not explain.

But such a proposal raises serious questions. Does the Roman Catholic Church really look forward to the day when it will choose judges for a World Court, and if so, does it anticipate similar action in choosing judges for lower courts? Is the

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World Court, or judicial body proposed, to be composed exclusively of Christians? What of Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist, and other religious bodies?

If it be wise to turn to the Church for choice in judicial matters, by what logic do we avoid asking the church to choose our executives and legislators? What happens to the democratic principle of all the people participating in choosing their representatives? In a word, is there implicit in this suggestion the repudiation of democracy, and the setting up of a new dictatorship?

The suggestion that Jews and Protestants name their representatives is a generous one. But Jews and Protestants are not suggesting such procedure.

Furthermore, it is a little difficult to reconcile this "right to nominate" with the theory of the state expounded by Ryan and Millar in *The State and the Church*. Commenting upon the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII entitled *The Christian Constitution of States*, the Rev. John A. Ryan says: "In a genuinely Catholic State, public authority should not permit the introduction of new forms of religion; but when several denominations have already been established, the State may, and generally should, permit them all to exist and to function. The reason is that the attempt to suppress them would on the whole be injurious to the commonwealth."

Without discussing the implications of this statement by Dr. Ryan, it must be seen at once that the basic principles of the Bill of Rights are repudiated. However, it is apparent that in a genuinely Catholic world, the right of the Protestant church to exist appears to be denied. Of what use is it to suggest the lesser right "to nominate"?

Here is the essence of the proposal: One church, if the above quotations represent it, thinks in terms of choosing officers who shall "pass final judgments on the problems submitted

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PROTESTANT DIGEST

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through democratic processes by legislative bodies." It rests finally upon certain assumptions, chief of which is that the Roman Catholic Church is the one true church, the one body commissioned by Our Lord to teach all nations, the one organization possessing the right to speak with final authority in the realm of religion. In history this assumption has been associated with a practice, namely the control of the State wherever power to control exists.

I do not believe that American Catholics will give assent to this proposal, to whom the assumptions on which it rests must be as repugnant as they are to Evangelical Christians. Neither American Catholics nor American Protestants believe that the doctrine of the separation of Church and State is but a "shibboleth." [This was the epithet used by Archbishop Spellman of New York.—Ed.]

It is very difficult for one who has cooperated in every effort to unite Catholic, Jew and Protestant, who has spoken out against those intolerances manifest in Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations, to be forced to raise a word of warning. The Roman Catholic Church, quite properly, has been given freedom in this land of freedom. It has been given freedom by the people. In a democracy final political authority rests in the people. The church is dependent upon the civil liberties of democracy for the freedom to preach and teach. Democracy is dependent upon the church for those great over-mastering ideals that will insure that men given freedom will not abuse it. But the church places its own freedom in jeopardy if it ridicules the separation of Church and State; if it continues to insist upon the public support of private schools; if it countenances practices tantamount to boycott in endeavors to deny free speech to those with whom it disagrees; if it cooperates with "genuinely Catholic" states in suppressing evangelical churches and their institutions as in Spain. It is hardly good sportsmanship, much less Christianity, to demand freedom for Catholics in lands predominantly Protestant, while justifying denial of freedom to Protestants in lands

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COMMENTS ON "SAVE PROTESTANT ENGLAND"

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"genuinely Catholic." Coughlinism is not Catholicism, yet Coughlinism is but a crude expression of the more refined assumptions of clerical-Fascism.

It is not a far cry from the assumptions of finality to those authoritarian practices that destroy opposition, and reveal the essence of Fascism. Dictatorship is repugnant to free men, whether it be that of a state or of a church. It makes little difference whether it be a brown shirt, a black shirt, a red shirt, or a shirt with the collar on backwards. Let the church remember that the political shirt-makers are sewing at once with a double thread, "a shroud as well as a shirt." If religionists march the road of dictatorship, it will become the march of death.

Can we not unite as Catholic, Jew and Protestant, sincerely affirming faith in democracy, and in the spirit of Christ and the prophets, seek to discover the bases of a just and durable peace? Is it not possible for the Church, separated from the State, to render a spiritual service absolutely impossible when assuming the functions of the State? The world awaits a revelation of the principles upon which permanent peace may be organized. It calls for the unifying force essential to world law and order. It desperately needs the motivating force essential to brotherhood. Is it not enough for the church to reveal the Way, the Truth and the Life of Our Lord, win the allegiance of men until they walk in that Way, incarnate that Truth, and live that Life, and following the command of the Christ find its life by losing it, rather than to attempt to become both State and Church?

Mr. SCHERER. It is a Communist organization; that is obvious, isn't it?

Bishop OXNAM. I don't know that this is a Communist organization. All I am told is by counsel, and that this has been cited.

It would seem to me if there could be some method whereby these organizations could be heard, and in the American way they could present their testimony to a committee of this kind, then if they say they are cited, well and good; but the Attorney General's list, I think, wasn't made up on the basis of hearings, was it?

Mr. SCHERER. Well, of course, if the other people were like yourself, whose name appears on the list, they couldn't very well testify as to the name of the organization if they didn't know anything about it, could they?

Bishop OXNAM. I suppose you could call in the whole group and if you thought there were subversion there you would get it sooner or later.

Excuse me, sir; I didn't mean to answer back.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I continue?

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like, also, to put on the record the names of Julius Emspak, whom you didn't mention, who is mentioned as a Communist Party member, and Donald Ogden Stewart, who is mentioned as a Communist Party member. Let's keep the record straight.

Bishop OXNAM. I only read the names I knew there, and I didn't read all of them, as a matter of fact.

Mr. VELDE. May I say to the audience again that if another demonstration like that takes place, either of approval or disapproval, I shall ask the sergeant at arms and the members of the Capitol Police force to escort anyone who makes such an indication of approval or disapproval out of the hearing room.

Bishop OXNAM. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, my remarks occasioned that. I didn't mean it in any way other than just the statement of fact.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence this document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 23," Mr. Chairman, and wish to make it clearly understood for the record that this National Committee To Abolish the Poll Tax is a cited Communist organization.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted into the record. (The letterhead of the National Committee To Abolish the Poll Tax above referred to was received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit No. 23.)

Mr. KUNZIG. I turn to the Committee on Militarism in Education—

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Do I understand your answer to this question was that you did not authorize the use of your name in this connection?

Bishop OXNAM. I said I have no recollection of that at all, sir. I don't recall ever having seen that document or having relationship with the organization. I wish I could answer definitely. I simply don't recall.

Mr. VELDE. If you do find out later that you did belong to this organization, the committee would appreciate it very much if you would notify them of your recollection.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 23

(Part 1)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

127 B ST. S. E.

WASHINGTON 3. D. C.

LINCOLN 4820 - 4821

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Executive Secretary

DR WILL ALEXANDER

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DINA BLOCH

Treasurer

March 8, 1946

Your letter of February 14 finally reached us through the forwarding process. We no longer have an office in New York.


We do not have a list of speakers whom we supply for meetings. Very frequently, however, we can and are very glad to secure a speaker for specific gatherings. There is no fee for this. An organization might be asked to pay traveling expenses for someone to come from a near by city.

We were very pleased to hear of your interest in having a meeting on the poll tax question. From the stand point of the status of anti-poll tax legislation, it would be fine to have one this Spring when H.R. 7 the federal anti-poll tax bill will probably be on the senate floor, and the focus of considerable attention. Every effort now is being made to get it up after action on the 65 cent minimum wage amendment, which would probably mean in April. The bill passed the House by an overwhelming vote last June, and was reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee on October 5th. We are very hopeful of a victory in the Senate.

If you can have your meeting while the bill is pending, the topic would be timely later, but the question would be handled in a different manner. Therefore, we can not very well suggest any particular speaker until your plans are better crystallized, but we will be glad to cooperate with you.

Separately we are sending you a collection of our materials on the poll tax. These are available in quantity, if you should want to order them for distribution.

Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Katherine Shryver

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OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 23

(Part 2)

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority • Alpha Phi Alpha • American Civil Liberties Union • American Federation of Labor • American Federation of Labor, Women's Auxiliaries • American Unitarian Youth • Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen • Church League for Industrial Democracy • Colored Voters League of America • Congress of Industrial Organizations • Congress of Women's Auxiliaries • Council Against Intolerance in America • Delta Sigma Theta • Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union • Fraternal Council of Negro Churches • Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World • Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions • International Labor Defense • League of Women Shoppers • National Association for the Advancement of Colored People • National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc. • National Bar Association • National Conference of Social Work • National Council of Negro Women • National Farm Labor Union • National Federation for Constitutional Liberties • National Federation of Settlements • National Interscholastic Christian Council • National Lawyers Guild • National Negro Business League • National Negro Congress • National Urban League • National Women's Trade Union League • Railway Labor Executives Association • Southern Conference for Human Welfare • Southern Negro Youth Congress • Townsend Plan • United Christian Council for Democracy • United Council of Church Women, National Board • Women's Christian Service Division of the Methodist Church • Young Women's Christian Association

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Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. I now turn to the Committee on Militarism in Education,¹⁴ which was another one of the groups that you brought up to our attention, sir.

In 1935 a letterhead of the Committee on Militarism in Education reflects the name of Bromley Oxnam as a member of its national council. (See p. 3691.)

Kirby Page, a member of the national council, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on June 14, 1943. He stated that the Committee on Militarism in Education was opposed to military education in schools, and so forth.

¹⁴The Committee on Militarism in Education has not been cited by any official body as a Communist front. It might be noted that the Committee on Militarism in Education was identified as part of the "United Front" of organizations which signed the call for the United States Congress Against War, held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933, and which led to the formation of the American League Against War and Fascism. (Massachusetts house committee on un-American activities, report of June 1938, p. 462.)

The United States Congress Against War and the American League Against War and Fascism have been cited as Communist by Attorney General Francis Biddle, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, California committee on un-American activities, and Massachusetts house committee on un-American activities.

Now, you stated, I believe, in a Washington newspaper, sir, that you admitted belonging to the organization but saw there was nothing wrong with it.

Now, I would like to ask you to clarify this situation involving, I believe, again, something you testified about earlier, the Knoxville Journal. In the Knoxville Journal you stated "I never belonged to the organization mentioned and knew nothing about it."

Is this another one of the organizations you mentioned previously where you say now you belonged to it but previously you said you had not belonged?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I testified to that clearly and named the organizations, indicated I had written a letter correcting the original statement, and if you will pardon me, sir, it is coming in again apparently to raise a question as to my veracity.

The Committee on Militarism in Education has never been cited as a Communist or subversive organization. I did belong to it. I happen to believe in a strong national defense, but I have never been convinced that compulsory military training is a wise contribution to it. I may be wrong. It is debatable.

Mr. VELDE. In other words, your statement as quoted in the Knoxville Journal was made by you but it was incorrect?

Bishop OXNAM. I stated, Mr. Chairman, that they quoted a letter that I had written; that the letter was in error; that I wrote a letter correcting it, and that is in the record earlier in the afternoon.

Mr. VELDE. Well, I am a little bit puzzled. Did you make the statement at any time which is quoted in the Knoxville Journal?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I testified I had written a letter to a minister and had said, I think—I could quote it exactly if I could get the record—actually I never belonged to any of these organizations except the American Civil Liberties Union. I sent a letter correcting that. There were 3 or 4 organizations there not Communist. This is one, the League for the Organization of Progress, never cited by this organization; and I think the Fellowship of Reconciliation—I was never related to that. There was another one there; I have forgotten what it was.

Mr. VELDE. I am a little bit puzzled, too. I am not certain whether or not you have listed these organizations in your listing included in Who's Who, that you admittedly belong to. Did you ever list these organizations?

Bishop OXNAM. Oh, no. These organizations where you serve, like in the Committee on Militarism in Education, you would fill Who's Who with a dozen pages of it if you tried that. These organizations, of course, are not listed there.

Mr. KUNZIG. You said the organization was not cited. That is partially correct. Let me state for the record that the Committee on Militarism in Education has not been cited in the sense you said as a Communist front; however, it must be noted that the Committee on Militarism in Education was cited as a Communist front because the first United States congress against war held in New York City September 29 to October 1, 1933, led directly to the formation of the American League Against War and Fascism. That was cited by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Also, I might note for the record, sir, that the Garland, G-a-r-l-a-n-d fund, which is a cited Communist group furnishing money to various

organizations of the United States of America, furnished over \$10,000 to the Committee on Militarism in Education. So the group was tied in one way or another, Mr. Chairman, with subversive activities.

Bishop OXNAM. I object very strenuously. Here was a legitimate organization and now by a series of associations there is the apparent attempt to make it appear that I was related to an organization about which there was some question. There was no question about that organization.

Mr. VELDE. I previously asked that when you answer the questions if you didn't belong to the organizations, say so, and if you did, to say so.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I want to do that, but when there is read into the record all this, what is the purpose?

Mr. VELDE. We do want to get through by 12 o'clock. I will appreciate the cooperation of the members of the committee and counsel, as well.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, if the organization received funds from a Communist source, I believe that is certainly relative to the makeup or to at least some of the leadership of the organization concerned.

In the case of the Committee on Militarism in Education, here is an organization which received \$10,000 from a fund which was cited as Communist, and that is certainly relative to the matters under discussion.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, are you ruling that I am denied the privilege of saying anything? I want to abide by your orders, sir, but that is not quite the way we do things in this country.

The Garland fund has been called Communist by somebody. It makes a contribution to an organization. I would like to have the facts rather than these statements. That organization was a worthy organization. I did belong to it and I don't think the organization ought to have its reputation attacked in this fashion.

I beg your pardon, sir. You have been very kind to me.

Mr. VELDE. You did belong to the Garland—

Bishop OXNAM. No, I had nothing to do with the Garland fund ever. I was a member of the Committee on Militarism in Education.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, in order that the record may be absolutely clear, and I don't know at the moment the citation on the Garland fund—

Mr. KUNZIG. I have it right here, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. I wouldn't question that.

Mr. VELDE. Counsel, will you please read it.

Mr. KUNZIG. The full title is the American Fund for Public Service, otherwise known as the Garland fund, established in 1922. It was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman of the Communist Party at the time this was written, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the party, served on the board of directors of the fund.

That was the 1944 citation of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

It was also cited as a Communist front by the California committee, and is listed as giving more than \$1,500,000 in furtherance and support of left-wing and Marxist projects.

It had as its trustees the leaders of the Communist Party in America, and that is cited by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1938.

I offer in evidence this document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 24," relating to the Committee on Militarism in Education.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received.

(The letterhead of the Committee on Militarism in Education, dated October 1, 1935, above referred to, was received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit No. 24.)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 24

COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION

2929 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

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FR. S. MARY E. WOODRICK
WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

October 1, 1935.

Dear Friend:

The enclosed issue of our news bulletin gives you, among other things, a rather detailed story on Senator Nye's and Congressman Kvale's introduction of bills intending to outlaw compulsion in R. O. T. C. units in our civil schools and colleges. The second enclosure, which is a reprint of the text of the bills, briefly outlines suggestions for arousing and giving expression to public support for their proposed Defense Act amendment.

Additional copies of this reprint, together with copies of other folders now being prepared, are available for those willing to assist in the drive for the passage of the Nye-Kvale measure. How many copies may we send you?

Now that most Senators and Congressmen are "back home", I would especially call your attention to the suggestion that small delegations of voting citizens be organized to call upon them to urge that they use their influence in securing the passage of the Nye-Kvale bills. Will you undertake such an effort in your Congressional district?

Already the Hearst press has attacked Senator Nye and Mr. Kvale for having introduced their bills. The Hearst writers seek to discredit the Nye-Kvale measure by making much of our organization's interest in and support for it. All these Hearst charges we shall answer in a subsequent issue of our news bulletin. Meanwhile, the best answer to Hearst and his company will be an overwhelming demand for favorable Congressional action upon these bills which promise to restrict the extensive militarism which has encroached itself upon American education since the War.

Please give your active cooperation to this drive, and do not hesitate to let us know when we can serve your local needs.

Sincerely yours,

Carrie Johnson
Secretary.

ECJ:MD

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation there?

Mr. JACKSON's observation seems to me to be very material to know whether or not the Committee on Militarism in Education had any notice or knowledge of the fact that the Garland Fund was Communist. If it did and then received these funds, that is one thing, but there certainly is no showing here yet today that the Committee on Militarism in Education during the time that the bishop was a member of it had any knowledge of this Garland Fund being Communist or Communist infiltrated.

(At this point Bishop Oxnam conferred with Mr. Parlin.)

Mr. JACKSON. Is the date of this donation or grant to the Committee on Militarism in Education available, or is it obtainable? If it is, I think it certainly should go into the record.

Mr. DOYLE. It would be very material to have that.

Mr. VELDE. Do you have the date on that, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. I have the date of 1935 as the date that Bishop Oxnam's name appears on the letterhead, and the date on which the money went to the organization was in 1925 and 1925. In 1925 and 1926 the organization received money from the Communist fund.

Bishop OXNAM. It is very hard for me to believe the organization was subversive back there in 1922, and so on. I can't understand this. I wasn't a member of the Committee on Militarism in Education at that time, as you know.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think it is important to keep in mind, Mr. Chairman, that the Garland Fund didn't give its money around for any other purpose except to foster the purposes of the Communist Party.

Mr. FRAZIER. I understand Bishop Oxnam wasn't a member of the committee at that time; is that correct?

Mr. VELDE. No, I think you admitted—

Bishop OXNAM. I was a member in 1935, or thereabouts. I was president of DePauw University. We were very much concerned about the whole question of militarism in education at that time, and we, of course, were opposed to it. Of course, that was not back there in the twenties. I was living in California at that time.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you have any information concerning the document referred to by counsel?

Bishop OXNAM. None at all.

Mr. MOULDER. You are referred to here as an executive in the organization. What do they call the relationship there? You were a member of the committee, is that it?

Mr. KUNZIG. He is listed, sir, as a member of the national council of the committee.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I don't know what that means, but I was not a member at that time and had no knowledge of this gift, and I think the whole question of the organization giving it might well be considered. I don't know.

Mr. VELDE. When did you cease to be a member of this organization?

Bishop OXNAM. I can't answer that, Mr. Velde. I have no idea. I was related to it simply during that time when there was the danger of militarism moving its way into our educational system. Educators all across the Nation were related to that endeavor.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever resign from the organization?

Bishop OXNAM. Frankly, I can't recall at the moment whether I

did or not. I don't know whether the organization is in existence now or not. I doubt that it is.

Mr. VELDE. If you do recall in the future, would you please notify the committee?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I would be glad to.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I turn now to the Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges.¹⁵ The Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges is one of a group of committees—

Bishop OXNAM. Could I save you time, Mr. Chairman, by saying I don't belong to it?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. Allow counsel to finish his question.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges issued an undated press release and then a dated letter, April 22, 1943, signed by the Right Reverend Edward L. Parsons, which also had the name of one G. Bromley Oxnham listed with Bishop Parsons as one of those who signed the letter for Harry Bridges. (See Oxnham exhibit No. 25, pp. 3703-3708.)

This organization, sir, is one of a group of cited organizations concerning Harry Bridges.

The bishop emphasized before from his answer, and this is the problem I wanted to raise, sir:

You stated at one point in the newspaper, "I can't say whether I ever signed the letter," and then in the next sentence you say, "The important thing is, I never signed the letter," and I wanted to ask you which was the correct statement.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, you didn't read what is in the record, if you will pardon me, Mr. Kunzig.

This allegation, which is one of the releases of this committee, alleges that the committee, the Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, released a letter that had been sent out by Bishop Parsons. Now, I take it organizations can release letters that others have written if those letters are made public, and the clear facts are these, if you will read, I think, what was said here.

Whether I signed the letter that Bishop Parsons wrote and which this committee may or may not have released, I do not know. I do know that I never signed any letter for the Citizens' Committee for Victory for Harry Bridges. I was never related to that organization and never signed any letter for it. I would not have done that and, therefore, it is perfectly clear I cannot say whether I ever signed the letter referred to—drafted by Bishop Parsons—for my files covering letters written in Boston are not available to me here. Nor do I know if the Citizens' Victory Committee referred to in the record ever used Bishop Parsons' letter. The important matter is that I never belonged to that organization and never signed any letter for it.

Mr. KUNZIG. So to get the record absolutely straight, if the Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges had your name listed

¹⁵ "The files of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities show that the Communist Party urged the formation of Bridges defense committees as a part of its official activities, that party members were selected to form such committees, that Bridges defense stamps were sold in the party units, that party members were assessed \$1 toward the Bridges defense fund, and that Bridges defense pamphlets were sold at Communist book shops.

"* * * we submit that the various committees formed for the defense of Harry Renton Bridges: i. e., Harry Bridges Defense Committee, Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges, Harry Bridges Victory Committee, and the Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, must be classified as Communist-front organizations." (From Special Committee on Un-American Activities Rept. No. 1311 Mar. 29, 1944, p. 97.)

at the bottom of this letter, they were using your name without any authority?

Bishop OXNAM. No, that is not the matter at all. If Bishop Parsons wrote a letter dealing with a subject and asked me to sign it, I may well have signed it. I don't know whether I did or not. If another organization used that letter I have nothing to do about it. I have never signed a letter for that organization.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am trying to get it clear. If another organization used that letter which had your name on it, you gave them no authority so to use and they were using it without your permission?

Bishop OXNAM. Quite, quite; thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct?

Bishop OXNAM. I didn't understand your point.

Mr. KUNZIG. I wanted to——

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, you were helping me.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask him just one question before we adjourn?

Mr. VELDE. One question if you make it brief.

Mr. CLARDY. I will.

Think about this during the recess, Bishop, because you left me confused as to what was in the letter that you probably did sign or send to Bishop Parsons. I will let you answer that after dinner.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will stand in recess for 1 hour until 8 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 6:55 p. m., the committee recessed to reconvene at 8 p. m. the same day.)

EVENING SESSION

(At the hour of 8:08 p. m., of the same day, the hearing was resumed, the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer (appearance noted in transcript), Francis E. Walter (appearance noted in transcript), Morgan M. Moulder (appearance noted in transcript), Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in transcript), and James B. Frazier, Jr. (appearance noted in transcript).)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will come to order.

Let the record show at this point I have appointed a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Jackson, Mr. Clardy, and myself, as chairman, for the purposes of this hearing.

I am sorry that the other members have not been able to return, but I hope that they will be able to return in the very near future. So, we will continue the hearing with the members of the subcommittee.

When we recessed, I believe that the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Clardy, had proposed a question. If the gentleman will repeat that question—or would you like to have the reporter——

TESTIMONY OF G. BROMLEY OXNAM, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, CHARLES C. PARLIN—RESUMED

Mr. CLARDY. I will put it in a different fashion.

Witness, as I understood your testimony, subject to your correc-

tion, you were attempting to tell us, it appears, that while you signed some letter that apparently approved the idea of clemency, or whatever he was seeking, for Bridges, you did not, however, write a letter authorizing the circulation and the broadcasting of that letter as was done. Do I correctly understand what you were saying?

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir; that is not quite correct, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. That is why I said I was confused.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what it seemed like to me. Will you tell us what the facts are? Did you write a letter which, in effect, did approve of the idea of the stopping of the deportation proceedings of Harry Bridges?

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir. What is alleged here in the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities is that a letter by the Right Reverend Edward L. Parsons states in part:

Clearly Mr. Bridges has aroused the animosity of an influential minority because of his successful union activities and his political and economic beliefs.

I do not know what was in that letter. I do not know whether I ever signed that letter and stated so in this Washington Post article.

I said that my files were not available to me and that was the reason I stated that.

I then stated that I had never written or signed any letter for the committee that is referred to—the committee—that is alleged to be subversive.

Now, whether the committee used a letter or had it reprinted, or published, written by Bishop Parsons, I do not know.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer entered the hearing room at this point.)

Have I made myself clear now, sir?

Mr. CLARDY. No; you haven't—

Mr. VELDE. No.

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). Because you did not answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. You haven't answered the question.

Bishop OXNAM. Then I don't understand your question, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what I was afraid of.

The question is this: Whether you wrote any or a lot of letters—or did you at about the time involved in this episode actually approve of the objective of preventing the deportation of Harry Bridges?

Bishop OXNAM. I never expressed myself upon that subject. I did not know whether Harry Bridges was a Communist or not a Communist. I understand that the Supreme Court has dismissed all of this matter. I don't know upon what grounds.

I may be wrong on that.

What I am trying to say here is that your committee refers to a letter alleged to have been written by Bishop Parsons, a letter I am alleged to have signed.

Mr. CLARDY. And on which—

Bishop OXNAM. I state I don't know whether I signed that or not. I don't have my files.

Mr. JACKSON. The question—

Bishop OXNAM. Just a minute. Let me conclude, if you don't mind.

Now, if the committee or Mr. Bridges gave publicity to any letter signed by Bishop Parsons, that is a matter about which I know nothing. I don't know whether they did or didn't. I know that I had nothing whatsoever to do with that committee at any time.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, you still leave me in the dark as to whether you actually approved the idea of preventing the deportation of Harry Bridges.

Bishop OXNAM. I've just said I have never expressed myself upon that subject, because I simply don't know the facts. I don't know whether he should have been deported or why—

Mr. CLARDY. Well, why leave any doubt in our minds—

Bishop OXNAM. I'm saying here—

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). As to whether or not you signed the letter at that time?

Bishop OXNAM. You state I did sign a letter, and I'm trying to say I don't know whether I did or not, because I simply don't have the files before me.

Mr. CLARDY. What was in the letter you signed?

Bishop OXNAM. I don't know. I never saw the letter. I mean, I have no recollection of it at all.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I give you exhibit 25 and ask you if that refreshes your memory?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. May we let the witness examine the letter? Perhaps it will refresh his recollection on the subject.

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir; I have no recollection concerning this at all. I'm sorry.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, then, possibly—

Mr. VELDE. You cannot categorically state you did not sign a letter in defense of Harry Bridges?

Bishop OXNAM. Nor can I state I did, sir. I simply do not have a recollection concerning that matter.

Mr. JACKSON. The question, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Bishop OXNAM. And it seems to me, sir—is it pertinent in any case?

Mr. CLARDY. Well, certainly.

Bishop OXNAM. Suppose a citizen did sign a letter opposing the deportation of an individual. Why is it here?

I don't have any recollection of doing it, but suppose one was of the opinion those proceedings were subject to question.

I don't mean to debate the matter, but just why is it here?

I can't understand it.

Mr. VELDE. We are trying to clear the matter up, Bishop, and we want to know the exact facts, if you recall them. I am sorry you do not have any recollection—

Bishop OXNAM. Well, it's very difficult, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Of the matter. I wish you could make some statement or that you could make some statement regarding this letter and regarding your position at the time, some definite statements, so that we might clear up this matter before the Congress and before our committee.

Bishop OXNAM. You see, Mr. Chairman, you're asking questions that go back 30 years—a question regarding Los Angeles that wasn't in your files, as far as any release was concerned. There's this entire

record being made here and read, item after item. I understand what's happening, and it is simply difficult—I want to tell you the truth. I've sworn to tell it. I don't recall in that particular instance, and I've said that. What more can I say?

Mr. VELDE. Again, may I ask you: If you, through the examination of your files, or in some way may correct your memory, if you do find out if you did write the letter or can definitely state that you didn't write the letter, we would appreciate knowing——

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you very much.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). That information so that we might clear this up as a matter of record.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. The Bishop has asked a question as to why any discussion relative to Harry Bridges is at all pertinent at this time.

(Representative Clyde Doyle entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. JACKSON (continuing). It is well established in sworn testimony that over a long period of years Mr. Bridges and other known Communists succeeded in wrecking a major industry on the west coast of the United States, namely, the shipping industry in the San Francisco area. His activities have been consistently activities designed to further the cause of the Communist Party.

Included among the signers——

Bishop OXNAM. Could I see that?

Mr. JACKSON (continuing). Of this letter, there are identified members of the Communist Party.

For that reason, it is very definitely relative to this interrogation to determine if your name was used and how the use of your name was obtained.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I——

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Apropos my colleague's observation, I am sure that we don't want to keep on asking this witness any line of questions, after he has sworn under oath that he is not a member of this or that organization, with any thought in mind that by keeping on questioning him, inferentially at least, that he might be telling an untruth.

I am sure there is no thought on the part of any of us, with the bishop here being under oath when he says he is not a member, has not been a member, or he has not joined this or that, that would cause us to question him further. It isn't because we doubt the veracity of the bishop's statement. At least that is my position.

Mr. VELDE. Well, certainly, Mr. Doyle, the members of the committee agree with you——

Mr. DOYLE. I know you do.

Mr. VELDE. And I don't think——

Mr. DOYLE. I thought it would be just appropriate——

Mr. VELDE (continuing). At the present time——

Mr. DOYLE (continuing). At this point to make it clear.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). There is any reason we should mention the fact that we dispute the veracity of the bishop.

Mr. DOYLE. I know, but the bishop has now raised that point, to my hearing, 5 or 6 times, as to why we keep on questioning him.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I didn't——

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Bishop OXNAM. I didn't raise—

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I didn't finish my interrogation a while ago, but I feel impelled to tell the Congressmen it isn't a question of whether he did belong or did not belong to a certain organization. The question is whether he is unable to remember whether he wrote a letter recommending against deportation of Harry Bridges. That is the problem.

(Representative Francis E. Walter entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). I should like to remind the bishop of something else, which he will discover in the testimony which will be released later. I happened to be presiding a few days ago, Bishop, when a man by the name of Harry Bridges was again identified as a member of the Communist Party, and that is one of the reasons why I was endeavoring to discover, to the best of your knowledge, exactly what took place. I was hopeful you could give me a more explicit and direct answer, because it is extremely important, so far as I am concerned, to discover whether or not you did recommend that the Communist, Harry Bridges, be kept in the United States. I am hopeful he will be deported at the earliest possible moment because I think he is a danger and menace to our Nation.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I was not raising the question I think that has been referred to here. I was raising this: When I say I do not belong to an organization, then to have read into this record a long description of that organization—after I've said I don't belong to it—I don't understand the purpose of it.

If someone asks if I belong to a certain organization and I say I do not, isn't that the record?

Why do we have to have this long list of citations so that somebody can read that in relation to my name?

That's the question, and I—maybe the only way you can do it—I don't know—but it troubles me.

Mr. VELDE. Well, may I respectfully submit to you, Bishop, that you have agreed before to answer questions relative to these various organizations, and I hope that you will keep that agreement.

It is in an attempt to clarify your complete record, your complete file, that we are asking you these questions, because it has puzzled members of the committee as to how you could be listed as a sponsor for these various organizations, how you could be listed as a member of these various organizations, without some knowledge that they were Communist organizations or Communist-inspired organizations, and that is the thing we want to clarify—not only for your information but for your benefit as well.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, in the case of the Stockholm Peace Appeal, for instance, I believe that was Communist inspired and Communist directed.

(Representative James B. Frazier, Jr., entered the hearing room at this point.)

Bishop OXNAM. I was instrumental with others with putting the World Council of Churches on record so that it warned all the churches of the world concerning that matter, and similarly in the national council, where everyone has known; but we go back here into situations

of organizations and assume that one had facts that I think people didn't have.

In the matter of the poll tax that was referred to earlier, I've been advised—and I believe this to be correct—that Congressman Bender and Congressman Jennings were entertained in a banquet in Washington by this organization in 1947 at the Statler Hotel.

Mr. WALTER. What does that prove?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; what does it prove in connection with me?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Bishop OXNAM. That's just the point.

Mr. WALTER. That is it.

Bishop OXNAM. I said I had no recollection of belonging to that organization, but in 1947 reputable members of this body were involved.

Now, why does my name get tied up with these things and somebody says I have to explain?

I can't understand it.

Mr. VELDE. For this simple reason there might be a few cases where Communist members, in politics, religion, or in any other field, belong or have belonged to Communist fronts; but it is very apparent to me at least that there are so many of these front groups with which you have been associated that we want to find out whether or not you had any knowledge of them or whether you were used as a tool or just what happened exactly. That is the reason why we are trying to clear this matter up.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, the poll-tax organization, I'm told, was not a Communist front in 1947 at the time that letter referred to was involved, and I don't know whether it was or not.

Mr. WALTER. Bishop—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Getting around to something more concrete, what useful purpose did you feel was served by describing the immigration law as asinine?

Bishop OXNAM. I don't think I ever so described it.

Mr. WALTER. Well, according to the Boston Herald, March 12, 1951, edition, you said that the act was asinine; and then here is a direct quote:

"You cannot fight totalitarianism with measures of a totalitarian nature," the Bishop said. "Application of the alien screening law"—

That is the provision of the law that makes it as difficult as it is possible for me to devise language to keep Communists and other subversives from coming into the United States.

You said:

"Application of the alien screening law not only is futile, but also produces bizarre results."

He cited the case of a German bishop recently barred from entry to attend a council of bishops of the United States. He was banned on the ground that he had once associated with a charitable organization which had Nazi sponsorship.

Under the law, that just couldn't possibly happen because the Attorney General of the United States has discretionary power to admit anyone to attend conferences of that sort, and the fact that a man was a member of a charitable organization would not prevent his entry into the United States.

Now, my question is——

Just a moment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Mr. WALTER. My question is: What useful purpose did you feel you were serving by making an unwarranted, unjustifiable attack on the law of this land?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Walter, I would be happy to answer that if you would give me opportunity.

First of all——

Mr. WALTER. Well, here, I will——

Bishop OXNAM. No; no.

Mr. WALTER. Here——

Bishop OXNAM. You are handing me newspaper records, sir, and, with the utmost respect to the newspaper profession, very few American reporters write shorthand. You will find quote marks put around statements that I, personally, at times do not wish to take responsibility for.

If this committee would follow a policy, when you have a question of that kind——

Mr. WALTER. Now, let's not criticize the committee——

Bishop OXNAM. I am not criticizing——

Mr. WALTER (continuing). Every time you are asked a question.

Bishop OXNAM (continuing). The committee.

Mr. WALTER. Let's answer the question.

Bishop OXNAM. I am answering——

Mr. WALTER. I want to ask you did you make that statement?

Bishop OXNAM. I don't——

Mr. WALTER. Well, look at it.

Bishop OXNAM. I don't care to.

Mr. WALTER. Look at it.

Bishop OXNAM. I don't care to look at it.

I wish to check it with a speech I have of record. I keep my speeches.

Mr. VELDE. Well, that is the reason I was trying to interrupt Mr. Walter——

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). To find out whether or not you do recall making that statement.

Bishop OXNAM. I would have to check it. I speak many times in a week. I don't use the word "asinine" in public speech.

Mr. WALTER. Well, now——

Bishop OXNAM. I don't believe——

Mr. WALTER. Just a minute.

Bishop OXNAM. I don't believe——

Mr. WALTER. Whether you use the word "asinine" or not, you said something about the law which is not true and I am amazed that a clergyman would make a statement that isn't borne out by the facts.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, Mr. Chairman, the McCarran-Walter Act, as you know, has been seriously criticized across this Nation.

Mr. WALTER. And that is the point. That is what I want to find out, because I have asked one person after another to put their finger on the thing that is wrong with the law. Nobody has been able to do so.

Last week at a meeting of the Judiciary, Mr. Javits, a Congressman from New York, speaking for the Jewish organizations, stated that the charge that the law was anti-Semitic was not true. On the following day, Monsignor Swanstron, the head of the Catholic Welfare, responding to the question, said that the law is not anti-Catholic. Now, I want you to point out, those men having pointed out it is not anti-Semitic, not anti-Catholic, wherein it is asinine.

Bishop OXNAM. I just finished saying that I don't recall having used that word.

If you will give me that material——

Mr. WALTER. I will be very happy——

Bishop OXNAM. I'll be happy to send you——

Mr. WALTER (continuing). To give it to you.

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. You may have it.

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir; I'll give it to you when I have had opportunity to check the speech.

Mr. WALTER. I want you to have it.

Don't you want it?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; I would be happy to see it.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interject one question, Mr. Walter?

Mr. Chairman, may I have permission to ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Bishop——

Bishop OXNAM. I beg your pardon, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all right.

Mr. VELDE. Did you wish to examine this paper?

Mr. CLARDY. My question hasn't anything to do with that.

Bishop OXNAM. To whom shall I——

Mr. CLARDY. It is going to be more direct. It has nothing to do with the exhibit at all.

Mr. WALTER. Just a minute. Before you——

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Walter, I am going to ask a question——

Mr. WALTER. Just one question.

Mr. CLARDY. All right.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Could you have taken the position, if you were properly quoted, that you were opposed to the immigration policy of the United States because you were not concerned with the number of Communists coming into this country?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Walter, I'm going to answer that question, and I want to answer it calmly.

I tried to say earlier that I believe the Communist Party is a conspiracy. I believe that every conspirator ought to be discovered and, in due process, tried and, if found guilty, punished.

I've tried to say that I'm fundamentally opposed to communism, and always have been.

I believe the churches are moving in upon the causes of communism, and I'm proud of the fact that, sir, so far as I know, no Protestant country has been seriously infiltrated by communism.

I think we've been doing a significant piece of work.

When you, therefore, suggest, by implication, that I might be interested in letting Communists come into the country, my answer is:

I'm fundamentally opposed to the whole Communist movement and would do everything within my power to keep them out. I'm not—

Mr. WALTER. Well, take a look at this newspaper article and see how much of that is authentic, will you?

Bishop OXNAM. I told you, Mr. Walter, I would be happy to check the speech against the record and see whether this is a correct report of what I said or not. This is back 2 years ago. I speak constantly.

Mr. WALTER. Well, I was trying to bring this up to a current situation, because we have been talking about things that occurred many, many months and years ago—and that I am opposed to, I will say to you very frankly, but this is something that occurred just a year ago.

Bishop OXNAM. Do you say, Mister—

Mr. WALTER. Don't you remember?

Bishop OXNAM. Are you saying—no; this occurred 2 years or more—

Mr. WALTER. What is the date of that?

Bishop OXNAM. Are you saying—

Mr. WALTER. What is the date?

Bishop OXNAM. The date is March 12, 1951.

Mr. WALTER. Well, this, as far as this committee is concerned, is current.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, I think the President of the United States suggested in the campaign that this act—

Mr. WALTER. Well, he was busy gathering votes, and I am sure you haven't been.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, you wouldn't call him interested in letting Communists in, would you?

Mr. WALTER. No; but—

Go on.

Bishop OXNAM. I'm sorry, Mr. Walter, because I respect you, and you know I wrote you a letter asking you for full information concerning the McCarran-Walter bill, because I wanted to study it.

Mr. WALTER. Well, if you read everything I said, you are certainly educated by this time.

Bishop OXNAM. No; all you sent me was the article in the Reader's Digest.

Mr. WALTER. And all I asked you about was the speech.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like to offer in evidence this document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 25," which is an open letter regarding Bridges which we have been discussing for some time.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it is admitted.

(The document referred to was received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit No. 25.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, sir, there are a few matters at an earlier period we want to question you about in regard to this whole general picture.

I have here a document, marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 26," which refers to a mass meeting, in which it lists two speakers, back in the early 1920's, in Los Angeles, Harriet Dunlop Prenter, a well-known Communist, and yourself, Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 26, p. 3721.)

Did you make a speech with this well-known Communist, or perhaps it lies beyond your recollection?

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 25

(Part 1)

An Open Letter to President Roosevelt

April 22, 1943

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I am addressing you on behalf of the clergymen, whose names are attached.

We respectfully ask that you set aside the deportation order against Harry Renton Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Congress of Industrial Organizations, and afford him full opportunity to become a citizen of the United States of America.

Considerations of justice and the welfare of our country in this time of crisis, move us to make this request. An examination of the history of the case against Mr. Bridges and his record since our entering into the war, convinces us that his deportation will be an injustice to him and a material loss to our national war effort.

Mr. Bridges has twice been placed in jeopardy by hearings called by the Immigration Service to determine whether charges that he is an undesirable alien and entertains beliefs inimical to the Constitution and Government of the United States have been proved. These charges have twice been dismissed, once by Dean James M. Landis, again by the Board of Immigration Appeals.

The first hearing in 1939 before James M. Landis, then Dean of the School of Law of Harvard University and now National Director of Civilian Defense, was particularly thorough. In his report, Dean Landis characterized the testimony against Mr. Bridges as unreliable and much of it as motivated by personal animus. He further said in part: "Bridges' own statement of his political beliefs is important. It was given not only without reserve, but vigorously as dogma and faiths of which the man was proud and which presented in his mind the aims of his existence—. That Bridges' aims are energetically radical may be admitted, but the proof fails to establish the methods he seeks to employ to realize them are other than those that the framework of democratic and constitutional government permits."

Dean Landis' ability and integrity as one of the outstanding jurists of the country are beyond question. His opinion was arrived at after eleven weeks of extensive testimony. It substantiates the findings of a previous investigation conducted by the Immigration Service in 1936, and is itself substantiated by the unanimous vote of the Board of Immigration Appeals in reversing the opinion of Inspector Sears, in charge of the second hearing in 1941.

It is difficult, in the face of this evidence, to understand the summary action of the Attorney General. We feel that such summary action by an official, nullifies the purpose for which hearings are held and is at variance with the pattern of American justice.

Mr. Bridges' record since Pearl Harbor confirms the opinion of the Board of Immi-

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 25

(Part 2)

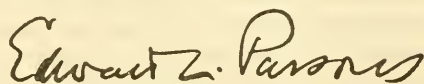
gration Appeals and our own belief in his loyalty. He was the first to call for labor unity to win the war. He is the author of two plans which the government has put into operation and which have markedly increased the efficiency of our maritime transport. Following his advice, his union has surrendered important contractual rights in order to speed the loading of cargoes. Under his leadership his union has won high praise from government officials and ranking officers of the Army and Navy. The Office of War Information, in a radio broadcast, said in part:—"Their (International Longshoremen's Union) hard work and their application of the union plan of labor-management cooperation, helped to score important victories over the Japanese Navy."

This is a record of which any citizen would be proud. It prompted Mr. John B. Hughes, the radio commentator, to write in "Liberty" magazine, September 19, 1942: "One business man told me he thought the deportation of Harry Bridges would be disastrous. He thought Harry Bridges has done more than any other person to increase production for war—and that without his personal leadership, work in the vital war industries on the West Coast would lag far behind."

Clearly, Mr. Bridges has aroused the animosity of an influential minority because of his successful union activities and his political and economic beliefs. Equally clearly, the whole nation is today reaping the benefits of his union activity. We know that you, Mr. President, yourself a church man, believe with us that there is no more place in our American life for political and economic persecution than there is for religious persecution and vigorously condemn both as disruptive of our unity and subversive of our national effort.

We therefore again respectfully ask you that as an act of justice and for the national welfare, set aside the deportation order against Mr. Bridges.

Most respectfully,



RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 25

(Part 3)

- REV. RALPH C. ABLE
Episcopal and Reformed Church, St. Louis, Mo.
- REV. GEORGE A. ACKERLY
First Federated Church, Templeton, Mass.
- REV. CARLYLE ADAMS
The Presbyterian Tribune, Utica, N. Y.
- REV. CHARLES MORRIS ADDISON,
Cambridge, Mass.
- REV. EDWIN E. AHEM, Jr.
Bethany Congregational Church, Lynn, Mass.
- REV. GEORGE W. ALEXANDER
Lyndhurst Methodist Church, Lyndhurst, N. J.
- REV. WILBUR C. ALLEN
Ebenezer Presbyterian Church, Embell, W. Virginia
- REV. ALBERT ALLINGER
Methodist Church, Pearl River, N. Y.
- REV. GEORGE D. ALLISON
First Baptist Church, Wilmotte, Ill.
- REV. PAUL J. ALLURED
First Presbyterian Church, Holly, Michigan
- RABBI MICHAEL ALPER, New York, N. Y.
- REV. WILLIAM C. ANDERSON
Evangelical and Reformed Church, Bremen, Indiana
- REV. PHILIP E. ANTHES
Boston, Mass.
- REV. BEDROS K. APÉLIAN
Fairfax, New Jersey
- REV. W. WALTERMAR W. AIGOW
Baltimore, Maryland
- REV. WILLIAM T. ARMITAGE
Washington, Mass.
- REV. ELMER J. F. ABB
Eden Theological Seminary, Eden Grove, Va.
- REV. CLARENCE F. AVEY
Stewart Memorial Methodist Church, Axford, Mass.
- REV. E. BURDETTE BACRUS
All Souls Unitarian Church, Indianapolis, Indiana
- REV. ROBERT W. BAGSHALL
St. Thomas Protestant Episcopal Church,
Philadelphia, Penn.
- BY REV. JAMES C. BAKER
Bishop of the Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Calif.
- REV. ARCHIE D. BALL
Madison, New Jersey
- REV. LEE H. BALL
Methodist Church, Lela Mahopac, New York
- REV. WILLIAM BARLOW
Community Church, Middletown Springs, N.Y.
- REV. EDWARD E. BARRETT
Lansing, Michigan
- REV. JESSE E. BARTHOLOMEW
Tepala, Kansas
- REV. MARSHALL E. BARTHOLOMEW
Presbyterian Church, Mansfield, Pa.
- REV. LANE W. BARTON
Grace Episcopal Church, Orange, N. J.
- REV. ROBERT BAXTER
St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Coeur D'Alene, Idaho
- REV. LYNDON L. BEARDSLEE
Congregational Church, Warrenton, Mass.
- REV. OLIVER W. BELL
New London, Conn.
- REV. JOHN D. BENNETTO
Baltimore, Maryland
- REV. A. G. BRANWELL BENNETT
Episcopal Church, Columbia, South Carolina
- REV. ROGER W. BENNETT
St. Mary's Church, Wallisley Hills, Mass.
- REV. WILLIAM E. BENNETT
First Universalist Church, Elgin, Ill.
- REV. PAUL E. BILLINGS
Owning Heights Methodist Church, Owning,
New York
- REV. SMELTON HALE BISHOP
St. Philip Episcopal Church, New York, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN C. BLACKMAN
Pilgrim Congregational Church, Oklahoma City,
Oklahoma
- RABBI MAURICE J. BLOOM
Newburgh, New York
- REV. EDWARD M. BONSALL, JR.
Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa
- REV. LESTER L. BOOBAR
First Methodist Church, Bangor, Maine
- REV. J. BURT BOUWMAN
Sec'y Michigan Council of Churches, Lansing, Mich.
- DR. W. RUSSELL BOWIE, D.D.,
Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.
- REV. DWIGHT J. BRADLEY
Director, Council for Social Action of the
Congregational Christian Churches, New York, N. Y.
- REV. EDWARD M. BREVSTER
1st Street Methodist Church, Methuen, N. H.
- REV. JOHN W. BRIGHAM
Unitarian Church, Billerica, Mass.
- REV. CHARLES L. BROMLEY
First Baptist Church, Urbana, Ill.
- REV. THOMAS E. BROOKS
Charleston, West Virginia
- REV. EDWIN E. BROWN
First Methodist Church, Athens, Ohio
- REV. ROBERT RYANS BROWNING
Chapel of the Redeemer, Glen Echo, Maryland
- REV. EDWIN T. BUSHNER
Third Unitarian Church, Chicago, Ill.
- DR. WILLAR BUREGOWS
Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
- REV. STANNARD DOW BUTLER, Merikimer, N. Y.
- REV. W. FAY BUTLER
St. Mark's Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Calif.
- REV. WARREN CAMFIELD CABLE
St. Petersburg, Fla.
- REV. EDWARD A. CAMILL
Unitarian Church, Chalmers, Mass.
- REV. CHARLES L. CALKINS
Asst. Sec'y, Board of Pensions, Methodist Church,
Chicago, Ill.
- REV. DONALD E. CAMPBELL
Pocatello, Idaho
- RABBI JONAH E. CAPLIN
Congregation Beth El, Astoria, N. Y.
- REV. CHARLES L. CARMAST
Presbyterian Church, Chevy Chase, Md.
- REV. RALPH M. CARMICHAEL
Buffalo, N. Y.
- REV. J. FRANKLIN CARTER
Williamstown, Mass.
- REV. RUTHVEN S. CHALMERS
Boonville, N. Y.
- RABBI ELIAS CHABRY
Philadelphia, Penn.
- REV. DON M. CHASE
Redding, Calif.
- REV. WILLIAM J. CHASE
Chaplain, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- REV. DUDLEY E. CHILD
The South Parish Unitarian Church,
Charlestown, N. H.
- REV. ARTHUR T. CLARE
Evanston, Ill.
- REV. BENJAMIN M. CLARK
Leacons, New Hampshire
- REV. MERRILL S. CLARKE
New Canaan, Conn.
- REV. HENRY EYBOTH COBB
Collegiate Church, New York, N. Y.
- REV. G. L. COLLINS
Madison, Wisconsin
- REV. RALPH HALL COLLIS
Chicago, Ill.
- REV. J. BOIS COLOUHOUM
Mankato, Minn.
- REV. EDWARD M. CONHIT
Needham, Mass.
- REV. E. M. CONOVER
Dir. Bureau of Architecture of the Home Missions
Council, New York, N. Y.
- REV. LEWIS A. CONVIS
Jefferson Park Congregational Church, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. GEORGE S. COOKE
Northampton, Mass.
- REV. ALFRED M. COOKS
Morgantown, New York
- REV. GEORGE M. COBBER
White Sulphur Springs, N. Y.
- REV. J. HARRY COTTON
Pres. Presbyterian Theological Seminary,
Chicago, Ill.
- REV. CHARLES E. CRAIG, JR.
Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Lexington, Ky.
- REV. FRANK D. CRANDALL
Second Church in Salem, Salem, Mass.
- REV. WILLIAM C. CRAYNER
Church of the Good Shepherd, York, S. C.
- REV. HAROLD E. CRAW
Congregational Church, Danvers, Conn.
- REV. ARTHUR M. CRAWFORD
Asbury Methodist Church, Erie, Penn.
- REV. E. F. CRAWFORD
Carnegie, Penn.
- BY REV. RALPH E. CUSHMAN
Bishop of the Methodist Church, St. Paul, Minn.
- REV. WOLCOTT CUTLER
St. John's Church, Charlestown, Mass.
- REV. MALCOLM G. DADÉ
St. Crispin Episcopal Church, Detroit, Michigan
- REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG
First Baptist Church, Spruce, N. Y.
- REV. EARL C. DAVIS
Unitarian Parish Minister, Peterham, Mass.

(Churches listed for identification only)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 25

(Part 4)

- REV. JOSEPH M. C. DAVIS
Christ Community Church, New York, N. Y.
- REV. LEWIS H. DAVIS
Methodist Church, Seymour, Conn.
- REV. GARDNER M. DAY
Cambridge, Mass.
- REV. JOHN WARREN DAY
Protestant Episcopal Church, Topeka, Kansas
- REV. CHARLES S. DEWELER
Society for Latin America of the Baptist Home
Mission Society, New York, N. Y.
- REV. CHARLES DE VRIES
West Upton, Mass.
- REV. DONALD H. DORCHESTER
Windsor, Conn.
- REV. TRUMAN E. DOUGLASS
Prigun Congregational Church, St. Louis, Mo.
- REV. H. M. DUKES
First Congregational Church, Jackson, Miss.
- REV. ARTHUR DUMPER
Dean of Trinity Cathedral (Retired), Newark, N. J.
- REV. J. EARLE EDWARDS
Queens Village, N. Y.
- REV. GROVE F. BEINS
Congregational Church, Saybrook, Conn.
- REV. J. EDWIN ELDER
Wright Congregational Church, Boise, Idaho
- REV. CHRISTOPHER B. SNOT
Cambridge, Mass.
- REV. THOMAS D. EWING
Wendmere Presbyterian Church, E. Cleveland, O.
- REV. ARTHUR W. FARNUM
St. Mary's Church, Ashville, N. C.
- REV. A. D. FAUPEL
Leader: Fellowship of Humanity, Oakland, Calif.
- REV. ALFRED LUKE FAUST
First Methodist Church, Richmond Hill, N. Y.
- REV. DON FRANK FEHN
Church of St. Michael & All Angels, Baltimore, Md.
- REV. JUDSON B. FIEBIGER
South Congregational Church, Utica, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN W. FINDLEY
University Presbyterian Church, West Lafayette, Ind.
- REV. JOSEPH D. FLETCHER
Dean, Graduate School of Applied Religions,
Cincinnati, O.
- REV. NORMAN D. FLETCHER
Unitarian Church of Montclair, Montclair, N. J.
- REV. JOHN B. FORSYTH
Rosedale Gardens Presbyterian Church, Plymouth,
Mich.
- REV. JAMES E. FOSTER
Christ Church, Gary, Ind.
- REV. HUGH B. FOULKE
First Methodist Church, Emporia, Kans.
- REV. THEODORE T. FRANK
Congregational Church, University Heights, O.
- REV. EDWARD S. FREY
United Lutheran Church, Lamoyne, Penn.
- REV. STEPHEN M. FRITCHMAN
Editor, The Christian Register, Boston, Mass.
- REV. G. SHUBERT FRYE
Presbyterian Church, Syracuse, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN GARDNER
Garden City Community Church, Garden City, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN GASS
St. Paul's Church, Troy, N. Y.
- REV. WILLIS H. GERMANY
Eight Street Methodist Church, Oklahoma City,
Okla.
- REV. EDMUND H. GIBSON
Trinity Episcopal Church, Galveston, Texas
- REV. GEORGE M. GIBSON
Congregational Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. CHARLES E. GILBERT
Suffragan Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Dia-
cese of New York, New York, N. Y.
- REV. GEORGE B. GILBERT
Episcopal Church, Middleton, Conn.
- REV. CHARLES G. GIBELIUS
Unitarian Church, Barnet, N. Y.
- REV. WILLARD J. GORDANIER
Marlboro, Wac.
- REV. ROBERT COWAN GRADY
Presbyterian Church, Cleveland, Ohio
- REV. GORDON O. GRAMAM
St. Saviour's Episcopal Church, Manarth, N. Y.
- REV. RICHARD Y. GRAMAM
Toga Center, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN C. GRAMERY
Editor, "The Emancipator," San Antonio, Texas
- REV. A. RAYMOND GRANT
First Methodist Church, Sacramento, Calif.
- REV. W. E. J. GRAY
Our Saviour's Church, Evanston, Ill.
- DAVID DAVID GRUBSART
Cong. St. Paul's, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. CHARLES E. GRAY
Geytandville, Conn.
- REV. JAMES D. GUBEN
First Methodist Church, Berea, O.
- REV. WALTER F. GREENMAN
Unitarian Church, West Newton, Mass.
- REV. CORNELIUS GREENWAY
All Souls Universalist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- REV. JAMES E. GREENE
Congregational Church, Williamstown, Mass.
- REV. RALPH GREENER
Whitstone, N. Y.
- REV. ARMAND GUBERNO
Mayfair Methodist Church, Chicago, Illinois
- REV. CLOYD T. GUSTAFSON
Pres., Methodist National Training School, Kansas
City, Mo.
- REV. ALBERT J. HALLINGSTON
East Greenock, R. I.
- REV. CHARLES G. HAMILTON
Aberdeen, Miss.
- REV. FRANK A. HAMILTON
First Methodist Church, Chattanooga, Tenn.
- REV. F. M. HAMILMOND
Methodist Church, Sunnyside, Wash.
- REV. C. P. HARBREAVES
Sec'y, Missionary Education, Methodist Church,
Nashville, Tenn.
- REV. JOHN M. HARRIS
Trinity Church, Boston, Mass.
- REV. JOSEPH HARTZ
St. George's Episcopal Church, Rochester, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN H. HATT
Federated Church of Greenville, Granite Center,
Mass.
- REV. PAUL G. HAYS
Methodist Church, Bismarck, N. D.
- REV. LOWELL Z. HAZZARD
Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Illinois
- REV. ARTHUR HERR
Unitarian Church, Northfield, Mass.
- DR. FRANK W. HEGGLOTT
Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN M. HESTEMES
Director, Baptist Christian Center, Hammond, Ind.
- REV. JOHN S. HIGGINS
Gothams Church, Minneapolis, Minn.
- REV. CHARLES A. HILL
Detroit, Michigan
- REV. CLIFFORD W. HILLNER
Congregational Church, Middletown, N. Y.
- REV. HENRY W. HOOGSON
Episcopal Bishop of Southern Ohio, Cincinnati, O.
- REV. CHESTER E. HOBBSOHN
Centenary Methodist Church, Newark, N. J.
- REV. FRANK O. HOLMES
Unitarian Church, Concord, N. H.
- REV. KENNETH B. HOOPER
Strut Oak, N. Y.
- REV. LEE A. HOWE, JR.
Owens Baptist Church, Ossida, N. Y.
- REV. DOLAND O. HUDSON
First Baptist Church, Jamaica, N. Y.
- REV. EBY J. E. HURPHSEY
General Conference of the United Sabbath Day
Adventists, New York, N. Y.
- REV. HAROLD B. HUSKALLS
Chaplain, Northfield Seminary, East Northfield,
Mass.
- REV. EDGAR S. JACKSON
Bridgeport, Conn.
- REV. HENRY B. JONES
Director, Community House, Detroit, Mich.
- REV. JOHN PAUL JONES
The Union Church of Ray Edg, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- REV. WILLIAM SAFFORD JONES
South Parish Church, Portsmouth, N. H.
- REV. ALLEN EBBY
Congregational Church, Shrewsbury, Mass.
- REV. DONALD Y. KEE
Cairo, N. Y.
- REV. ROBERT P. KELLERMAN
Methodist Centenary Church, Binghamton, N. Y.,
City, Mo.
- REV. ALBERT B. KESSE
District Supt., Methodist Church, Wichita, Kans.
- REV. ADOLPH M. KEANE
Tenn., Ariz.
- REV. ALFRED M. LANGERT
Episcopal Church, Hartford, Conn.
- REV. BLAINE LAMBERT
Taylors Falls, Mass.
- BARRE PHILIP A. LAMBH
Temple Bath Abraham, Oakland, Calif.
- REV. JOHN HOWARD LATHROP
First Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- REV. MELNEY SMITH LEWIS
Leona, N. J.
- REV. WILLIAM W. LEWIS
Keene, N. H.
- REV. FRANK LINDBORST
Exec. Sec'y, Christian Education, Das Meisen Ann,
Methodist Church, Das Meisen, I - 48

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 25

(Part 5)

- REV. OTIS L. LIND
2. Post Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, Cal.
- REV. HERMAN P. LION
Second Parish Church, Marlboro, Mass.
- REV. HARRY LONGLEY
St. John's Church, Charleston, W. Va.
- REV. W. E. LOHRENBOM
Methodist Church, Memphis, Missouri
- REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
The Community Church of Boston, Boston, Mass.
- REV. HENRY P. LOZE
Methodist Church, Touhy, Ill.
- REV. ROBERT S. LOWELL
Cedars Memorial Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- REV. SIDNEY LOWRY
Chaplain, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- REV. EDGAR A. LOWMYER
Temple Methodist Church, San Francisco, Calif.
- REV. EDWIN W. LYMAN
Prof. Emeritus, Union Theological Seminary New York, N. Y.
- REV. CHARLES F. MAC CLEBBORN
Director, The Refugee and Labor Center of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio
- REV. JOHN G. MAC KINNON
First Unitarian Church, Richmond, Va.
- REV. JAMES MACPHERSON
Broadway Baptist Church, Denver, Colo.
- REV. WALTER HENRY MACPHERSON
Unitarian Church, Joliet, Ill.
- REV. CARL W. MAPLE
Methodist Church, Shady Side, Miss.
- BARBARA BESSIE A. MALINO
Beverly, Conn.
- REV. MARCEL P. MARLEY
Methodist Church, Dayton, Ohio
- REV. FRANK MASTRON
Grace Methodist Church, Bloomington, Ill.
- REV. WELLES B. MATHEAS
Evangelical Protestant & Reformed Church, Albion, Penn.
- REV. OSCAR E. MAURER
First Church, New Haven, Conn.
- REV. S. ROBERT MAYE-OLANES
Ball Street Chapel, Providence, R. I.
- REV. ROBERT MATHEW
Congregational Church, Greenville, Maine
- REV. F. W. MCCONNELL
Methodist Church, York, Pa.
- REV. JOHN P. MCCONNELL
Presbyterian Church, Fayetteville, Ark.
- REV. WILLIAM MCGEE
All Souls Church, Santa Cruz, Calif.
- REV. WILLARD L. MCDONNIEY
Methodist Unitarian Church, Norwalk, Mass.
- REV. JOHN E. MEELEY
Sec'y Port Huron Ministerial Association, Port Huron, Mich.
- REV. JOHN HOWARD MELISH
Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH
Associate Pastor, Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- REV. LLOYD F. MERRELL
Methodist Church, Bay City, Mich.
- REV. HARRY C. MESSERVE
First Unitarian Church, Buffalo, N. Y.
- REV. PATYSON MILLER
First Unitarian Congregational Society of Hartford, Hartford, Conn.
- REV. VICTOR G. MILLS
Montclair, N. J.
- REV. F. THEODORE MINER
Stockport, N. Y.
- ET. REV. WALTER MITCHELL
Episcopal Bishop, Phoenix, Ariz.
- REV. A. T. MOLLEBACH
Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.
- REV. RICHARD MORFORD
New York, N. Y.
- ET. REV. ARTHUR W. MOUTLON
Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Utah Salt Lake City, Utah
- REV. W. RALTER MUELLER
Stanley Congregational Church, Chatham, N. J.
- REV. IRVING E. MURRAY
Unitarian Minister to Students in Greater Boston Cambridge, Mass.
- REV. SKILLMAN E. MYERS
Burlington, Vt.
- REV. NORMAN B. NASH
St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
- REV. EARL NELSON
Charleston Unitarian Church, Charleston, S. C.
- REV. A. A. NELSON
Congregational Church, Rockford, Michigan
- REV. BOSCOE NELSON
Hartford, Conn.
- REV. HARRY J. NEWTON
Dought Place Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn.
- REV. WILLIAM S. NISBLE
Disciples of Christ Church, North Baltimore, Ohio
- REV. ISAAC HOYES NORTHROP
All Souls Episcopal Church, & Hiram, N. C.
- REV. EDUARD A. OPTZ
Unitarian Church of Harrisburg, Harrisburg, Penn.
- REV. SPENCER BAKER OWENS
First Methodist Church, Battle Creek, Mich.
- ET. REV. G. BROMLEY OXNAM
Methodist Bishop, Boston, Mass.
- REV. W. HAROLD PAENHARF
Methodist Church, Clarston, Mich.
- REV. CLAY E. PALMER
First Congregational Church, Yonkers, N. Y.
- REV. GEORGE LAWRENCE PARKER
Unitarian Church, Denver, Mass.
- REV. ELBERT M. PARIKHURST
Methodist Church, Schraun Lake, N. Y.
- REV. ALBERT B. PARETTI
Methodist Church, Rupert, Idaho
- REV. STEPHEN C. PEABODY
First Congregational Church, San Jose, Cal.
- REV. WILLIAM W. PECK
First Parish Church, Groton, Mass.
- REV. EDWARD L. PEET
North Methodist Church, Hartford, Conn.
- REV. HAYEN P. PERKINS
Paris, Ill.
- REV. LOUIS PEREINS
Episcopal Church Shelton, Conn.
- REV. PALFREY PEREINS
King's Chapel, Boston, Mass.
- REV. GORDON PHILLIPS
Dist. Sept. Methodist Church, Port Huron, Mich.
- REV. HENRY W. PHINLAY
Newark Center, Mass.
- REV. GEORGE A. POLLARD
Highland Congregational Church, Portland, Ore.
- REV. P. HEWISON POLLOCK
First Presbyterian Church, Bozeman, Mont.
- REV. GEORGE L. POOR
Methodist Church, Cemes, Wash.
- REV. EDWIN MCHIEL POTEAT
Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio
- REV. SCHUYLER PRATT
St. Peter's Church, Redwood City, Calif.
- REV. IRVING ELLSWORTH PUTNAM
First Methodist Church, Sousa Falls, S. D.
- REV. FRANCIS P. RANDALL
Woodbridge, Conn.
- REV. ALFRED HARRY RAPP
Plymouth Congregational Church, Syracuse, N. Y.
- REV. H. M. RATLIFF
Ev. Sec'y S.W. Texas Conference of Methodist Church, Austin, Texas.
- ET. REV. WILLIAM P. REMINGTON
Episcopal Bishop of Eastern Oregon, Pendleton, Ore.
- REV. L. W. RENSAU
Methodist Church, Antioch, Calif.
- REV. FREDERICK REUSTLE
Van Wyck Ave. Congregational Church, Jamaica, N. Y.
- REV. HILARY G. RICHARDSON
First Unitarian Church of Tonkers, Tonkers, N. Y.
- REV. DANIEL LYMAN RIDOUT
Campbell Memorial Methodist Church, Philadelphia, Penn.
- REV. GEORGE A. BILEY
Unitarian Church, Roslindale, Mass.
- REV. FREDERICK W. RINGE
Evangelical Reformed Church, Tempe, Illinois
- REV. HENRY B. ROBINS
Prof. Emeritus Colgate Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.
- REV. ALSON H. ROBINSON
First Unitarian Church, Plainfield, N. J.
- REV. CLIFTON H. ROSS
Congregational Church, Bridgeport, Conn.
- REV. CUTHBERT B. ROWE
Woodlawn Methodist Church, Syracuse, N. Y.
- REV. WILLIAM K. RUSSELL
St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barre, Penn.
- REV. F. WALDO SAYAGE
First Congregational Church, Cheshire, Conn.
- REV. ROBERT M. SCHACHT, Jr.
First Congregational Church, Providence, R. I.
- REV. A. J. SCHERER
Trinity Evangelical & Reformed Church, New Orleans, La.
- REV. PAUL P. SCHULTZ, Jr.
West Roxbury, Mass.
- REV. E. H. SCHWENGLER
Evangelical & Reformed Church, Merion, Texas
- REV. HAROLD SCOTT
Congregational Unitarian Center, Flint, Michigan

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 25

(Part 6)

- REV. RICHARD W. SEEBOS
Westminster Unitarian Church, Providence, R. I.
- REV. WILLIAM MACDONALD SHARP
St. Philip's Church, Garrison, N. Y.
- REV. WARREN P. SHEN
Methodist Church, Verona, N. J.
- REV. ARTHUR SHINEFELT
Methodist Church, Oxford, Ohio
- REV. GUY EMBRY SHIPLEY
Editor, The Churchman, New York, N. Y.
- REV. H. NORMAN SIBLEY
Bronx, N. Y.
- REV. HENRY A. SIMMONS
Cincinnati, Ohio
- REV. STANLEY E. SIKNER
Federated Church, Williamstown, N. Y.
- REV. EDWIN M. SLOCUMBE
Leungton, Mass.
- REV. ASBURY SMITH
First Methodist Church, Towson, Md.
- REV. F. HASTINGS SMYTH
Society of the Catholic Commonwealth (Anglican)
Cambridge, Mass.
- REV. G. FRANKLIN SHYDER
Fordham Methodist Church, Bronx, N. Y.
- REV. E. HILMER SODERBERG
Methodist Church, West Branch, Mich.
- REV. ARTHUR M. SOULE
Universalist Church, Marlboro, Mass.
- REV. CLYDE Y. SPARLING
Methodist Church, Adams, N. Y.
- REV. JOHN C. SPENCER
Chicago, Ill.
- REV. WILLIAM B. SPERRY
Grace Church, Dalton, Mass.
- REV. W. B. SPOFFORD
Ex. Sec'y, Church League for Industrial Democracy,
New York, N. Y.
- REV. CLIFFORD L. STANLEY
St. Peter's Church, St. Louis, Mo.
- REV. E. LESTER STANTON
Chicago, Ill.
- REV. PHILIP M. STEINMETZ
St. Paul's Church, Monroeville, Penn.
- REV. J. STANLEY STEVENS
Methodist Church Mount Kisco, N. Y.
- REV. CARROLL STEWART
Methodist Church, Clyde, Ohio
- REV. CARL STORM
All Souls Unitarian Church, Lincoln, Nebr.
- REV. PAUL N. STREICH
Evangelical and Reformatist Church, New York, N. Y.
- REV. ALFRED W. SWAN
First Congregational Church, Madison, Wis.
- REV. SERIC M. TASHMAN
Episcopal Church, South Orange, N. J.
- REV. JOHN M. TAYLOR
Unitarian Church, Westwood, Mass.
- ARTHUR T. TEOCASTLE
East Norwalk, Conn.
- REV. JOHN B. THOMPSON
First Presbyterian Church, Norma, Okla.
- REV. JOSEPH W. THOMPSON
Manibal, Mo.
- REV. ROGER E. THOMPSON, Franklin, N. H.
- REV. T. R. TREASHIRE
Church of the Advent, Indianapolis, Ind.
- REV. DILLON WESLEY THROCKMORTON
Trinity Methodist Church, Beltsfield, Calif.
- REV. JOSEPH TITUS
Grace Protestant Episcopal Church, Jamaica, N. Y.
- REV. W. F. TOMLINSON
Ex. Sec'y, Morrow Memorial Home for the Aged
(Methodist), Edgerton, Wis.
- REV. JACOB TRAPP
First Unitarian Church, Denver, Colo.
- REV. EVERETT S. TREWORTHY
First Parish Church, Ashby, Mass.
- REV. ERNEST C. TUTTILL
St. James' Episcopal Church, Sonoma, Calif.
- REV. WILLIAM A. TYLER
Clermont, Calif.
- REV. LEIGH B. URBAN
Longmeadow, Mass.
- REV. MORGAN W. VAN TASSELL
Oak Grove Community Church, Buffalo, N. Y.
- REV. FREDERICK F. VORHIES
Methodist Church, Moline, N. Y.
- REV. O. WALTER WAGNER
Evangelical and Reformed Church, Jackson, Mich.
- REV. EMMETH C. WALBER
Unitarian Church, Albany, N. Y.
- REV. W. B. WALTHIRE
Pearl Memorial Methodist Church, Omaha, Neb.
- REV. HARRY P. WARD
Sec'y Methodist Federation for Social Service
New York, N. Y.
- REV. GEORGE A. WARNER
First Methodist Church, San Diego, Calif.
- REV. WALTER R. WARNER
Stone Methodist Church, Meadville, Penn.
- REV. CHARLES C. WEBBER
National Executive Secretary of the Methodist
Federation for Social Service
- REV. BRADFORD G. WEBSTER
First Methodist Church, Gowanda, N. Y.
- RABBI JACOB J. WEINSTEIN
K. A. M. Temple, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. N. A. WELDAY
Pittsburgh, Penn.
- REV. DANIEL M. WELCH
Unitarian Church, Clinton, Mass.
- ST. REV. HERBERT WELSH
Methodist Bishop, New York, N. Y.
- REV. BRUCE B. WENDT
Mt. Blanchard Methodist Church,
Mt. Blanchard, Ohio
- REV. ROBERT WESTON
Lerington, Mass.
- REV. ROBERT WHITAKER
Los Gatos, Calif.
- REV. ELIO? WHITE
New York, N. Y.
- REV. LUKES M. WHITE
St. Luke's Church, Montclair, N. J.
- REV. WAYNE WHITE
Westchester Methodist Church, Bronx, N. Y.
- REV. HAROLD WILKE
Sec'y Council for Social Reconstruction, Evangelical
& Reformed Church, Columbia, Mo.
- REV. JOHN P. WILKINS
Trinity Episcopal Church, Bristol, Conn.
- REV. C. LAWSON WILLARD, Jr.
Trinity Church, New Haven, Conn.
- REV. DAVID RMY'S WILLIAMS
First Unitarian Church, Rochester, N. Y.
- REV. WILL WILLITS
North Presbyterian Church, Elmira, N. Y.
- REV. CHARLES C. WILSON
St. Louis, Mo.
- REV. EDWIN L. WILSON
Dirt. Supt. Methodist Church, Portland, Me.
- REV. JAMES D. WYER
North Jackson, Ohio
- REV. BRADFORD YOUNG
Episcopal Church, Manchester, N. H.
- REV. JOHN T. YOUNGER
Cleveland Street Presbyterian Church,
Nashville, Tenn.

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir; it does not lie beyond my recollection.

Mr. KUNZIG. I pass that over to you, sir.

Bishop OXNAM. If you will pardon me just 1 minute, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Please take all the time you wish.

Bishop OXNAM. You see, Mr. Chairman, this is what I'm getting at: This material over 30 years ago has been used again and again and again, and here it is in 1953 coming back. Fortunately this is something upon which I can deal.

There is a dodger that should have been shown which alleges that I was to speak at a certain place. No doubt the counsel has this.

Fortunately—

Mr. KUNZIG. There it is, sir.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, there it is.

Well, I have the same one.

Now, here I am quoting to you from a letter dated April 29, 1921, which was addressed to Bishop Adna Wright Leonard, where this question was raised, and in the letter I quoted another letter which

clears this matter, I think, completely. It was dated April 11, 1921. It was addressed to Mr. Louis Allen, 2117 Adair Street, Los Angeles:

DEAR SIR: In view of the fact that I distinctly told you I would not speak at the general amnesty meeting if it were in any way associated with the IWW, or if the name "class war prisoners" was used, I find it will be impossible for me to speak for you.

I have just seen the dodgers you sent out, in which the object of the meeting is distinctly stated as calling for the freedom of class war prisoners.

My position was clearly enough stated to you—namely, that I did not favor the freeing of any man who broke the law. I am in favor of freeing conscientious objectors, who committed no crime other than refusing to take arms contrary to their convictions. I think you are making a bad mistake in putting both groups in the same class.

Thank you for the books you sent me. I shall read all of them.

Will you kindly send me a bill?

Very truly yours.

Now, in the letter to Bishop Leonard, "Not only did I send this letter, but I did not speak at the meeting. It looks to me that men of Mr. Johnson's standing—that was the man who reported that—would be more careful."

Now, sir, it's just my good fortune that I happen to have that letter. If you asked me without this, I would have to say I don't recall. That's the embarrassing place in which an individual is put in these matters.

I was not at that meeting—I answer your counsel—and I was not at it for the reason I have never cooperated with people who talk in terms of class war prisoners. A man who conscientiously believes that he can't bear arms—I've disagreed with him; I've never held the pacifist view, but I respect him if he's honest and my Government does; and that meeting was pointed out to me as a meeting for the release of conscientious objectors. When I found it wasn't I wrote the letter to which I have just referred.

And that is my answer, sir, to that matter.

Mr. VELDE. The committee appreciates you are able to explain that incident in that manner.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. VELDE. I am sure that will clear up the file relevant to that matter.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, sir, with regard to that period of time, I believe, as you mentioned previously in passing, somewhat humorously earlier, you said you had run for the school board—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; that's right.

Mr. KUNZIG. At that time; and I think you will agree there was a great deal of controversy at that period of time.

I have here a document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 27," referring to Rev. Bob Shuler, president of the Ministerial Union, pastor of Trinity Methodist Church, and apparently he pulled away from your candidacy, saying:

While I find it impossible to longer support your public ambitions, I want you to know that I still retain the same feeling of respect and esteem for your ability, your honesty and your sincerity. I know, however, that you are dreadfully wrong. I have 3 boys and 2 girls to whom I must answer, and I confess that your public attitude in an hour of national peril and your associations with a mighty attack being made by these forces upon our Government are too much for me.

This is a press release.

(Representative Morgan M. Moulder entered the hearing room at this point.)

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; I am quite familiar with it.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing). From the Los Angeles Times. (See OXNAM exhibit No. 27, p. 3722.)

Bishop OXNAM. And is there a question?

Mr. KUNZIG. The question is: Were you associated with such organizations or groups?

Bishop OXNAM. What organizations?

Mr. KUNZIG. Here is one, sir, involving the IWW, which was a cited Communist group. It lists "Protest mass meeting against the criminal syndicalism act at Symphony Hall, 232 South Hill Street, February the 11th," in that period of time, in 1923. It lists Rev. G. B. OXNAM, speaking together with members of the IWW. (See OXNAM exhibit No. 28, p. 3723.)

Did you speak at that group and did you work with the IWW?

Bishop OXNAM. I'll be happy to answer that, sir.

I did not speak at that meeting. I never worked with the IWW.

I have been a university professor, and have lectured in the field of the comparative study of the labor movements of the world. The IWW, which is really a part of the syndicalist movement, has advocated, for instance, as one of its weapons, the use of sabotage. Sabotage for them was striking when they were on the job.

I don't know whether the chairman wishes me to go into this. It would take a considerable period of time. I'll simply say I never had anything to do with the IWW.

This incident, however, raises a very important question, Mr. Chairman, and I can give you the reason quickly as to why that was in the paper, if you wish it.

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, what we would like to know is, Can you explain why these various people have attacked you?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; quite.

Mr. VELDE. Will you make your explanation?

Mr. JACKSON. Excuse me.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute.

Mr. JACKSON. I think, Mr. Chairman—again I would observe—I don't know, but I am inclined to believe—possibly this may be going into factional group disputes which, as I recall in the opening statement, were matters which were not to be admitted.

I suggested this possibility for the consideration of the Chair. I don't know that is the case. I don't know, of course, what Bishop OXNAM has in mind in this connection.

Bishop OXNAM. I would very much like to answer this, because I don't want any doubt left in this record concerning the matter. I can answer it briefly, I think, and I would like to read from the record, too. I think perhaps—

Mr. VELDE. The Chair would appreciate—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). It if you would—

Bishop OXNAM. I think perhaps Mr. Jackson would know for a considerable period of time there was great disturbance in the maritime situation on the Pacific coast, back there in 1923.

Maybe you can't remember that far back, sir—

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much, sir.

Bishop OXNAM. But, in any case, what had happened was there was a strike in San Pedro.

I have this from Captain Plummer, himself. You may know the distinguished police officer, Captain Plummer, who was at one time the warden of San Quentin Penitentiary.

That strike was broken by the police department of the city of Los Angeles that went to San Pedro and arrested, without warrant, a large number of people, running into several hundreds. Personally, I believe that was fundamentally wrong.

We held a meeting in an auditorium in Los Angeles to protest that violation of what we believed to be our American procedures.

Now, that strike did involve IWW men.

Personally, I believe in our Constitution and I don't want it violated, even when one comes to an IWW.

Because I attended that meeting, which was addressed by Upton Sinclair, Bob Shuler withdrew his endorsement of me for that campaign.

Now, I would like to close this by reading a paragraph, Mr. Chairman. Because I had publicly condemned the IWW philosophy, the IWW method, at that time, to make myself perfectly clear, a Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz—Mrs. Gartz was the daughter of the Crane family that owned the great hardware, plumbing, and so on of this country. She was a wealthy woman. She was very much of left-wing persuasion. She wrote me a letter seriously criticizing me because I had publicly condemned the whole IWW way of life—and this is the paragraph. Now, this was dated June 5, 1923:

Now, as to the IWW, you suggest I be specific. Space nor time permit. A brief word, though: I have carefully read most of the literature of this movement prior to the war. You cannot deny that literature did teach the use of force as a legitimate method to attain the new industrial day. You cannot deny that official publications did advocate the use of sabotage, nor can you deny that such methods were used. I do not mean wholesale, like the propagandist press, the other side presents, but I mean in fact.

Mr. VELDE. May I interrupt there?

Do you have the date of that particular letter?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; I read it, sir—June 5, 1923.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you.

Bishop OXNAM (continuing to read).

I have always pointed out the distinction between the method of IWW to gain its goal and the goal itself, but it did advocate a wrong method from my viewpoint. I, therefore, have been and am opposed to its philosophy and tactics.

I wish I could take time to enlarge upon this.

Now, I know that since the war and the coming of the Criminal Syndicalist Act there has not been an official advocacy of force. In fact, I have been informed again and again the IWW repudiate force. Perhaps I am unjust, but I have felt this repudiation was rather a matter of expediency than conviction since the other method was justified but a short time since.

I do not want to do any group an injustice, but so far I have not been able to change my mind on this matter. My mind is not closed, but so far the data available have not change it.

I believe Mr. Sinclair said at the meeting you refer to that he could not accept the IWW philosophy, or words to that effect.

I think, Mr. Chairman, reading from the record at that time, in response to a person who criticized me for criticizing the IWW, that I have made it abundantly clear what my view was then and is now. The whole idea of sabotage is fundamentally—

Mr. WALTER. At that time you were all of 21 years of age?

Bishop OXNAM. No; I was more than that, sir—1923 plus 9 would make me 32, I think.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have one further document here marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 29," which is a story in the Los Angeles Times of May 19, 1923, in the same period of time, with regard to your campaign there, saying: (See Oxnam exhibit No. 29, p. 3723.)

OXNAM WORKING WITH SINCLAIR

Public announcement was made yesterday that G. Bromley Oxnam, radical candidate for the board of education on the so-called teachers' ticket, will preside at the meeting called by Upton Sinclair, Socialist author, to be held this evening at Walker Auditorium, to protest against the methods employed by authorities in handling the IWW strike at the harbor.

Bishop OXNAM. That is the meeting to which I referred, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the exact, same meeting—

Bishop OXNAM. And may I say, if Mister—well, Mr. Jackson knows if you engage in politics in southern California and the Times is not for you, it is vigorously against you. There is no reference here to the fact that A. J. Wallace, the Lieutenant Governor of the State of California, was for me; that Mrs. Urquhart, the president of the California State Federation of Women's Clubs, was. I could bring you a list that would quite give respectability to what we were trying to do, but the issues of a campaign, sir, back in 1923, being brought into this hearing in 1953, it seems to me, raises some question as to the record. This has never been in your record before.

Mr. VELDE. At this point—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I—

Mr. VELDE. At this point—

Mr. DOYLE. Ask this.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

At this point, in a public hearing, it has usually been the custom of the committee and the chairman to announce that any names mentioned should not necessarily infer that they are connected in any way with subversive activities, and I would like to put that in the record at this point. That is still the feeling of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question: I don't find these documents which are being introduced in my file here as exhibits, and I, very frankly, can't follow the line of questioning very systematically on any formal basis. Are they in our files?

Mr. FRAZIER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't find them.

Mr. FRAZIER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, why aren't they?

What I am saying is this, very frankly—

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't like the idea of us producing for this witness documents way back in the year 1923 for the first time.

I think it is very important practice for us to do it.

Mr. VELDE. Well, Mr. Doyle, may I remind you that the witness has requested—

Mr. DOYLE. That is all right. The witness—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). An opportunity to appear before the committee—

Mr. DOYLE. I know the witness has—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). And the committee—

Mr. DOYLE (continuing). Requested an opportunity—

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle, if you will give me the courtesy—

Mr. DOYLE (continuing). To appear before the committee—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Of listening to me—

Mr. DOYLE. And the witness has been given that opportunity, and he should be confronted with these documents.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle, the witness has requested a hearing—

Mr. DOYLE. That is right, and we are giving him one.

Mr. VELDE. And we are attempting to do the best we can to give him a full and complete hearing, to let him have the opportunity to explain, deny, or admit any of these associations he has actually had in any of the front groups—

Mr. DOYLE. Well, the witness is being confronted—

I have a right—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Before this committee of the Congress.

Mr. DOYLE. I have a right, Mr. Chairman, to express my opinion as to this procedure.

I also regret very much that I don't have, as a member of the committee, a copy of the exhibits that are being produced to the witness. I think I am entitled to know what the exhibits are—

Mr. JACKSON. I might say, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. DOYLE (continuing). So that I may also act on the facts.

Mr. WALTER. Well, Mr. Chairman, may I—

Mr. VELDE. All right, Mr. Walter. The Chair recognizes Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. I don't know of any case where the witness has been told in advance of the type of evidence that this committee will discuss; and, furthermore, we are here only because the bishop has requested this hearing. Is that correct?

Mr. VELDE. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. Now, I am of the firm opinion that the bishop is one of the most intelligent men—if you will excuse me—that I have seen here; and I am sure that if he doesn't know, he will say that he doesn't know.

Why be disturbed because he hasn't in advance seen something about which he is being interrogated?

If he doesn't know, he will say, "I don't know."

Mr. DOYLE. And then we raise the question as to why he doesn't know.

Mr. WALTER. No; we don't.

Mr. DOYLE. We have just done it in the last few minutes.

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. We have done it repeatedly.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I would like to say, as far as I know, that none of us have that information before us. However, I have in front of me a

general outline of the information upon which the interrogation is based.

Some of the information relative to the California aspect of this was developed by me, because I felt and I feel that we should put these matters on the record and get the answers, yes or no. If there is nothing to them, let's find out, because they were and are matters of public knowledge.

As to the distribution of some of this material, I might say to the gentleman from California that the time element involved was such that it was not possible to get photostats made for each member of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course, then that explains why I don't have a copy of it and why the witness wasn't given advance information.

I understand from the statement of the gentleman from California, then, why the other procedure wasn't followed.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I point out also, for the record, sir, that each congressman has this brief, in which item No. 4 states the very fact that Mr. Jackson just said.

Mr. WALTER. And for the first time in the history of the operations of this committee we have in advance been furnished with information concerning the scope of the inquiry.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; the Chair—

Mr. KUNZIG. That is true.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Would like to concur with Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. This is the first time, that I have been kept in the dark, because I have not seen any—

Mr. VELDE. Of course, that is not true, Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Of course it is true.

Mr. VELDE. We do this on a nonpartisan basis and, whether it is wrong or right, the committee members have seldom been furnished with the information concerning a particular witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I think I have made my position clear, and the statement by the gentleman from California explains why that material was not available to the members of the committee and to the witness, but it just was not available and I think I have a right to expect it would be, and I wanted to make my position clear.

Mr. JACKSON. I trust the explanation satisfies the gentleman on that point.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, after a fashion.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. The witness—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Actually, we have almost forgotten you in this discussion here.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Mr. CLARDY. As you see, we are engrossed in our work.

May I ask you this, prefacing it with this statement: I understood that you wished us to give you an opportunity to explain everything that we might have in this public file.

Now, I came to the hearing today believing that the greatest service we could do to you as well as to the committee would be to explore and examine upon everything that we had, and I am going to ask you about that in a moment.

You have listed some items in your opening statement that, as a member of this committee, I never heard of in all the time I have been on the committee, and I have interrogated all the rest of the members and they never heard of them either. So, get that memory of yours working until I get to you and question you on that.

But the question I want to ask you now is this: Don't you think the procedure we are following in exploring these things so you may clean the record is the best service we can perform for you?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Clardy, I appreciate that question and the spirit that lies back of it.

Frankly, I think the best service that could be rendered to me as an individual, and to all the citizens of the United States, would be to see that these files are evaluated and verified before they are released to anybody.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, may I interrupt you?

I am not talking about the general thing. I am talking about your own file that has been laid out to the public.

Now, there are some things—and you made statements that you knew everything that was in the files. You really didn't, as you have already demonstrated here, and we are bringing those things in, too.

So, my question is: Don't you think that the best course that we could follow in your self-interest would be to do exactly what we have been doing?

If you tell me otherwise, I might be inclined to go along and suggest that we just desist.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, Mr. Clardy, if I express my opinion frankly—when a citizen finds files are released that he believes misrepresent him, it would seem to me, instead of going through all this, which has taken a day of the committee—

Mr. CLARDY. But you asked for it.

Bishop OXNAM. I did, but you are asking me what would be ideal.

That it would be much better to allow an individual to come over here, or somebody to come over, to see the man and to check the files before they are released.

Now, you say, sir, I referred to items that you never heard of.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes.

Bishop OXNAM. I have before me the file that was released by Mr. John S. Wood, the chairman of this committee—not only to me, but to others—and from that file I listed the items, and if, sir, we could have begun—and it is presumptuous for me to suggest it as a committee procedure, and I am not doing that; I am answering your question—if I could have had opportunity to have stated to the committee what I believe to be incorrect in the files that I know have been released, we could have cleared that I think quickly. Then if the committee wanted to subject me to questions concerning all of these questions, of course, I must stand that because I have requested the privilege of coming and you have full right to know concerning everything else.

That, it seems to me, would have been a little easier; but what you are driving at, sir, I agree and I appreciate.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. WALTER. Well, don't you—

Will you yield to me at this point?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Don't you think we ought to treat this so-called raw information just as does the Department of Justice treat the same kind of information?

It is information that ought not be released.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I agree with you thoroughly, and it is because I think, in my case and in others, that this kind of information has been released that I am petitioning the committee to clear my own file and that of others, involving the National Council of the Churches of Christ, for instance.

It has surprised me to find that this committee would release a file headed, "The National Council of the Churches of Christ in America," but it has.

Mr. WALTER. That is the kind of information that is for the benefit of the members of the committee solely, to evaluate as we see fit—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I think you're exactly right.

Mr. WALTER (continuing). Without reaching any conclusion at all with respect to it.

It has always seemed to me that we ought to evaluate it in our own concept and use it in connection with our own reports, but not as it relates to individuals.

Bishop OXNAM. I would not be here, sir, if that had been the practice of the committee, and I appreciate what you say and agree with it.

Mr. WALTER. Well, nobody agrees with me, ever.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I am agreeing with you, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

May we have order.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, this hearing has a number of unusual aspects. In the first place, Bishop Oxnam is probably the first witness—at least the first witness in my memory—who had a degree of censorship over the report concerning him in that there were certain items to which he objected and a notation to that effect was entered in the report.

I believe that the absence of the general disclaimer, which had long been the practice of the committee, I might add, to put a disclaimer on the report stating that it was not the conclusion of the committee—and this is my understanding of the matter as to why it was dropped in the instance of your report—was due to the fact you had an opportunity to go over the material.

The disclaimer is now a part of the first page of every report that is going out, which meets the objection, or one of the objections, which you have entered.

However, I say there is an unusual circumstance here in that there was an element of censorship of the report—and I don't know when that has happened in any other case, with the exception of yours.

I merely wanted to bring that point in because I think it is important that you realize that is currently a policy of the committee.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, may I say I appreciate Mr. Jackson's statement; but, unfortunately, it is not in accord with the fact. These reports were released, in my case, from 1946 and there was no opportunity given to reply until I had written Mr. Wood—I have

forgotten the year; I can look it up, but I think it was back in either 1950 or 1951—requesting that these be changed and made right.

Then there was included a part of the letter, I think, that I wrote to Mr. Wood, and I think also I have the letter here from Mr. Tavenner, and I hoped I might be questioned about it, in which he refers to the disclaimer and also to an action of the committee which insists that not only you have this disclaimer at the beginning but it be included in the report.

Well, now, the letter he wrote was written prior—if you will pardon me, sir, I'm only saying this because I happen to know—to the release of the report concerning me on March 31, accompanied by a letter signed by the chairman of the committee. In other words, after the action had been taken, the disclaimer was not attached to a report that I know about, and the material was not included in the report itself, in accordance with the order.

And I think, sir, that if you take the report on the National Council of the Churches of Christ, it simply begins by saying: "This committee has never made an investigation," and then lists prominent individuals related to the national council, with all of the kind of citations that have been brought here concerning me this afternoon, and there's something wrong there; and, gentlemen, instead—

Mr. WALTER. Well, now, will you yield to me at that point?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Are you under the mistaken impression that the law imposes upon us the duty to look only into Communist activities?

Bishop OXNAM. I think—

Mr. WALTER. You see—

Bishop OXNAM. Un-American activities, sir.

Mr. WALTER. There is another phase. We are concerned with activities that aid and abet Communist movements and with people who assist Communist movements, wittingly or unwittingly.

I am not going to express my own opinion about your membership in these organizations, but we are concerned with the machinations of the Communist Party which result in naive people fronting all sorts of activities which have as their ultimate result the destruction of our republican form of government.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, you see, both of my sons were overseas—

Mr. WALTER. Well, I am not interested in that.

Bishop OXNAM. In the Army—

Mr. WALTER. I don't care whether they were or not.

Bishop OXNAM. And I want—

Mr. WALTER. So let's not get off on a tangent—

Bishop OXNAM. I am not—

Mr. WALTER (continuing). Every time a question is asked.

Bishop OXNAM (continuing). Getting off on a tangent.

I am going to ask, if I may, sir, why a report on the National Council of the Churches of America is released by this body without the kind of disclaimer that is said to accompany all of the reports now.

Mr. VELDE. Well, let me say again, Bishop, the public information that is in the files of this committee is a collection of information already released to the public. Any person could get the same information about you, or about me, by going to the Congressional Library, for instance; and that is what our files, our public files, consist of—just

a collection of information that was written, newspapers or information listed on letterheads, and so forth.

I want to say, too, that these files, these public files, have largely been responsible for the prosecution and conviction of known espionage agents, including Alger Hiss.

So, we must continue—or at least it is my opinion that we must continue—the system of collecting and assembling this public information.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I've never objected to that. I have objected to the release of it before it is verified.

Surely this great committee when it puts something out on its letterhead involving an individual would wish to verify it before it puts it out, even though it says that it is public information.

When you list that I wrote an article on Stalin, which I did not write, the Congressional Library does not have information to that effect.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. As I understand the bishop, it is your contention that the issuance of that information amounts to a verification because of its release by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Is that your contention—

Bishop OXNAM. My contention—

Mr. MOULDER (continuing). That it amounts to an indirect verification?

Bishop OXNAM. Quite.

Mr. MOULDER. Let's put it that way.

Bishop OXNAM. When it's on the letterhead of this committee, with Congress back of it, people understandably believe that it represents an opinion unless the disclaimer is clearly there, and it hasn't been in my case and in many others.

Mr. MOULDER. In other words—

Mr. WALTER. Well, the right—

Mr. VELDE. I assure you it will be from now on.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I appreciate that.

Mr. VELDE. As the gentleman from California, Mr. Jackson, has stated, it has been rumored that the disclaimer on any of the articles that are listed in our reports should be printed in the body of the report; and I think that is one thing that you recommended that we do—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. And we certainly appreciate that recommendation, and it is being done at the present time and will continue to be done.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, for my own information—and I'm very sincere here—what is the purpose of releasing this public information, for which the committee does not vouch? What is its purpose?

Mr. VELDE. This information is not released by the committee. It has been released previously—

Bishop OXNAM. Well, it is—

Mr. VELDE. And it is—

Bishop OXNAM. Released when it goes out in connection with your letterhead.

Mr. VELDE. In response to a question a while ago, you indicated that you didn't know about your being listed on letterheads of certain

organizations until you learned through our files that you were listed. I feel that you, as a good American citizen, should appreciate the fact that our committee made this knowledge about you available.

Bishop OXNAM. I do appreciate it, but would have appreciated it more if you would have sent it to me instead of released it to others because it has been used by private agencies. I will not mention them here, but one private agency has used this material seriously to harm one's reputation—and it got it from this committee. That's what I'm getting at, sir.

Mr. WALTER. May I—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. WALTER (continuing). Ask you a question at that point, Bishop?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. In the statement you made, you said in your second paragraph, "Those 'files' so released have been used by private agencies as evidence of Communist sympathies."

What private agencies used these files?

Bishop OXNAM. The American Council of Churches, for one.

Mr. WALTER. And what other private agencies?

Bishop OXNAM. The so-called Council of Christian Laymen, headed by a gentleman named Gene—I mean Verne Kaub of Madison, Wis.

Mr. WALTER. Is that a private agency?

Bishop OXNAM. Well, it's—

Mr. VELDE. I hope, Mr. Walter, we won't get into further inquiry along that line.

Let's proceed in regular order.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, I still wish to inquire—

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Mr. WALTER. What other private agencies?

Bishop OXNAM. If you will allow me, sir, I think I can file a list of 20.

Mr. WALTER. But these aren't organizations, are they?

Bishop OXNAM. The American Council of Churches is an organization, I should judge, of about 170,000 people, perhaps.

Mr. WALTER. What object would they have in using files of the Committee on Un-American Activities to injure you?

Bishop OXNAM. I'll be glad to answer that if the chairman will allow me to do so.

Mr. WALTER. Oh, yes.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly.

Bishop OXNAM. The American—

Mr. DOYLE. Well, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. VELDE. Will you yield there?

Mr. DOYLE. I expect—

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Walter has asked a question, and the Bishop wishes to answer it.

Mr. DOYLE. I just want—

Mr. WALTER. Well, I am not through, Mr. Doyle. Just wait a minute until I get an answer.

Bishop OXNAM. The American Council of Churches—

Mr. DOYLE. I think—

Mr. WALTER. I don't care what you think.

Mr. DOYLE. I want the record to show—

Mr. WALTER. Well, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. DOYLE. I think it is——

Mr. VELDE. Regular order. Let's give the bishop an opportunity to answer the questions.

Mr. DOYLE. I think the question——

Mr. WALTER. Well, you don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I can say what I think.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair does not recognize any member of this committee until the bishop has had an opportunity to answer the question of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Walter.

Proceed in regular order.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, the American Council of Churches was really organized as a small group to attack the National Council of Churches, which is composed of 30 of the great communions of this Nation, with a membership in excess of 34 millions.

Mr. WALTER. Well, we are going very far afield.

Bishop OXNAM. No; I am going to say why it attacked me. I was one of the presidents——

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I am going to object to this statement. It is going into exactly and precisely the phase of factional church disputes which, in the chairman's statement, was placed outside the interrogation. I think the committee will open itself to very serious criticism from all sides if this particular matter is discussed, and I would have the same objection to any interfaith discussion.

Mr. CLARDY. May I agree with the gentleman from California and say I don't want to have any part in that kind of fight.

Mr. WALTER. Well, of course, I am the last person in the world to precipitate that sort of thing, but I am looking at the bishop's statement, and these arguments are all——

Mr. JACKSON. I still register my objection.

Mr. WALTER. This statement says:

These "files," so released, have been used by private agencies.

Now, Bishop, are these church groups private agencies?

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I was using the term, sir, to make it clear that they are not governmental agencies.

Mr. WALTER. Oh, all right. Then that is all. You have answered the question.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair would appreciate it if we could proceed in regular order, and——

Bishop OXNAM. I didn't care to press that, Mr. Chairman. I asked if you wanted me to answer the question, and I didn't wish to deal with it myself.

Mr. VELDE. Let us proceed in regular order and within the jurisdiction of this committee. Let's not get into any religious arguments of any kind. We all believe in freedom of religion, freedom to worship as one chooses, and I am sure the bishop does, too.

Bishop OXNAM. Exactly.

Mr. VELDE. So this——

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like to offer in evidence the documents marked "Oxnam Exhibits Nos. 26, 27, 28, and 29," which were the subject of this discussion for about the last half hour.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be admitted.

(The documents referred to were received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit No. 26, Oxnam exhibit No. 27, Oxnam exhibit No. 28, and Oxnam exhibit No. 29.)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 26

**GENERAL AMNESTY
MASS-MEETING**

For all Political and Class War Prisoners

—TO BE HELD IN—

**BLANCHARD HALL
233 S. Broadway**

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13th, 1921

AT 8:00 P. M.

SPEAKERS:

Harriet Dunlop Prenter
of Toronto Canada

Rev. G. Brombey Oxnam

AND OTHER GOOD SPEAKERS

J. H. RYCKMAN, will take the chair at 8 P. M. sharp.

UNDER AUSPICES

ADMISSION FREE. GENERAL AMNESTY COMMITTEE

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 27

(Los Angeles Times, June 2, 1923)

BOB SHULER ALSO QUITS MR. OXNAM—RADICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE SCHOOL BOARD CANDIDATE TOO MUCH FOR HIM

Rev. Bob Shuler, president of the Ministerial Union, pastor of Trinity Methodist Church, and until yesterday one of the warmest supporters of G. Bromley Oxnam, radical candidate for the board of education, yesterday notified Mr. Oxnam that he is withdrawing his support of Mr. Oxnam's candidacy and will do all he can to undo the effect produced by his work to date in Mr. Oxnam's behalf. Dr. Shuler sets out in his letter that he is prompted to this repudiation of Mr. Oxnam because of the latter's presence and actions at the Sinclair-I. W. W. meeting, as set forth in the letter of Col. LeRoy Smith, printed in yesterday's Times, and because of the character of Mr. Oxnam's reply to a patriotic question propounded to him by the Sons of the Revolution.

Dr. Shuler's repudiation of Mr. Oxnam follows closely that of Dr. Gustav A. Briegleb, pastor of the Westlake Presbyterian Church, and another prominent churchman who has supported Mr. Oxnam until the nature of the latter's radical activities became apparent to him as a result of the Sinclair meeting.

One of the questions propounded by the Sons of the Revolution to all candidates for the school board was this: "Do you approve the use of histories in our schools, written primarily from the American standpoint, without unfairness to other countries?" To this question Mr. Oxnam replied "No," Mary C. Millspough, another candidate on the Oxnam ticket, qualified her affirmative. William B. Himrod, another candidate on the Oxnam ticket, made a qualified response. To the question "Do you approve direct control by the people on all questions as in a strictly democratic form of government?" all school board candidates replied flatly "No" except Mr. Oxnam, Mr. Timrod (sic.), and M. C. Bettinger, another candidate on the Oxnam ticket, who qualified their negatives and John J. Craig, another candidate on the Oxnam ticket, who failed to reply. "Direct control by the people on all questions" is one of the fundamental principles of the Soviet or Communistic form of government.

Following is the letter of Dr. Shuler to Mr. Oxnam, verbatim:

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
June 1, 1923.

Rev. G. BROMLEY OXNAM, D. D.,
2211-A Cambridge Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

MY DEAR MR. OXNAM: I have just finished reading the letter addressed to Dr. Byron H. Wilson by Col. LeRoy F. Smith and have also noted your answer to the questionnaire sent out by the Sons of the American Revolution anent the teaching of American History in our public schools. With a heart hurt to the depths, I am writing you to say that the facts are now such that I cannot go farther with you in your candidacy for the school board.

As you know, I endorsed your candidacy in the May magazine. Yesterday we mailed out 14,000 copies of the June number, carrying the same endorsement. I have never been able to think with you, but I have believed in you. I have had implicit confidence in your ability, your honesty, and the sincerity of your motives. Therefore, I have remained with you and for you, even when my better judgment prompted otherwise. But the issue is now so clearly drawn that I can go no further.

While I find it impossible to longer support your public ambitions, I want you to know that I still retain the same feeling of respect and esteem for your ability, your honesty, and your sincerity. I know, however, that you are dreadfully wrong. I have 3 boys and 2 girls to whom I must answer, and I confess that your public attitude in an hour of national peril, and your associations with a mighty attack being made by these forces upon our Government, are too much for me.

Never in my life have I faced a necessity that grieved me more than this, but my love for America and her institutions has made a demand upon me that has been for several days insistent and has grown today to be imperative. It therefore becomes my duty, painful and almost tragic for me, to correct so far as possible the influence that I have set going through my endorsement of your candidacy.

Yours ever,

BOB SHULER.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 28

(Los Angeles Times, April 26, 1923, p. 1)

*Do We Want Oxnam On the Board of Education?***The Criminal Syndicalism Law Must Go !!!**

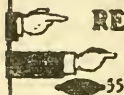
YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTEND A

PROTEST MASS MEETING

AGAINST THE

CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM ACT**Sunday, Morning, Feb. 11, 10 o'clock****SYMPHONY HALL, 232 So. Hill St.****SPEAKERS:****R. W. HENDERSON (blind Lawyer from Bakersfield)****REV. G. B. OXNAM and J. H. RYCKMAN, of Los Angeles**

Members of I. W. W. now on trial will address the meeting

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Facsimile of I.W.W. "Protest Mass Meeting" Announcement

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 29

(Los Angeles Times, May 19, 1923)

OXNAM WORKING WITH SINCLAIR

School Board Candidate To Preside at "Protest" on I. W. W. Behalf

Public announcement was made yesterday that G. Bromley Oxnam, radical candidate for the board of education on the so-called teachers' ticket, will preside at the meeting called by Upton Sinclair, Socialist author, to be held this evening at Walker Auditorium to protest against the methods employed by the authorities in handling the I. W. W. strike at the harbor.

In another column, the same publication printed resolutions adopted by the executive committee of the Los Angeles High School Teachers' Association defending Oxnam against the charges of radicalism made against him. It is this association which recently issued instructions to public-school teachers of Los Angeles to use school time, school premises, and school machinery in the campaign to elect a teachers' board of education.

Mr. KUNZIG. Bishop Oxnam, sir, back in this period of time, in Los Angeles, you were, I believe, a member and perhaps still are of the American Civil Liberties Union,¹⁶ is that correct? (See Oxnam exhibit No. 30, p. 3755.)

¹⁶ The California Committee on Un-American Activities, in its 1948 report, pp. 107-109, stated:

"In its 1943 report to the legislature, the legislative committee investigating un-American activities in California reported the following finding: 'The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or "transmission belt" organization. At least 90 percent of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law. While it professes to stand for free speech, a free press, and free assembly, it is quite obvious that its main function is to protect Communists in their activities of force and violence in their program to overthrow the Government.'" [This quotation may be found on p. 92 of the 1943 California report.]

Bishop OXNAM. The American Civil Liberties Union——

Mr. KUNZIG. I just asked you whether you were or weren't.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, just a moment.

Mr. KUNZIG. You can explain afterwards.

Bishop OXNAM. Quite.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you or weren't you?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, please explain your answer.

Bishop OXNAM. The American Civil Liberties Union, I think, was organized in 1923. I think it was organized because of the very serious violations in the field of civil liberties that had occurred in southern California at that time. I could be specific, if necessary. I may say, very frankly, that I met with the group and was with it but a very short time—I think less than—I couldn't say—3 or 4 months perhaps at the most—and the reason was this: I thought they were more interested in creating problems than in solving problems. That is, I feel the Civil Liberties Union renders its great service when a civil liberty is put in jeopardy if it takes the matter, in the proper way, to the courts of the United States, where a man's civil liberties are ever protected.

I resigned from the organization almost immediately, and I have checked since—that is the reason I can speak this way—the records of the American Civil Liberties Union in California will show from 1924 to 1928, when I left southern California, I was not a member of the organization, not upon its board of directors and had nothing to do with it. I was for that brief period.

Now, since then, when I came to Boston, I believe I joined the American Civil Liberties Union again—I think in 19—it may have been 1940. I went to Boston in 1939 in, I think, the summer. I have been a member of the American Civil Liberties Union since that time.

I believe it to be one of the organizations of this country rendering very valuable service in the maintenance of the civil liberties of this country; and if there were time, I would like to read into the record statements from Thomas E. Dewey concerning it, from General MacArthur concerning it, from President Truman, from Gen. Lucius B. Clay, and men of that kind, including a message sent by the President of the United States, President Eisenhower, to a recent meeting where several of the agencies standing for civil liberties, I believe, were meeting in Philadelphia, a message from the President commending these agencies for what they were doing.

I am a member of it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Bishop, you are just jumping a little ahead of time because nobody is saying anything, for the moment, against the American Civil Liberties Union.

The next thing I want to ask you about is in regard to the American Civil Liberties Union back at an earlier period of time. I think you will admit there was a little difference in an earlier period when a

The 1948 California report continues with a description of an antitotalitarianism resolution within the ACLU during the Stalin-Hitler pact; a protest against the resolution by 17 "liberal leaders"; the comment by the California committee that "undoubtedly the American Civil Liberties Union was resorting to drastic Communist strategy in retreating during the Stalin-Hitler pact"; a listing of various officials of the ACLU; a discussion of Open Forum, a bulletin of the ACLU's southern California branch. The California report concludes: "The Senate Committee Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities reiterates the findings of former legislative committees concerning the Communist character of the American Civil Liberties Union" (p. 110).

certain Harry P. Ward was chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Bishop OXNAM. I think it was Harry F. Ward.

Mr. KUNZIG. Harry F. Ward?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You know he is a good friend of yours; is that right?

Bishop OXNAM. Just a minute. Don't put answers in my mouth, please.

Mr. KUNZIG. Just answer the question.

Bishop OXNAM. I will.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is he a good friend of yours?

Bishop OXNAM. I will have to answer that question by telling you when he was and what my relationship is with him now.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, please do that.

Bishop OXNAM. Professor Ward came to the Boston School of Theology, I believe, in 1914. I was a student. He was a brilliant teacher. He was an inspirational personality. He made an extraordinary contribution to the students of that institution. I was very, very fond of him. I took dictation from him as a part-time secretary in the dictation of one of his books. I knew his family. Professor Ward was a leader in the social movement of the Methodist Church and over a long period of time rendered, I believe, very valuable service.

There came a time in my mind when I believed that Professor Ward had shifted his views concerning the whole Communist question. I found myself in fundamental disagreement with Professor Ward as early as 1928.

In 1932 I had to propose, I believe—no; it was 1928 that I proposed the message that was drafted by the Methodist Church for the resolution on the social question. It was in opposition to Professor Ward's proposal, but what I proposed was carried by the Methodist Church.

In 1936 I drafted the resolution that put the Methodist Church on record as one of the earliest denominations in opposition to communism and to fascism. We were, but nobody had ever said that before, and I wanted it in a clear resolution.

From 1936—and I'm not sure I saw Professor Ward even then—I've seen Professor Ward once—I know since 1936—I think probably since 1932.

Now, then, he was an inspirational teacher, to whom I owe very, very much. He was a dear personal friend. When he shifted his views, as I believe, I had to break with Professor Ward. He understood it.

I can bring for the committee, if it wishes, the letters that I wrote to him back at that time indicating a complete break in—in the matter of what he was standing for and what I believed we should stand for.

So, when you ask me if he is my friend, I can't say yes or no to that. I have to recount this, and Professor Ward was a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, and when that organization—

Mr. KUNZIG. He was the head of it at that time, wasn't he?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes. Well, I don't know whether he was in 1923. He may have been. I don't know, but what I am saying is—

Mr. KUNZIG. Here is the document.

Bishop OXNAM. In 1940 when the American Civil Liberties Union took action barring anyone who believes in totalitarianism from the

organization, Professor Ward resigned in protest, which indicated, I think, his attitude upon several matters; and I believe others were expelled from the organization.

It was one of the first organizations, I think, to take action barring Communists really from its membership.

Mr. KUNZIG. We are not denying that in the slightest, sir.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, this same Professor Ward was also head of the Union Theological Seminary; is that right?

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is not correct?

Bishop OXNAM. He was a professor in the Union Theological Seminary.

Mr. KUNZIG. And a most influential one?

Bishop OXNAM. He was a professor there. I wouldn't say "most." There are many men there. It has a distinguished faculty. When you have men like Reinhold Niebuhr, and men of that kind, you don't use the word in regard to any of the faculty.

Mr. JACKSON. A most.

Mr. KUNZIG. A most——

Bishop OXNAM. Well, "a most" is a contradiction in terms grammatically, isn't it?

Mr. JACKSON. I wanted to get the phraseology correct.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. May I address a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I have mentioned repeatedly, Witness, the testimony which is about to be released. I want to direct your attention——

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I am listening carefully.

Mr. CLARDY. To one portion of it—that portion which specifically says that when the Communist Party was organized in 1919 Dr. Ward was already a convinced Communist, with a few insignificant, minor reservations.

I am quoting verbatim from the testimony, and then——

Mr. VELDE. Whose testimony?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes; that is the testimony by Benjamin Gitlow, who was one of the founders and organizers of the Communist Party in the United States.

Now, I shall not go on beyond that, except to direct your attention to that part, because immediately following the portion I have read to you—and it will be possibly in the first 15 pages or so of that part of the transcript devoted to his testimony, because it is on page 29 of the typewritten—is a delineation of the part that Dr. Ward—Rev. Dr. Ward—followed in connection with the syndicalist and other movements.

I ask you to read that particularly, because you will discover through all that time of your association with him he was a Communist.

Now, I want to make it abundantly clear that what I am saying is in no way intended to reflect a belief that I thought you were a Communist or persuaded to be such, because I don't believe that, but I am trying to make the point to you that you have lived with any number of these people, including Dr. Ward, and your awareness was not, I

think, up to what it should be; and I am calling it to your attention so that you will see this committee, in doing this, is endeavoring to alert not just you, but the entire Nation to what has been going on under their nose in an effort by the Communist Party to destroy the dearest thing we have, our religion here in the United States.

I ask you to read that and then confer with me, if you will.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; thank you, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Will you submit that for him to read, or will—

Mr. CLARDY. Oh, the entire testimony is out. As you know, We released it as soon as it was ready for printing; but I will be glad to show him this from my notebook here as soon as this is over, if he wishes it.

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, in 1936 one was alerted and in 1928 I referred to the fact I was in opposition to Professor Ward's resolutions.

I am reading from a letter wrote to Bishop Charles Wesley Flint, July 19, 1936, referring to Professor Ward:

He takes the Communist position as to objective, if not as to method. I repudiate it. Too often they—his associates—prefer a fight to an advance. They would rather throw bricks than build with them. Unless we are willing to build in their precise blueprint—I should say redprint—way * * *

These were my attitudes and that, I think, may possibly suggest it.

Mr. VELDE. Do you have a copy of that particular letter?

Bishop OXNAM. I can get it, sir. This was a letter that was addressed to Bishop Flint on that date. It is one of his, and I got this from him. I can get the letter, if you would like to have it.

Mr. VELDE. And if the witness will please submit it to the committee for its perusal—

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, you have made several requests, and I haven't noted them. Will it be possible for the record to indicate them so that I may fulfill my promises in this matter?

Mr. VELDE. Yes; the record will so indicate.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask, before that is put away, what was the date of that statement?

Bishop OXNAM. The date of that was July 19, 1936.

Mr. JACKSON. I have in front of me, Bishop, an article, a newspaper article, I should say, under date of May 15, 1939. This is a little out of order because it is going into the MFSA, but I think it is apropos to bring this particular point out at this time. This was the session in Kansas City of the newly organized federation and, as I understand it, from reading it very briefly, it was either an organization meeting of the federation or something of that sort. It states here—and I merely ask you whether or not this is correct, sir, in light of what you just said:

Bishop Oxnam paid a high tribute to the federation and to its secretary, Dr. Ward, whom he regarded as one of the greatest leaders in the new industrial-social-economic planned movement.

It goes on to say—

Bishop Oxnam said as a student he took dictation from Dr. Ward in writing some of his books known to all leaders.

My question is whether that is substantially correct or completely in error, or what are the facts relative to that newspaper report?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, that is a quotation from the Bureau County Republican. I have stated that I categorically denied what was reported concerning that particular meeting.

I'm sorry to say that—well, I needn't go into it. I just make that statement.

Now, it's quite true Professor Ward was a very dear friend through the years, and I'm perfectly willing to pay tribute to Professor Ward for what he did for the Methodist Church during a certain period. He's an old man now of 80 years or so of age. When, for instance, the Methodist Federation under his leadership and Bishop McConnell's attacked the 12-hour day in steel and the 7-day week and the 24-hour day on the change of shift, I believed that was a very valuable service; and while Bishop McConnell was seriously criticized all over the Nation for it, it seemed to me it was something worthy of the highest praise.

And if you will let me say, sir, in a single sentence, I think the reason why the term that describes American business today cannot be used to describe American business of 50 years ago—in a word, we're not using the term "robber baron" any more; we're thinking of responsible leaders in industry. One of the main reasons why that great shift has occurred and why there is a new conscience, I think, is because of the preaching of the church that sought to apply the religion of Jesus to the American economic life.

Now, to come back to Professor Ward, at that particular meeting, I don't doubt for a minute that I said some very kind words concerning Professor Ward in his service to the church. I do not accept the quotation in that report. That report, I'm sorry to say, was vicious and was false—and I think I could prove that, if I have to.

Mr. VELDE. Well, now, Bishop, it so happens that the report comes from the largest weekly newspaper that is printed in the United States.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, it has about 7,000 circulation, doesn't it?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, and the editor of that newspaper, who is now deceased, through all my information, was an able, outstanding, patriotic American citizen. I hesitate to have you say that article is an absolute false report. Now, I wonder if you could make any other statement concerning that, other than it is a vicious statement.

Bishop OXNAM. I can only say, sir, that report was a false report. I don't mean to say anything about a man who's gone. I didn't know he was gone until recently, until somebody announced to me that he was dead; but I happen to have a letter here from the minister in that church during the time this gentleman was editing that paper, and I do not care to put it into the record but, if I must, I will, because I think it will bear out precisely what I have been saying concerning that matter.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, Bishop, I think I know the part you are objecting to—some comments about you other than that—but didn't you just a moment ago say that the factual part, dealing with whether or not you delivered a tribute to Dr. Ward, Reverend Dr. Ward, was true or not, was true? You admit that is true—you did deliver such—

Bishop OXNAM. I don't doubt—

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). A tribute?

Bishop OXNAM (continuing). For a moment I said some words in praise of Dr. Ward, his service to the church in days gone by, and the like.

You see, while I had personally come to the conviction that I could no longer go along with him, I don't think when you're dealing with a friend of many years, who's had distinguished leadership in the church, that you're called upon publicly to call him a Communist under the circumstances of that particular meeting—

Mr. CLARDY. Well, I wasn't asking that.

Mr. VELDE. That is what puzzles me. How can you, then, say that this article, which was written by a person who attended the convention in Kansas City, was there personally, was a falsity when you admit you did give words of praise to him, as is contained in this article?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, if you will take the article, as it was quoted in the Washington Post report, I'll take up sentence by sentence, if you wish, and show that those sentences were false, because what was attributed to me there was not only false but an illustration that he quotes Bishop McConnell as using was so ridiculously turned around that it would be very interesting evidence if you had time for me to present it to you.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. May I conclude with what I started?

(At this point Bishop Oxnam conferred with Mr. Parlin.)

Mr. CLARDY. May I have your attention a moment, sir?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; I am sorry. It is very difficult to check these records and pay attention to nine men.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not asking you to check any records. I just want to get one point completely clear.

Wouldn't you amend your blanket indictment of that newspaper by saying that it was at least factually correct as to whether or not you did deliver that kind of eulogy of Dr. Ward?

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir, because the words that are used here went far beyond anything that I would have said.

You read them a minute ago. I can't quite find them at the moment.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not asking you to quote the words nor am I asking you to approve the language, nor even the general meaning, other than one thing: Didn't they correctly report you as having delivered some kind of speech that praised the Reverend Dr. Ward?

Bishop OXNAM. If the counsel will read what he read there, I'll be able to say, sir, whether I made that kind of tribute.

Mr. CLARDY. No; I am not asking you anything about the newspaper report, except from one standpoint: They said you made a speech that praised the Reverend Dr. Ward. Now, is that or is that not true?

Bishop OXNAM. You're making me say, sir, I made a speech—

Mr. CLARDY. I'm not—

Bishop OXNAM. Praising Dr. Ward. I said to the committee that I no doubt used some words of tribute in connection with Professor Ward. I admit that. Let's put it in correctly.

Mr. CLARDY. All right.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. To that extent wouldn't you agree that the Bureau County Republican was factually correct?

Bishop OXNAM. If you feel better about it, Mr. Clardy, in that particular matter—

Mr. CLARDY. No.

Bishop OXNAM. I'll be happy to say that.

Mr. CLARDY. You won't make me feel either way, sir. I just want the truth.

Bishop OXNAM. That is what I am trying to state.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, I think that is so, but you are making it hard for me to drag it out.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I should have said—and I want to correct any portion if any portion of what I said is in quotation marks—it is not quoted. It is a statement—a general statement—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Not in quotation marks. I want to make that clear—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. That this statement is an interpretation of what took place and is not carried as a direct quote.

Mr. VELDE. The counsel will proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like—

Mr. CLARDY. I don't want to monopolize, but I would like to finish that. Every time I get started something happens.

Just one more thing, Bishop, and then I am done.

I am puzzled to think that you would say here that you knew that Dr. Ward was a Communist quite a few years prior to the time you delivered these kind remarks. Now, didn't you at any time, after you discovered it and the time you delivered those remarks, think it incumbent upon you to make that information known—if not to this committee that you didn't like, but to the FBI that you mentioned, or to the Attorney General, or somebody else—because any Communist, whether he be in the church or out, sir, is a danger to this Nation, and I wondered if you didn't realize that you had, as an American citizen, the duty and the responsibility, if you had information and belief on that, to pass it on, whether it was to this committee or not? Didn't that occur to you, sir?

Bishop OXNAM. First of all, I didn't say he was a Communist. I said he takes the Communist position as to objective.

In the next place, back there in those days, I don't think we thought of this situation as we do now.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, I did, sir.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I am glad you did, sir. I wish I had. I did not see that as a clear and present danger at that time. My only position is bringing this into the open and answering it with the American answer is the best way to strike down communism, in the long run, anyhow.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what we are trying to do, sir.

Bishop OXNAM. Right, and that is the best answer I can give to you, and I am sorry, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, you do not have to be sorry.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as the matter of the Bureau County Republican has been brought into issue, I have here an edi-

torial from the Bureau County Republican, dated April 9, 1953, entitled, "Our Opinion, A Double-Bladed Knife." I respectfully request that it be inserted into the proceedings of the committee at this time.

Mr. VELDE. Is there objection? All right, it will be recorded in the record.¹⁷

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, is that something that involves me?

Mr. JACKSON. It relates to this meeting and to "your answer" in the Washington newspaper relative to the Bureau County Republican.

Bishop OXNAM. You see, I am sure this is quite all right, but if you would allow me to introduce the citations when I received honorary degrees and what has been said about me, since I am called in question apparently, the record would be an interesting one. When I mention anything, there seems to be immediately something going into the record to defend it. Maybe I am wrong on that, but—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. VELDE. I wonder, Bishop—just a minute, Mr. Doyle, please. I wonder if you would be satisfied if we would introduce into the record at this point your statement in Who's Who in America.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I don't wish that particularly to be put into the record, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Well, that includes all of the information that you gave apparently.

Bishop OXNAM. No; I would prefer to let that go. I was just raising the question of why, when I mention an organization, we immediately have something put in to defend it when there is so much that could be put in regarding one's services—he hopes it has been—so it will balance that up.

Forget that; I beg your pardon, sir.

Mr. VELDE. It seems to me that that is a fair way to do this apparently. Every organization you belong to of which you are proud—as all members of the committee have done, I believe, and we are all in Who's Who, you submitted to Who's Who for insertion in their book—

Bishop OXNAM. Would it not be better to let me submit to you some editorials from some of the great newspapers of the country, if you want to do that kind of thing? They might be more in keeping with this kind of matter.

Mr. WALTER. We are going very far afield.

Bishop OXNAM. I think so.

Mr. VELDE. I realize that, of course, and the committee appreciated the things you would like to submit to it for consideration.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir. I appreciate that.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I raise this question, please: Again the acoustics are not so clear so that Mr. Jackson's observation—that was that he proposed to introduce an editorial wherein the bishop is mentioned, is that true?

Mr. JACKSON. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Why should it not be read so he can answer it?

Mr. JACKSON. I would be quite willing—

Mr. DOYLE. Why should he not be presented with it so he can have a chance to answer it?

¹⁷ Mr. Jackson's question was later withdrawn and the editorial was not filed.

Mr. WALTER. What does an editorial prove? I ask the question in all seriousness.

Mr. JACKSON. I am giving an answer. The original report of the committee to which the witness took exception dealt with a story in the Bureau County Republican.

Mr. WALTER. Where is that, if I may ask?

Mr. JACKSON. Some place out in Illinois, I guess, some place out in the Midwest; but to get back, the report set forth certain facts relative to this paper, to this meeting, and the answer which appeared in a Washington newspaper, and the material which was contained in this article was brought into question by Bishop Oxnam.

In return the newspaper filed its answer which represents the only answer or the only opportunity to answer which the newspaper has had since the appearance of the material in the report. In other words, it is in answer to Bishop Oxnam's answer, and if you are going to maintain a balance, it seems to me that it is——

Mr. WALTER. No; let us get the bishop's——

Mr. VELDE. The editorial has already been admitted into the evidence, and I asked if there were any objections to it. No one had objections——

Mr. FRAZIER. We object.

Mr. DOYLE. I object to it unless it is read and the bishop has a chance to answer it.

Mr. VELDE. The gentleman must recall that I asked if there were any objections.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sorry.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Chairman, at that time I asked what the contents were.

Mr. JACKSON. May I suggest that the editorial be read?

Mr. CLARDY. The bishop is reading it now.

Mr. VELDE. Suppose we let counsel read it.

Mr. WALTER. Do not keep it to yourself, Bishop. I want to know what is in it myself.

Mr. Chairman, can we not save a little time? What do we care what this weekly newspaper says? Let us ask the bishop a question and get his answer, not an answer from some country editor. Let us get his answer.

Mr. JACKSON. I am certainly not inclined to labor the point. It is not that important. However, inasmuch as the newspaper had been charged with false reporting on a certain occasion—and this is the first opportunity where the editor of a newspaper answers that charge—it seemed to me that it might well go into the record. However, as I say, I am not inclined to labor the point. If there is serious objection, I will withdraw my request.

Mr. VELDE. The gentleman from California withdraws his request for the admission of this article into the record. We will now proceed in a regular order.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like at this time to read official testimony before this committee taken July 8, 1953, pages 133 and 134, where Manning Johnson, whom we formerly mentioned, was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party at the time of his membership from about 1930 up to 1940, who testified as follows——

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, does this involve me? I want to be alert if it does.

Mr. KUNZIG. It involves Dr. Ward, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Let counsel ask his question, please.

Mr. KUNZIG. It involves Dr. Ward.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask if the bishop was present—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. Will you wait until the counsel states his question?

Mr. FRAZIER. I object to its being read if the bishop was not present and does not know anything about it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, this refers to testimony—this is in the usual course of procedure before this committee. Here is sworn testimony as to the fact that this man, Dr. Ward, was a Communist. Dr. Ward, the testimony will show here, was an active member of the Methodist Federation for Social Service of which this witness was an active member, and this is most pertinent, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Was an active member?

Bishop OXNAM. Was my name mentioned in this testimony, may I ask?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, regular order. May I suggest to the other member, I am not sure, and I want to find out from counsel whether this is a portion of the Manning Johnson testimony taken when I presided or when Mr. Scherer presided? Was it the New York—

Mr. KUNZIG. New York City, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Scherer presided on that. I have read it, but I did not remember which session—

Bishop OXNAM. May I ask again, was my name mentioned?

Mr. VELDE. Counsel will proceed to ask the questions.

Bishop OXNAM. It is read before you answer the question, you see. Was my name mentioned in it?

Mr. VELDE. I do not know whether it was or not, but it does not matter for this particular occasion. Will the counsel proceed to read the evidence and ask a question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Manning Johnson testifies:

Fight magazine was the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism. In the April 1934 issue, on page 34, it reads as follows: "This means that those who would use what resources are available in the churches to fight the development of fascism must be prepared to show the people in the churches that there is no way out under the profit system and that the only way they can get the better life that is within their reach is to take ownership and control out of the hands of the few, put it into the hands of the many, and develop a planned economy for the purpose of realizing the classless society. Then the emotions and ideals that will otherwise be misled by the Fascists will be directed to the defeat of the real enemy of the people, the capitalist system, and will be given a constructive outlet in the building of a new order. To work at this task the American League Against War and Fascism needs to get members in all religious organizations."

Question. Mr. Johnson, who was the chairman of this American League Against War and Fascism?

Answer. The Reverend Harry F. Ward.

Question. Did you know him personally?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. When you were a member of the Communist Party did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Answer. Yes, he was a member of the Communist Party while I was a member.

Question. Did you meet with him as such?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. Would you characterize him as a prominent member of the Communist Party?

Answer. I would say that he is the Red dean of the Communist Party in the religious field.

Is it not a fact, sir, that Reverend Ward was an official of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and later Social Action for some period of time?

Bishop OXNAM. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you happen to know what period of time, if it lies within your knowledge?

Bishop OXNAM. I should judge that he was a member from the beginning, which I should think was in 1907. I do not know the exact time when he retired from the organization.

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe it was 1940; does that sound correct?

Bishop OXNAM. I would not be a bit surprised.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, I have here a document which is a letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and I wanted to ask you again, to get the record clear since there was some confusion—this is one of the points that you had raised—what position or positions did you have in the Methodist Federation for Social Service? (See Oxnam exhibit No. 31, p. 3756.)

Bishop OXNAM. I was a member of it for a number of years. When I was appointed to New York City as the bishop there, I was elected a vice president of the organization—

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that; do you know the year?

Bishop OXNAM. I cannot give you the year, I am sorry. I went to New York City in 1944, and may I say that I resigned on June 9, 1947, as vice president and as a member of the executive committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, did you have any other position? Were you ever executive secretary of the organization?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Kunzig, if you will look at that photostat, you will find that I was not the executive secretary of the organization. You will find Professor Ward's name over on the other side. You will note that that is the 20th anniversary, and they appointed a special committee composed of Dr. Ernest F. Tittle, who was pastor of the First Methodist Church in Evanston for so many years, and myself. He was to be chairman and I was to be secretary. They put on that letterhead that I was the executive secretary of the 20th anniversary celebration. I was never the executive secretary of the organization. That was a celebration of the 20th anniversary, and I think up to that time no one will question the service that the Methodist Federation had really rendered to the church.

Mr. VELDE. At what time were you vice president of the organization?

Bishop OXNAM. That was sometime between 1944, I think, and when I resigned June 9, 1947.

Mr. VELDE. You do not remember any more definitely?

Bishop OXNAM. No; I could find out, possibly, but that was largely a nominal matter where the bishop, being from New York—Bishop McConnell, I think—was the president. He had been in New York many, many years, and when I came there I was elected a vice president. I was not present at the meeting, and the name continued until there was good reason for me to resign from the federation, which I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 32" which is a letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. The letter is written April 12, 1946, and that lists you as the vice president. Would that be the correct time? (See Oxnam exhibit No. 32, p. 3757.)

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I stated I resigned on June 9, 1947, and that may be the time. I told you I could not remember—I can find out.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, the executive secretary at that time on the same letterhead with you is Jack Richard McMichael. Do you know Jack McMichael?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Reverend McMichael?

Bishop OXNAM. That is quite right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Bishop OXNAM. I did not know that he was a member of the Communist Party, but I found myself in such fundamental opposition to Jack McMichael that I had to face one of two decisions, either to stay in and get him out or to get out myself, and it seemed to me wiser to resign and sever all relations because I was a little fearful it would take a bit longer to get him out than I had time to give.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like to read testimony taken again from Manning Johnson in New York City, July 8, 1953:

QUESTION BY MR. SCHERER. Mr. Johnson, do you know any other person who was an officer of the Methodist Federation at any time who was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir, the Reverend Jack McMichael was a member of the Methodist Federation.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say Rev. McMichael?

Mr. JOHNSON. I understand that he attended and graduated from divinity school; yes, a reverend.

Mr. SCHERER. What was his connection with the Methodist Federation?

Mr. JOHNSON. He was executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, I believe up until 1953.

Mr. KUNZIG. I note you say the Methodist Federation for Social Action, whereas a moment ago you were referring to it as the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Could you clarify that point and explain just what those two organizations were?

Mr. JOHNSON. They were one and the same organization. It was just a change of names. It was first called the Methodist Federation for Social Service and later it changed its name to the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Mr. SCHERER. How did you know that Reverend McMichael was a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, during the period that I was a member of the Communist Party, during the thirties, Jack McMichael was a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League, and he was also a member of the Communist Party, and from time to time he met with the now fugitive Communist Gilbert Green who was the head of the Young Communist League at that time, and he attended occasionally meetings of the national committee of the Communist Party with Gilbert Green.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Reverend McMichael still a member of the Communist Party when you left the party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, he was.

Mr. SCHERER. Was this not the same organization with which Bishop Oxnam was identified?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, for many years.

Now, I have testimony, sir, from Leonard Patterson, L-e-o-n-a-r-d P-a-t-t-e-r-s-o-n, also executive testimony before the committee on July 7, in New York City of this year.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you were in the Young Communist League did you ever know one Jack McMichael?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What position did he hold in the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. He was a member of the New York District of the Young Communist League and was a member of the top fraction of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party in the American League Against War and Fascism. Also he was a member of the top fraction of the American Youth Congress that was organized around 1934.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him then as one of the leading members of the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Then he identifies a picture of McMichael as the McMichael whom he recognized and whom he knew at the time was a member of the Communist Party.

Both those witnesses, sir, in sworn testimony before this committee identified Jack McMichael as a Communist.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interrupt, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Counsel, do you have before you there the testimony taken when I was presiding here last week of Benjamin Gitlow, dealing with the same subject?

Counsel, I am addressing the question to you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Pardon me, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you have the Gitlow testimony taken last week on the same subject?

Mr. KUNZIG. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Without laboring the point, Benjamin Gitlow testified last week:

McMichael became the cell head, but Dr. Ward continued to be prominent. The Methodist Federation for Social Action was already in the grip of this Communist Party cell and was therefore an instrument through which the Communist Party operated on the religious field.

There are more things. It was that also that I had in mind, Bishop, that I had in mind when I referred earlier—and I want it known that I will be glad to welcome an opportunity to go over that part with you.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Chairman, since this has been read, may I say that I did everything that I could to get Mr. McMichael out of the organization. Certain information reached me to this effect. I talked to Mr. McMichael. He said that it was absolutely false and wanted the source of the information. I was unable to give him that source because it was confidential. We had—

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, may I interrupt? Why did you attempt to get him out of the organization?

Bishop OXNAM. Because frankly I believed that Jack McMichael was so tied up with the Communist group that whether or not he were a Communist, I couldn't prove whether he was a member of the Communist Party or not, but I was sure that that organization ought not to be under that leadership any more, and I did everything I could. Others talked to Mr. McMichael. He denied this completely. Now, that raises quite an issue, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Will you yield at that point?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. What caused you to reach the conclusion that McMichael was a Communist?

Bishop OXNAM. Sir, I hope you will not press that question. I will be glad to state it to this committee if I could meet it in executive session. The source of that information was strictly confidential, and I think I would be betraying a trust if I said it in public. I would be glad to convey it to the chairman of this committee. I am not hedging here at all, but I think I have an obligation because the source was of such a nature—I think the chairman would be the first to recognize this. I will not refer to the source other than that.

Mr. WALTER. You couldn't make it much plainer.

Mr. VELDE. I don't think the witness should be required to answer except in executive session. We appreciate that.

Bishop OXNAM. I will be very happy, sir, to give you the source of that.

Mr. SCHERER. Bishop, at the time you got this information that Reverend McMichael was a member of the Communist Party, you reported it to the FBI, did you?

Bishop OXNAM. It was not necessary to report it there. Don't misunderstand me, sir. I am trying to keep a confidence here which I will be glad—

Mr. WALTER. You have said it very well, I assure you.

Bishop OXNAM. It is very difficult not to answer your question.

I may say, Mr. Chairman, and this is very important because I feel I am on something of a spot in this connection: In the Methodist Church when any individual has information that justifies prosecution and the elimination of an individual from the church, he may report that to what we call an investigating committee, if there is ground for charges—the charges are formulated, and he is tried.

Now, there are members of this committee who are members of the Methodist Church and have that information. It would have been possible with that information, which we do not have, to have filed charges to have prosecuted Jack McMichael. He would have been removed from the Methodist ministry if there could have been evidence of the fact of belonging to the Communist Party. By that I mean a man must be disloyal to his ordination vows to be a Communist, which involves being an atheist.

Mr. SCHERER. He is still a Methodist minister today, is he not?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir, and if somebody will give us the evidence that he belongs to the Communist Party, charges will be filed against him—this is the first time we have ever heard anything, and please remember, this is simply testimony. We have not heard the answers yet. I take it for granted this is true from what I have heard, but it is not the way we do things in a Methodist court. It would have to be proved.

Mr. VELDE. Bishop, the committee, of course, cannot vouch for the veracity of any of the witnesses that come before it. This is merely—

Bishop OXNAM. I am sure that is true, but the assumption is that what is said is true, you see, and in one of our courts you would have to have not only the statement, but you would have to have the truth.

Mr. JACKSON. This is testimony taken under oath.

Bishop OXNAM. Of course.

Mr. VELDE. May we have a recess for 10 minutes?

(Whereupon, at 9:52 o'clock p. m., the hearing recessed to 10:10 o'clock, p. m.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should now like to ask the witness: Bishop, you say, as I recall your testimony a short time ago, that you broke with Ward or were not in sympathy with Reverend Ward's ideas, I believe it was 1928 as you gave the date, roughly?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, he had brought in resolutions for the general conference with which I disagreed, and I was chairman of the subcommittee. We brought in another report, and ours was adopted.

Mr. KUNZIG. For how long a period of time were you active in the Methodist Federation for Social Service and later the Methodist Federation for Social Action?

Bishop OXNAM. I cannot answer that. I was a member for many years.

Mr. KUNZIG. Roughly.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I suppose from the time I graduated at the school of theology until the time I resigned membership here. I contributed to it. You see, in the Methodist Church we regarded the Federation for Social Action as—what shall I say—a body that was raising questions constantly, out in front of the church. The church went as fast as it wished to go, but we thought this group out there raising social questions was rendering service, and an official commission commended it in 1932. After that I think the situation changed, and as you know, the general conference of our church in 1952 requested the federation to move out of the Methodist Building in New York City, to change its name, and it was always an unofficial organization of the church.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, for many of those years that you were active in the Methodist Federation, Reverend Ward was also active. He was an official, was that not correct?

Bishop OXNAM. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did it not—how shall I phrase it—perturb you to be serving as an active official yourself in this organization with Reverend Ward who was one of the top officials of it when you had these ideas that you had about Ward and when you had—and I think it might be pretty fair to say—suspicions that he was either a Communist or seriously bent along those lines?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, of course, and we, staying inside, tried to change that organization. That is the way probably we should have done. When I left it in 1947—frankly a bishop has considerable work to do—there were others, I thought, who could take care of that, or should. In any case, I left it. Perhaps I should have stayed in until Jack McMichael was fired, I do not know. I do believe that the federation rendered the church and the church at large a very valuable service up to 1932. My counsel here happened to be chairman of the committee of the general conference that called for the federation to move out of our building and so on.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you said it rendered service until 1932, roughly 1932?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. From 1932 to 1947, as I recall, you said June 1947, I believe, roughly, when you left?

Bishop OXNAM. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. During that period of time McMichael was active, Ward was active, both in leading positions, and you had these viewpoints about them and what you thought they believed. Why did you not try at that time to get them out, all during those years?

Bishop OXNAM. Well, you see, you don't quite understand what this organization really was. It was a very loose arrangement. I think perhaps 5,000 members who contributed to the bulletin—the relationship generally of individuals to it was to receive the bulletin that came out once a month. Once a year there would be an annual meeting in which they discussed every kind of question, debated them, came to their conclusions, and the like. I am frank to say that with what we now know, I think organizations should be much more carefully supervised than they were at that time. I don't suppose that I attended during that period a dozen meetings of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and during the time I was vice president I do not suppose I was in more than 2 or 3 meetings, and that is, I suppose, something that somebody should be criticized for. I think one should belong to fewer organizations, know them intimately and exercise a controlling factor in them if you can.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it true—and this is a question, since I am not positive about this—but is it true that the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the Methodist Church in 1920 or 1919 protested against the pro-Bolshevism of Dr. Ward? Do you have knowledge of that?

Bishop OXNAM. I do not know. I do not know. I know that in 1924 at the general conference there was considerable protest concerning Professor Ward, growing out of some situation, Mr. Clardy, in Michigan. I do not recall quite what it was. We felt that it was an unfair attack upon Professor Ward, and he was defended in the general conference. I say up to 1932 the federation had rendered very valuable service.

Mr. WALTER. May I interrupt you at that point?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. I notice you have called him Professor Ward, and members of the committee have called him Dr. Ward. Where does he get the "Professor Ward"?

Bishop OXNAM. He was a professor in the Boston University School of Theology. He was subsequently a professor in the Union Theological Seminary, and served there until his retirement, and I believe is still on retiring allowance from the Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

Mr. WALTER. During those periods when he was an instructor, he was a member of the Communist Party?

Bishop OXNAM. I do not know, sir. I have heard this testimony here, and it confirms the suspicions that some of us got, and I recorded my own back there in 1936.

Mr. WALTER. During what period of time did you have the suspicion that he was a Communist while he was acting as a theological professor in Boston University and at Union?

Bishop OXNAM. I did not believe he was a Communist. I did not believe he was a Communist when he was at the Boston University School of Theology. I do not know he is a Communist now. This

testimony is quite overwhelming, but when Dr. Ward went to Russia and came back and wrote a book called *In Place of Profit*, I began to have serious intellectual doubts because in that, if I recall correctly, he justified a lottery on the grounds that it was contributing to a certain valuable social end. Well, when a man's ethics begin to be as confused as that, something has happened somewhere, and that is the best answer I can give, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. In that connection, your mentioning of the trip of the Reverend Harry Ward to Russia, I am minded to call your attention to another bit of testimony that really startled me, that runs to this effect, and I ask you to look for it particularly. It says that when Dr. Ward was in Russia, he conferred with Joe Stalin and that the question in the witness' mind was as to whether Joe Stalin taught Dr. Ward what to do in invading the field of religion or whether it was the other way around, and he ended up by believing that they probably both learned something from each other.

Now, that was in an early day.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy, there are several great Americans who have conferred with Joe Stalin.

Mr. CLARDY. But not on this subject.

Mr. VELDE. That is bringing in a matter of guess, conjecture.

Mr. CLARDY. No the witness was in Russia at the time and talked with people who were present and may have been present himself, for all I know, at some of the conferences.

Mr. VELDE. I am sorry.

Mr. CLARDY. This was not speculation, and it was Mr. Kornfeder who gave the testimony. It is a most startling thing, and I am still appalled at the manner and the devilishness with which they were able to put into practice in this association the things that they did.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, did I misunderstand Mr. Clardy. I think he did not say did he—or did he—that I was in Russia at the same time Professor Ward was there?

Mr. CLARDY. Oh, no, no, I did not even mention you.

Bishop OXNAM. I thought he said that, and I wanted to correct that completely.

Mr. CLARDY. I am still talking about the Reverend Harry Ward. I mentioned him by name. I know you have been to Russia a number of times, but as far as I know you were not there in company with Dr. Ward.

Bishop OXNAM. No; I was not.

Mr. CLARDY. He was in company with a number of people, including Mr. Kornfeder.

Bishop OXNAM. I wish, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I suggest we go ahead.

Mr. VELDE. You were referring, when you mentioned the witness, to the witness Mr. Kornfeder, is that correct?

Mr. CLARDY. Oh, but definitely.

Bishop OXNAM. Oh, I thought he meant me. I beg your pardon.

Mr. VELDE. I was a little bit confused.

Mr. CLARDY. You did not look very shocked, so I did not think you misunderstood me.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I know we must get on, but when I returned from Russia in 1934 I put down 10 impressions of the situation as I found it. I do not know whether the committee would appreciate for the record those critical impressions of one who went there trying to study or not, but they do explain my personal attitude. I would not wish to read them, but I think they are significant enough in the light of all that has been said here, perhaps, to be in the record.

Mr. VELDE. I am sure that the committee would appreciate your giving us that information, and we will consider it for insertion into the record. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 32-A, p. 3757.)

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, at that point? What year were those 10 impressions written by you?

Bishop OXNAM. August 25, 1934.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, may I continue?

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am confused at one point here, Bishop, because you said that you left the Methodist Federation in June of 1947. I have here a ballot in front of me which is a Methodist Federation for Social Action ballot, nominations for executive committee. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 33, pp. 3758-3763.) Then it says that these officers were elected by the national membership meeting in Kansas City, December 27 to 29, in 1947. Your confirmation is requested, and then it lists various people, and among them it lists under members at large of the executive committee, No. 30, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, bishop, New York area. I hand this to you marked—

Bishop OXNAM. It is unnecessary to hand it to me, sir. I have the letter that I wrote resigning as a vice president and member of the executive committee at that time, and I will be glad to file it. There must be some error there.

Mr. VELDE. If you care to read it, we will be glad to hear it, the letter of resignation.

Mr. WALTER. What is the organization?

Mr. KUNZIG. The Methodist Federation.

Bishop OXNAM. It is very difficult, Mr. Chairman, to shift from one matter to another and have to pull files this way when I have no help, but I will do the best I can.

This is June 9, 1947. It is a long letter, but I will read the first of it, which I think is all you will wish, and I will file the whole letter if you wish.

Bishop LEWIS O. HARTMAN,

581 Boylston Street, Boston 16, Mass.

MY DEAR BISHOP HARTMAN: I regret exceedingly that I must resign as a vice president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

I go on stating why, because of the attacks upon John Foster Dulles, upon Martin Neimoeller and upon Kogawa. These gentlemen were my personal friends, and I simply could not have my name upon an organization that in addition to the other reasons that I have mentioned to you—

Mr. WALTER. How long were you a vice president?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. May we introduce that into the record first, if you will.

All right, proceed.

Bishop OXNAM. I beg your pardon.

Mr. WALTER. How long were you an officer?

Bishop OXNAM. I cannot answer, sir, but I could find out. I know the terminal date, and I know that the first date could not have been before 1944, and I would judge from what Mr. Kunzig has said that it was probably 1946, but I am not sure of that. I can find out, of course.

Mr. VELDE. What is the next exhibit number?

Mr. KUNZIG. Thirty-five.

Mr. VELDE. Will the clerk mark the letter Oxnam Exhibit No. 35, and without objection it will be introduced into the record at this point.

(The letter referred to was received in evidence as Oxnam Exhibit No. 35. See p. 3765.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, sir, in addition to your name on this ballot of December 27-29, 1947, there appears the name of a Miss Winifred Chappell, C-h-a-p-p-e-l-l, Miss Winifred Chappell.

Bishop OXNAM. What year was this, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. This is 1947.

Bishop OXNAM. I think she was dead at that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, her name appears here, dead or alive.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, I don't think she was alive at that time. I may be wrong.

Mr. VELDE. May we have order, please.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here also another exhibit marked "Oxnam Exhibit 34" which is a letterhead of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, October 24, 1928. It is the letterhead where you are listed as executive secretary of the 20 years celebration, and it lists as secretary of the group Harry F. Ward and Winifred Chappell, again. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 34, p. 3764.) Did you know—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, her name was Chappell.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Winifred Chappell?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I had met her.

Mr. KUNZIG. How many years did you know her?

Bishop OXNAM. I do not know. I simply met her. She was one of the—what is her name? Was she an associate secretary there? I do not know how long she served.

Mr. KUNZIG. She is listed as a secretary.

Bishop OXNAM. She had been in youth work in the church and went into that for Professor Ward, I think. I did not know her well enough to do other than—I mean, well enough to give any other impression than I know her, that is all.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know that Winifred Chappell was a member of the Communist Party?

Bishop OXNAM. No; I did not know it, and if I had, I would have done everything to get her out.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, I can tell you that in the testimony taken in New York she was identified positively as a member of the Communist Party during the time that she was associated with the Methodist Federation.

Bishop OXNAM. Then may I ask some of these gentlemen who have this kind of information to make it available for a Methodist court. We will take the proper steps.

Mr. SCHERER. It will be available, I assure you.

Bishop OXNAM. It means that the persons who make these allegations would have to come, testify probably subject to cross-examination, and confront the witnesses. We proceed that way in our courts.

Mr. WALTER. What type of youth work was Winifred Chappell doing?

Bishop OXNAM. I think she was in the organization that was known as the Epworth League at that time, but I may be wrong.

Mr. WALTER. Epworth League?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask, what was your capacity at the time Winifred Chappell was active in the Epworth League?

Bishop OXNAM. I was the pastor, I believe, of the Church of All Nations, in Los Angeles.

Mr. JACKSON. In Los Angeles?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you a member of the Methodist Federation at that time, Bishop?

Bishop OXNAM. I testified that I was a member from the time I was in college, I think, on up to the time I resigned.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you familiar, sir, with a statement in the Epworth Herald, I believe, which was written by Winifred Chappell? I will read it to you—

(See Oxnam exhibit No. 36, p. 3766.)

Bishop OXNAM. You don't need to read it. I have read it, and I deplore it, and I do not know why these matters are constantly brought up in connection with me. I suppose you are saying I was a member of the federation. Others here are members of the Methodist Church, and they were all related by association.

Mr. JACKSON. Bishop, here was an example, and I am going to ask permission of the committee to read it.

Mr. WALTER. I would like to hear it myself. You and the bishop apparently know what it is, but the rest of us do not.

Mr. VELDE. I am sure I do not.

Bishop OXNAM. She was advising somebody to avoid the draft; a deplorable thing to me.

Mr. JACKSON. This is a statement credited to Winifred Chappell. It says:

Young church fellows of draft age must decide something when war breaks out. In general, these youths have 4 choices instead of 2, as most of them think. First, they can conform, yield to the draft, play the game of the warmakers, be cannon fodder, get shot or gassed or blinded or delegged or dearmed, but if possible beat the enemy to shoot, gas, blind, dearm the fellows on the other side first.

In the second place, they can be conscientious objectors and go to prison. A few score did that during the World War. A few hundred or thousand will do it next time. That takes even more courage than to go over the top. It takes just as much physical courage. The CO's in some prisons during the World War were subjected to extremely cruel treatment. But now a third choice, hardly so much as even heard of during the World War, appears in this possibility—stay out of jail. Why thus separate yourself from the masses? Why thus let yourself be put out of the game? Accept the draft, take the drill, go into the camps and on to the battlefield or into the munitions factories and transportation field. But sabotage war preparations and war; be agitators or saboteurs;

put down tools when the order is to make and load munitions; spoil war materials and machinery.

The fourth choice is merely a further development of the third. It calls for sabotage but with a deliberate, conscious, informed intent to get rid of the present economic system, of which war is a part, and to build a new world, the existence for which peace is a necessity. If you will make this choice, make it now and begin to meet before war breaks with others of like purpose and of iron will to carry out the purpose. This means knowing what selfish capitalism is like, not just in general, but in particular; not flinching even from knowing by name and specific deed the big profiteers who have betrayed the people, how they have profited from the starvation of children; how they have called upon police and militia, clubbed and gas-bombed and machinegunned to put down the workers when they have cried for bread.

That article, as I understand it, was in the Epworth Herald; is that correct, sir?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, if Mr. Jackson will state what he thinks of that, he and I will be in complete agreement, and I wish he would state it.

Mr. JACKSON. This is from the Epworth Herald, is that correct?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. That was a publication of the church for the Epworth League?

Bishop OXNAM. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. What action was taken either within the Methodist Federation or within the Methodist Church in the form of disciplinary action relative to this statement?

Bishop OXNAM. I think none. We do not discipline people for statements, much as I deplore that. It should never have been there. She was not an editor—

Mr. WALTER. Did she continue her work among the youth after she wrote that article?

Mr. SCHERER. She continued in the Methodist Federation.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. The question was asked of the witness.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I cannot answer questions that involve individuals in an organization now of nearly 10 millions. We have some 25,000 ministers. Frankly, I said that I did not know Miss Chappell well. I do know that she was in the federation for a considerable period of time.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Chairman, may I answer Mr. Walter's question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes; Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. The testimony taken by the committee in New York indicated that after she wrote that article she continued as an officer of the Methodist federation.

Bishop OXNAM. That is exactly what I said, I think.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you in a position to exercise any control or authority over—

Bishop OXNAM. None whatsoever.

Mr. MOULDER. Over Miss Chappell?

Bishop OXNAM. You see, a Methodist bishop is not a disciplinary officer. Our ministers are responsible to what we call the annual conference.

Mr. WALTER. Yes, but when your attention was called to such a shocking thing, as I think this was, why did you not see to it that

the proper official took the disciplinary action that should have been taken against that kind of a person?

Bishop OXNAM. Well, Mr. Walter, I do not know when that appeared, but you see, I have not been a bishop through all of the years, and a minister in Los Angeles, Calif., does not exercise, I think, the authority that perhaps you think I possess.

Mr. WALTER. Well, if the woman had made that kind of a statement in my community—and I am not an official in a church—I would have seen to it that somebody took the kind of action that would have taken her out of a job where she had anything to do with the training of youth.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I think you are quite right, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask you some questions that tie in with one portion of that statement that was from the pen of Miss Chappell? She condemned what she called the capitalist system. You have here tonight repeatedly said that you thought the federation performed a noble service—you may not have used the word “noble”, but I got that impression—up until 1932. Were you not aware of the fact that during the period not only up to 1932 but after that date that the words put out by the MFSA carried that same theme song attacking our economic system and by subtle means praising the collectivist system? I am not going to bring you the myriad examples that I have. I have examined the record carefully, and I am thoroughly and utterly convinced that they were carrying out, as Mr. Kornfeder and others said, the Communist Party line, but did you not, yourself, know that savage attack, sometimes subtly and sometimes brutally, upon our economic system?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, if I may be permitted to answer that, so I will be understood, I would be privileged to answer it. It will take more than just a “yes” or “no.” You noted the question.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly. I am sorry, I did not hear the question. I was talking of something else.

Bishop OXNAM. May I say first regarding my own belief and then relate it to your question?

Mr. CLARDY. I was not speaking of your beliefs. I was asking if you had not noted—

Bishop OXNAM. You see, Mr. Chairman, I believe the American way has been, let us say, a dynamic way. We have never been pledged to what you may call dogmatism. We speak of our economic system. Now, just what is that system? This will take just a moment.

In the American system, for instance, we have a public-highway system. I think it is the best in the world. It is collectively owned. I do not want somebody calling it Socialist. I believe it is American, and it is good.

Mr. WALTER. The highway system is collectively owned?

Bishop OXNAM. The public-highway system is owned by the people; yes, sir. We have a public-school system which is owned by the people. I do not want it called socialism. I believe it is American, and it is good. I will not call the roll, but when I see the lighthouses when I fly in here, and I know of that service, I am proud of those men. It is true it is a governmental service, but I think it is American, and it is good. Run it all the way down until you come to the national parks.

Now, personally I believe it is better to have the national parks handled as they are handled than to have them privately owned and privately run.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, what has this to do with the question?

Bishop OXNAM. He has asked me a question, sir, that involves an economic system, and if you will let me answer it, I am coming to it very quickly.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interrupt you? What I said was merely inquiring, sir, very simply, if you did not detect traces of the type of attack that Miss Chappell was making upon our system, spread throughout the publications of the federation, throughout the time that you were with it?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, may I conclude in a sentence? I was going to refer to those aspects of our system which involved certain answers. I was going to refer to the public corporations, and I was going to refer to organizations like the Interstate Commerce Commission and the like. Personally I believe that in the overwhelming percentage of America enterprise, private enterprise in the long run will result in greater creativity, greater productivity, and make a greater contribution to freedom than any system man has known.

Now, that is my position.

Now, to answer your question, sir: Professor Ward believed that the capitalist system was evil. He believed that there was a sinful principle at its heart. During the period up to 1932 that was not stressed over much. It did come to the fore from then on, and you recall that they even changed the masthead, the statement as to the objective of the federation, until it was changed frankly in objective, so that you could call it a Socialist objective. I disagreed with that fundamentally. That was a part of this disagreement that I am talking about.

Now, there was one answer there, either get out or try to change it. I did the best I could. I did not change it, and I am sorry. I left the organization when I stated, but I want my own position clearly understood here regarding what I believe to be the free way in the economic order.

Mr. CLARDY. I understood that.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever cast a vote for Jack McMichael as executive secretary of the MFSA?

Bishop OXNAM. I do not believe I ever did. I told you that I doubted I had attended more than 2 or 3 meetings from the time that I was in New York City. I do not believe I ever voted for him. I do not think I could have voted for Jack McMichael for the executive office. I felt it was a mistake to have him there.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I did not finish.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. The reason I asked you the question as to whether you had not detected that undertone, and sometimes it was even more than that, criticism, against the American system was because of something that you published in 1933, and I shall not labor this long. It is entitled "Preaching in the Social Crises."

You will recall that the first item, the first article that you selected, was one entitled, "Preaching and Socialism," by Kirby Page. I presume—and I am quite sure—that you are not aware that he has been tied in with the Communist operations by this committee. Believe me, he has.

Bishop OXNAM. Frankly I do not believe in the case of Kirby Page—and I would like to hear his testimony——

Mr. CLARDY. You will discover how he is named when the testimony I mentioned earlier is released, but here is the point I am trying to make: In 1933 when this book was published, in the first paragraph of the first article in the book by Kirby Page I find this significant sentence:

It is supremely tragic that at this late day evidence must still be produced that socialism is much closer akin to the Christian gospel than capitalism.

Now, I shall not labor it further, but on down:

The ship of capitalism is sinking and will carry down with it all institutions that fasten themselves like barnacles to its hull.

And the point is that the church is to be destroyed, as you know, without my telling you, by not cutting free from the American system of capitalism.

Now, that suggestion to me that is of that time you probably did not understand that the federation publication was preaching this same doctrine. Am I correct in that?

Bishop OXNAM. No, sir; you are not correct. Those were lectures delivered at the Boston University Conference on Preaching. You remember in 1933 that we had just gone through an upheaval in this country that was very, very serious. We brought to that conference the best speakers we could who would deal with the question of religion and the social crisis. You will find men in that volume taking exactly the opposite point of view.

Mr. CLARDY. Bishop, may I interrupt you? I have read this in its entirety many times. There are 5 articles out of the 12—one of which is by you—which deal with the question of economics, and every one of them takes the Socialist stand. That is the reason why I brought it up. The two succeeding articles, if you please, are by Jerome Davis and Harry F. Ward, both of whom have been identified as Communists.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair would like to make a statement. I think that we are getting to irrelevant material, and as we should finish——

Mr. CLARDY. I beg your pardon, Mr. Chairman. I was merely asking the one question, and I am done with it, and that has been answered sufficiently.

Bishop OXNAM. I wish, sir, you had read my introduction to that book.

Mr. CLARDY. I have, and do not misunderstand me: I am not accusing you of being a Communist or anything akin to it. Far from it; but I do think that you were muddled in your thinking and unclear in your understanding.

Now, that is all I am going to say.

Mr. VELDE. May we proceed in regular order.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I want to state officially for the record, in addition to the identification of Winifred Chappell that I have already read into the record, she was also identified in testimony within the last 2 weeks by Manning Johnson to have been a member of the Communist Party.

I also would like to read at this point the testimony of Leonard Patterson in executive testimony before the committee on July 7, 1953,

in New York City, testifying this time with regard to Rev. Harry F. Ward.

Question. Let me ask, did you ever know in your work in the Communist Party a Rev. Harry F. Ward?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you know him well?

Answer. Yes, I worked with him.

Question. Would you explain to the committee just how you worked with him and where?

Answer. In New York City, I believe it was in 1933 or 1934; I think it was 1933; Dr. Ward, Earl Browder, myself, Victor Jerome, Manning Johnson, and other top leading members of the Communist Party were assigned to a top fraction. In other words, a top policymaking body of the Communist Party, by the central committee of the party, to prepare—

And then Mr. Scherer said:

Did you say Dr. Ward was a member of that fraction?

Mr. PATTERSON. I said that. To prepare for a conference to sponsor a broader conference against war and fascism to be later on in the year of 1933. This top policy body met at 799 Broadway, where many of the party front organizations met at that time, and again there was a conference held in Chicago. I believe that was the Second Congress Against War and Fascism. I believe that was in 1935. I may be a little wrong in the dates, but research will show that we also had a meeting of this fraction while the congress was there, and I was, together with Dr. Ward, in this top fraction meeting in Chicago also.

Question. This is a top fraction meeting of the Communist Party?

Answer. Yes, a meeting where only selected top leading Communist Party members could attend. It was a policymaking body.

Question. Was Rev. Harry F. Ward present?

Answer. He was present and an active member of that body.

Question. And therefore you knew Rev. Harry F. Ward as a member of the Communist Party and as a very important member of the Communist Party?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Was he still a member of the party at the time you left the party?

Answer. To my knowing, yes, he was still active in the Communist Party front organizations like the National Negro Congress. In fact, I believe in 1935 or 1936 they had a meeting of the congress in Philadelphia, and he was present there and participated in Communist Party fraction.

Question. As far as you know at the time you left the party he was still a member?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And you know of his participation in Communist-front organizations subsequent to the date of your leaving the party; is that right?

Answer. Yes, I know he was active in most of the party front organizations, and he was used many times to spearhead a call for such organizations. In other words, he would be among the sponsors to get other so-called professional people, liberal ministers, and the party would be able to attract other people that it could not attract otherwise.

That is the testimony of Leonard Patterson with regard to Rev. Harry F. Ward.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have that part of the testimony of that witness who testified in New York that while Dr. Ward was a professor at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, he sent two young graduate ministers down to Baltimore for their assignment to churches and at the same time for their assignment as functionaries in the Communist Party?

Mr. KUNZIG. I remember very well the testimony, Mr. Scherer, as I was there, of course, too. I do not have that at the moment. We could look it up at the moment if you wish to go on to another matter.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, may I ask, I thought we were here to correct my files. This is all interesting information, and it seems to me places such an obligation upon this committee to make it possible for those within the church who have authority to take action, that if that cooperation can be given, we can take it, but why it is involved in my case, I find it a little hard to understand.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. All right, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. It seems to me that this relates—it does relate directly to the Methodist Federation for Social Service. It is irrefutable evidence that in the policymaking echelons of the Methodist Federation for Social Service there were those who were there to do the work of the Communist Party. It cannot be overlooked I think, Bishop, that during at least a portion of the time that this was going on, you were also a member of the Methodist Federation, and, I believe, an officer of the federation.

Bishop OXNAM. And, Mr. Jackson, you didn't know anything about this until this testimony under subpoena came in. The church doesn't have the power to subpoena these former Communists. We cleared up that organization as far as the church is concerned. There is official action taken concerning the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and in 1936 I wrote the resolution that called upon all agencies that are not regular agencies of the church, to put in their title the term "unofficial." I personally wrote that and through the years they always did that.

Mr. JACKSON. It is true we did not participate in this testimony until it was developed. We felt justified in issuing a report.

Bishop OXNAM. But your report came to no conclusion and anybody reading that report cannot tell what the opinion of the committee is. If that report had actually brought in data and had come to a conclusion, we could move, but I do not think that report came to any conclusion. It presented a great deal of material from Mr. Steele, Mr. Woltman, and so on. I may be wrong on that.

Mr. JACKSON. There has been evidence over a very long period of time that there were activities within the Methodist Federation for Social Action which appeared to be Communist directed and now I may add, from what we had in the way of background material, we now have the sworn testimony indicating that which was believed to be the case was indeed the case.

Bishop OXNAM. How can that be helpful to those of us in the church facing this kind of a situation?

Mr. JACKSON. I think the committee has been of great service in bringing forth the fact that the Methodist ministers, in one case as I understand your testimony, an active member, an active pastor at the present time is or has been a member of the Communist Party. I believe that unless this committee had been functioning, unless this testimony had been taken, that matter might have gone on and on and on and have been unknown for all time to come.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, was Jack McMichael called before the committee? Did he have any opportunity to answer that? I am not pleading for him, but did he have a chance to answer what was alleged?

Mr. VELDE. AS far as I am concerned, Mr. Jack McMichael has never been called before this committee.¹⁸

Bishop OXNAM. Then this is given to the public all over the Nation before the man accused has had so much as an opportunity to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you concur that Reverend McMichael is a member of the Communist Party today? You said so yourself.

Bishop OXNAM. That isn't correct at all. I am dealing with procedures and I was dealing with procedures when I made the statement.

Mr. SCHERER. On the basis of the testimony we had in New York, sworn testimony of any number of witnesses, and on that basis how could any reasonable person come to any other conclusion than that Dr. Ward and Reverend McMichael are dangerous Communists?

Bishop OXNAM. That isn't it.

Mr. SCHERER. What is it?

Bishop OXNAM. That a man is accused before a decision is reached, and I do not believe this is a court.

Mr. VELDE. This certainly is not a court, but what I am puzzled about, Bishop, you have your suspicions regarding these people, Dr. Ward and Reverend McMichael, for some years. What did you do about it? It seems to me your obligation as an American citizen should be to report that to some investigative agency, whether it be this body or whether it be the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the ONI or G-2.

Bishop OXNAM. I told you I had discussed the question of Jack McMichael and I would be glad to tell the committee with whom in executive session.

Mr. VELDE. Your confidence will be respected.

Mr. WALTER. I don't know Jack McMichael and a moment ago I heard his name mentioned the first time. Is he the man who assigned two young clergymen to Communist cells?

Mr. SCHERER. That was Dr. Ward.

Mr. WALTER. And Dr. Ward assigned these clergymen to Communist cells?

Mr. SCHERER. At the same time they took their ministerial posts in Baltimore.

Mr. VELDE. Let us try to conclude before midnight.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask this question? I haven't taken too much time.

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Mr. SCHERER. In the magazine section of the newspaper of a couple of Sundays ago, Bishop, there is an article by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam entitled "How to Uncover Communists" and in that article you particularly attack the committee.

Bishop OXNAM. Would you quote the article?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes; in that article you say that the uncovering of Communists in religion should be left to the clergy and now you admit, don't you, that—

Bishop OXNAM. Would you quote just what I said, sir?

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. Here today you admit that you were unable to cope with it in the Methodist Federation for Social Action, of which you were a part.

¹⁸ At a later date, Rev. Jack R. McMichael was subpoenaed and he testified in public hearings on July 30 and 31, 1953. His testimony is being reviewed at the time of this printing by the Department of Justice for possible perjury charges.

Bishop OXNAM. Well, are you asking a question?

Mr. SCHERER. No; I am making a statement.

Bishop OXNAM. I beg your pardon then.

Mr. VELDE. I would like to ask the question: Do you now feel that the church authorities are able to cope with the problem, in view of the statement that you have made?

Bishop OXNAM. I could wish that the article could be in the records so that it would be known what I did say.

Mr. KUNZIG. May the article that was in Parade be marked as "Oxnam Exhibit No. 37," please?

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be introduced in the record at this point.

(Document referred to was marked as "Oxnam Exhibit No. 37" and received in evidence (see opp. p. 3766).)

Mr. SCHERER. I might call your attention to a speech or statement you made a few weeks ago when you challenged the committee to prove that there was one Communist member of the clergy.

Bishop OXNAM. I think I said to name any one Communist who held a position of major responsibility in any church.

Mr. CLARDY. Didn't you say you didn't know any?

Bishop OXNAM. I made two statements. One was much earlier in which I said that I did not know of a Communist in the Methodist Church, and the second had to do with the Philadelphia speech.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't exactly know whether it was Philadelphia or not.

Bishop OXNAM. And there was a great meeting of a good many thousand people and I made reference to the fact that I would challenge anybody to name a Communist who held a position of major responsibility in any of our churches. I still haven't heard. There may be such a person. If so, I regret it.

Mr. SCHERER. How about Reverend McMichael?

Bishop OXNAM. We do not consider that McMichael had a large position. That is an unofficial position.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he not executive secretary of the Methodist Federation and Dr. Ward a prominent person in the Union Theological Seminary?

Bishop OXNAM. The Union Theological College is not a Methodist organization. It is not a regular organization of the church at all, and has been so known through the years.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you say that Dr. Ward is an eminent church personality?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, Professor Ward was a distinguished person, I would say, as a student. He never had any executive responsibility in the church, I think.

Mr. WALTER. You say that he did not occupy an executive position of responsibility. Do you feel that a man molding the minds of young clergymen occupied a far more important position than did a man in an executive post?

Bishop OXNAM. I think that he did exercise considerable influence and I have testified to my break with him and what I tried to do. It is very easy for someone with hindsight to suggest what an individual should have done at a particular time. I wish in the light of the present situation that we should have handled that matter much earlier. We did not have this kind of testimony, please remember, and it may

be that some way must be developed whereby this kind of information can reach church groups in such fashion that proper steps can be taken.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know of any way other than this way in developing that very thing?

Bishop OXNAM. I think that a committee investigating un-American activities, such as this committee is doing, if the procedures are carefully scrutinized so that a man's name is not blazoned across the country before he himself has a chance to be heard in matters of that kind, all of that could be handled very easily.

This standard volume which is published by the Cornell University in its civil liberty study written by Prof. Robert K. Carr of Dartmouth, and the study was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, has constructive suggestions that it seems to me would solve those problems and conserve the values that all of us realize exist in this kind of procedure.

Mr. CLARDY. Might I ask a question at this point, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. I had already recognized Mr. Doyle.

Mr. CLARDY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOYLE. May I have a moment, please, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. For the benefit of the witness I think it is appropriate, Mr. Chairman, to call the witness' attention to the fact that this committee has just adopted a set of rules that apply to witnesses and attorneys appearing before the committee, and I call special attention to rule No. X, and I am not ashamed of the fact that I personally put a lot of work on it, and this rule does make a requirement for this committee to notice that any person named for the first time before this committee as a Communist or a Fascist or a subversive has an opportunity to be heard, and that rule requires this committee, within a reasonable time after a person is first named before this committee, to get notice by a registered letter of the fact that a statement that he has been so named has been made, and the date and the place of the statement, and the name of the person who made the statement and the person has 15 days in which to personally appear before this committee or send some communication to the committee so that reputation, if he fears it has been damaged, can be protected.

I make that statement, and no doubt the people in this room who have heard this discussion today may not realize that the committee is trying to improve its conduct right along. I wish to state I am not satisfied with what we are doing, always, but we are making headway.

May I call the witness' attention to the fact that in 1952, on February 17, this committee, apparently with diligence and much work, published this statement that the Methodist Federation for Social Action was Communist.

Mr. VELDE. May I interrupt there? In the course of the statement the Methodist Federation for Social Action is named as a tool of the Communist Party, I think.

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that, but in this booklet of 87 pages published by our subcommittee and in which the Methodist Federation for Social Action is mentioned, we make no comment that that organization, in this book at least, was Communist.

One thing more and I think the record should show that this testimony at New York and here in Washington to which so much atten-

tion has been given, and possibly rightly so, about Dr. Ward and about Reverend McMichael which was taken here in July of 1953; in other words, this committee had no knowledge so far as our record was concerned of the attitude of Dr. Ward or Reverend McMichael until, may I say, we were getting ready for this hearing, in which you recall you requested to be heard and you are having your wish fulfilled. So it is a difficult matter to get evidence on Communists. It is not an easy thing, even for our expert investigators. It is not an easy thing at all.

One further observation, Mr. Chairman, it is 11 o'clock. This witness has mentioned a dozen times, I think, that he wanted to have his record clear and identified and corrected, if it should be corrected, and I think before we take more time to prove who Dr. Ward was and who Reverend McMichael was, that the witness ought to understand when he leaves this room whether or not he has any corrections to make in his record. I understood that is why he came.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle, I think this matter should be taken up in executive session.

Mr. DOYLE. What should be?

Mr. VELDE. The matter of correction of any of the records.

Mr. DOYLE. What I mean, Mr. Chairman, is: Has the witness anything further to say on his record or has the committee anything further to ask him about his record.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; certainly they do. We have a lot of other material to go into and I would appreciate it if we could get down to the subject matter.

Mr. DOYLE. I thought the subject matter was the files of the committee, and that is what I am interested in, getting that before we adjourn. I think we have proved adequately enough that Mr. Ward and Mr. McMichael were off color and probably Communists, but that doesn't prove that this witness was a Communist.

Mr. VELDE. No one has asserted that he was. Let us proceed.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I am sure you will pardon a comment on what Mr. Doyle said.

Mr. CLARDY. To concentrate on something that you have said, you mentioned some criticism of the committee procedure and I think that is very much in point and something that ought to be discussed. I want to ask you this: Didn't you, just a few minutes ago, suggest that because the church lacked what this committee possesses, the power of subpoena, that you could not uncover these things that we were inquiring about?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. CLARDY. With that in mind, would you not agree with us that because we do have the power of Congress, the power of subpoena and the power to investigate which the church does not, that we are far better equipped? I am not talking about files or anything else, but aren't we better equipped to do the job for you and for the Nation as a whole?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I have always believed there is a proper place for congressional investigation. It is a part of our American system. I have been dealing with what I believe to be an unfortunate handling of the files.

Mr. Doyle has just made reference to the rules. I read them. I

think anybody reading those rules will recognize distinct improvements.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interrupt you to tell you that those rules are the rules that this committee has been following to my personal knowledge since I went on the committee in January of this year; that they were followed prior to that time with one exception, and that exception was considered in the early meeting of this committee, and that has to do with the notification of persons who are identified as Communists in open hearings.

Aside from that, and I am glad to hear you say that you like what we have done, the procedure is identical with what we have been following. We merely put it in writing.

Bishop OXNAM. I am happy to know it, but Mr. Chairman, you will let me say this, that Mr. Dies, who had some experience in this matter I believe, has just introduced a bill into the House which goes much farther than any of the rules. I am not sure his recommendations are wise. I am not competent, really, to say. I think Mr. Keating and Mr. Javits have done the same and when reference was made to the Methodist Federation in the matter of the 100 questions about communism and religion, you will remember that was published in 1948, and the Methodist Federation was referred to as a tool of the Communist Party.

I have here a letter signed by Mr. John S. Wood, dated May 10, 1951, in which Mr. Wood says the following:

This committee has made no investigation of the Methodist Federation for Social Service or its successor, the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and therefore is unable to furnish you information in regard to that organization.

Now maybe the chairman of the committee, Mr. Wood, did not know what had gone on, but here was an official statement 3 years after the organization was called a tool of the Communist Party. Now I am not debating except to say that procedures that can be so inaccurate as that, I should think need to be checked and particularly in the matter of the files where material is released about an individual before it is verified. That is why I came here.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you think any good purpose would have been served in the Alger Hiss case, and this has no reference to you, if every step in the investigative process, everything that went into the files had been called to his attention as the committee went along, and don't forget it was this committee that brought that man to heel—

Bishop OXNAM. I notice that Professor Carr gives this committee credit for that.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you think that the procedure you are suggesting, do you think that would work in an investigation of a Communist? Don't you see that you would utterly as you quoted me in Parade, utterly destroy the investigative process. I said that. I meant that, not only for that but for other reasons. We have sat here and taken abuse day after day and week after week and month after month and if you had gone through the fire and furnace that we have you would understand what we have gone through.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy, I think we are getting irrelevant.

Mr. CLARDY. I don't think so, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. It is interesting.

Mr. CLARDY. Not only is it interesting but it is important. I want

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 30

American Civil Liberties Union

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH
540 Wilcox Building, Los Angeles
206 South Spring Street, Phone: 13046

55

CORRESPONDENCE FILE

(File 1 on 1)

John Bromley
Mrs. F. O. Ellsworth
Dr. J. P. Gorman
Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam
John C. Packard
Mrs. M. M. Packard
Rev. Darwin Suddler
Rev. Glenn L. Tink
William D. Ten Broeck

NATIONAL OFFICERS
Harry R. Ward, Secretary
Dwight McDonald, Treasurer
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L. Hollingsworth, Vice President
Arthur Hays Sulzberger, President
Roger N. Baldwin, Executive Director
Robert W. Linn, General Counsel
Albert De Sales, Assistant General Counsel
Walter White, Counsel

June 14, 1923

Dear Friends:

Following-up your offer to serve on the Membership Committee of the Civil Liberties Union, we enclose several circulars, with membership blanks, and ask you to distribute them among your friends.

As our greatest means of obtaining new members will be the "personal contact" of members of the committee, with non-members, we request that you not only distribute these circulars, but that you advise us immediately how many more circulars you will be willing to distribute.

You will receive a notice of our next meeting in a few days. Awaiting your reply, we remain

Yours very truly,

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

By: William D. Ten Broeck
Director

WDTB/vb

the record to show that it is in point because I believe that it is necessary to point out some of the misconceptions that the good witness possesses.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to offer into evidence Oxnam exhibits Nos. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36. They are all the documents we have been talking about for the last half hour, but I haven't had a chance to put them into evidence until this moment.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be put in the record.

(Documents heretofore referred to as Oxnam exhibit Nos. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36 were received in evidence. Oxnam exhibit No. 37, already accepted in evidence follows in numerical order.)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 31

TWENTY YEARS OF SOCIAL SERVICE

The Methodist Federation for Social Service

150 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

E. F. TITTLE, Chairman
G. BROMLEY OXNAM, Exec. Secy.

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O. W. AUMAN, Chicago
RAY ALLEN, Hornell, N. Y.
M. P. EHRIS, Philadelphia
L. H. BUGREE, Minneapolis
KING D. BEACH, Chicago
DAN B. BRUMMITT, Chicago
STELLA W. BRUMMITT, Chicago
ESTHER BJORNBERG, Chicago
F. O. BECK, Evanston
E. W. BLAKEMAN, Berkeley, Cal.
W. C. BARCLAY, Chicago
JAMES C. BAKER, Urbana, Ill.
GEO. A. COE, Glenside, Cal.
R. E. DIFFENDORFER, New York
EDW. T. DEVINE, Washington
D. F. DIFFENDORF, E. Orange, N. J.
E. P. DENNETT, San Francisco
A. E. DAY, Pittsburgh
F. C. ENDINGER, Oak Park, Ill.
F. B. FISHER, Inds.
R. W. GRAHAM, Creston, Iowa
W. E. J. GRATZ, Chicago
W. M. GILBERT, Madison, N. J.
A. A. HEIST, Denver
PAUL HUTCHINSON, Chicago
L. O. HARTMAN, Boston
H. S. HAMILTON, Bozoe, Idaho
E. S. HAMMOND, Salem, Ore.
ISABELLE HORTON, Lake Bluff, Ill.
A. W. HARRIS, New York
C. P. HARGRAVES, Chicago
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H. E. LUCOCK, New York
JESSE LACKLEN, Billings, Mont.
G. S. LACKLAND, Meadville, Pa.
AMY LEVIS, New York
W. H. McMASTER, Alliance, Ohio
MARY McDOWELL, Chicago
H. H. MEYER, New York
A. E. MONGER, South Bend, Ind.
EDW. LAIRD MILLS, Portland, Ore.
J. R. MAGEE, Seattle
O. H. MCGILL, Seattle
F. M. NORTH, New York
O. T. OLSON, Baltimore
EARL ROADMAN, Middell, S. D.
W. J. SHERMAN, San Francisco
W. B. SPAULDING, Billings, Mont.
C. D. SKINNER, Tulsa, Okla.
W. L. STIGLER, Kansas City
BOBT. E. TUCKER, Columbus
W. P. THIRKIELD, Chattanooga
WORTH M. TIPPY, New York
L. K. WILLMAN, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
HERBERT WELCH, Korea
V. O. WARD, Minneapolis
JAMES M. YARD, New York

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

KEYNOTE: Face Issues—Back the Federation!
OBJECTIVES: Every Methodist minister who knows that the religion of Jesus requires the transformation of human society, a supporting member.
Every minister who is not sure, but wants to know, a Bulletin member.
At least one lay member in every local church.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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TREASURER

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SECRETARIES

HARRY F. WARD
WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL

March 17, 1928.

Dear Member of the Federation:

Our celebration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service began in earnest in this section Monday. The preachers of Boston and vicinity met at the Wesleyan Building, and Professor Ward delivered a compelling message, shot through with prophetic fire, and characterized by penetrating analysis. We were tremendously helped.

A luncheon followed and Professor Ward spoke relative to the future of the Federation. This was followed by a consideration of the most effective plan for securing additional members for the Federation. Our plan is to assign the names of the non-members in the conference to the members, and to request each member to interview five or six non-members and present the question of joining the Federation. Can you not get a group to do something like this in your section? The New York office will give counsel on this.

News is coming in from many sections of the country. At Cleveland Dr. John H. Blackburn presented the matter to the ministerial association, and got several members. Wade Crawford Barclay is taking time to solicit members, as is Miss Mary Samson of the Board of Home Missions in Philadelphia. Splendid meetings have been held in Chicago and New York. Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Colorado conferences have fine programs under way. It appears that the anniversary will be a prominent activity in cities all the way from Seattle to New York. The Kansas City part of the program is also moving along.

As you know, this is a voluntary organization, and dependent upon the services of its loyal members. Won't you help? You can send in a list of names who might be interested in the Bulletin membership, or full membership. You can solicit your friends. You can send items to the Advocates. In a score of ways the individual can help.

Will you not write us at once renewing your own membership, if its expiration is near at hand, telling us whatever you are doing, or will do, for the Anniversary? And don't forget that we are eager to have at least one lay member in every local church.

Fraternally yours,



OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 32

THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

150 FIFTH AVENUE
Tel. Watkins 9-7530

(UNOFFICIAL)

NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

OFFICERS

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TREASUREREXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JACK RICHARD McMICHAEL

April 12, 1946

Dear Congressman:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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WADE CRAWFORD BANCLAY
MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
CHARLES W. BRABHARE
HAROLD C. CASE
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YOUTH MEMBERS

ANN FITZPATRICK
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PRENZA L. S. WOODS

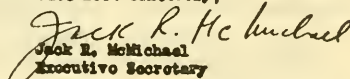
On more than one occasion our government has expressed its support for the Spanish opponents of Franco, who was in fact a fascist ally of our Axis enemies, at whose hands so many of America's finest youth gave their lives. Our government has joined with the United Nations in its unanimous judgment that the Franco Falangist regime is in effect an outlaw regime brought to power by the aid of Fascist Germany and Italy.

Now sensational charges have been made that Franco Spain is harboring wanted Nazi war criminals and Nazi scientists who are busy in Spain developing hideous weapons of war intended to be used against Franco, America and other democratic lands.

Peoples everywhere are today asking what America is prepared actually to do against this regime whose fascist leader has been so contemptuous of the United States, of democracy and of the United Nations.

How important it is that we make clear for all to see our honest, uncompromising opposition to Franco and our support of his Spanish enemies, whom our own government has encouraged! We understand that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee has existed precisely to give aid to those anti-Franco Spaniards. What a stupid blunder it would be if at this time the Congress were to cite for contempt the members of the Executive Board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee which has helped to save the lives of many of our Spanish friends! This seems especially true in view of the contention that the members of the Board are not the legal custodians of the books and records demanded by the Wood-Brinkin Committee on Un-American Activities. Will you be present when this matter comes to a vote? Will you speak and vote against the proposed contempt citation, rebuking and pointing out the apparent and serious relationship of such a citation to our present standing in the United Nations?

Yours most sincerely,



Jack R. McMichael
Executive Secretary

JRM/rr

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 32-A

Summary of impressions following visit to Russia, summer, 1934, from diary record of August 25, 1934

1. I am impressed by the apparent fact that their political education has gone down. There is exceptional ability manifest by worker, by peasant, and young people in the discussion of political and economic matters. Like young fundamentalists, these people are saturated in Marx, know the answers in terms of Communist dogma, and are absolutely "certain" they are right and scientifically correct.

2. I am impressed by the fact that revolution was a much easier task here than it would be in the United States. Our middle classes have a standard of life these people never knew. Classes are not fixed in the United States. Our leadership is infinitely abler. Our businessmen possess an efficiency and adaptability unknown to prerevolution Russians.

3. I am impressed more and more by the treatment of minorities. They are

gaged, at times starved. How can an opposition idea get underway, even if true? Here dogma comes in. Opposition ideas cannot be true. We have the truth.

4. I am impressed by the strange contradiction between the vast conceptions of social organization and the apparent advance, and the extraordinary inefficiency in carrying out detail, in preventing waste, in developing sanitation, and a score of such matters. Those impressed by organizing skill as shown in Red Square parade must remember that is military, a machine, and does not call for individual initiative and decision, as well as care. Everything seems allowed to deteriorate.

5. I am impressed by the intellectual isolation of the people. This is a fundamental contradiction of so-called scientific spirit.

6. I am impressed by the need of Americans to See America First. People should know our own social work, our own schools, our own factories; and they would be less impressed by work that is distinctly inferior but is held up in Russia as superior. These Russians assume we are coming to find out how it is done.

7. I am impressed by the fact that a Communist state appropriates all the lessons, the costly experiments, the trial and error learnings of capitalism. Let us see later how much advance technically they will themselves make.

8. I am impressed by the danger to the creative mind. He, if in opposition, is silenced, killed.

9. Art, to date, while we are told it is "fighting wings" has done practically nothing. Perhaps the new ideas will manifest themselves in new concepts in art, but not yet.

10. I am impressed by the paralyzing consequences of bureaucracy, when the order of the bureaucrat is in the hands of the ignorant, who denied freedom to exercise creative judgment and reasonable adaptability, a person generally unimaginative, blocks the traffic of a great arterial street, because the order he received said, "Traffic north and south when green light burns; traffic stops when red light burns." But signal got out of order. Green shows steadily for north and south, red for east and west. East and west must stand still until signal is repaired or order rescinded.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 33

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

BALLOT

Nominations for Executive Committee

These officers were elected by the national membership meeting in Kansas City, December 27-29, 1947. Your confirmation is requested.

President (vote for 1). Check 1.

Bishop Robert N. Brooks, New Orleans area; former editor, Central Christian Advocate.

Vice presidents (vote for 6). Check 6.

Bishop James C. Baker, vice president, MFSA; bishop, Los Angeles area.

Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, former president, MFSA; bishop, Boston area.

Bishop W. Earl Ledden, president, New York State Council of Churches; bishop, Syracuse area.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, bishop, Portland area; former MFSA president.

Dean Walter G. Muelder, Boston University School of Theology.

Bishop William T. Watkins, bishop, Louisville area.

Recording secretary (vote for 1). Check 1.

Miss Thelma Stevens, recording secretary, MFSA; executive secretary, department of Christian social relations, woman's division of Christian service.

Treasurer (vote for 1). Check 1.

Dr. Gilbert Q. LeSourd, associate secretary, missionary education movement.

Assistant treasurer (vote for 1). Check 1.

William W. Reid, editor, The Pastor magazine.

(Officers are automatically members of the executive committee.)

These were nominated by the national membership meeting. If you wish to make a substitution, please cross out the names you wish deleted and add the substitutes.

Members at Large (Vote for 40). Check 40

1. Dr. Wade C. Barclay, member, MFSA administrative committee; past editor, Social Questions Bulletin.
2. Rev. Lee Ball, member, MFSA administrative committee; Lake Mehopac, N. Y.
3. Dr. Albert Barnett, professor, Garrett Biblical Institute; vice president, Alabama MFSA.
4. Rev. Samuel G. Beers, Waterloo, Wis.
5. Mrs. Theodore Berry, committee on economic relations, central jurisdiction, department of Christian social relations, WDCS.
6. Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., executive secretary, commission on world Peace, Chicago.
7. Bishop Charles W. Brashares, Des Moines area.
8. Dr. James P. Brawley, president, Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.
9. Mr. Harold Burns, editor and publisher, New Wilmington, Pa.
10. Dr. Gilbert S. Cox, president, upper Iowa MFSA; Waterloo.
11. Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Central Methodist Church; Detroit.
12. Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer, executive secretary, department of foreign missions, board of missions.
13. Dr. Karl Downes,* president, Samuel Houston College; Austin.
14. Rev. Paul DuBois, president, New York east conference, MFSA.
15. Mr. E. J. Fricke, president, Indiana State conference, MFSA.
16. Rev. Paul Friedrich, member, MFSA, administrative committee; New Brunswick, N. J.
17. Rev. Owen Geer, Vermont Square Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Calif.
18. Dr. Corliss P. Hargraves, executive secretary, interboard committee on missionary education.
19. Rev. Robert Howe, Pittsfield, Mass.
20. Dr. David Jones, president, Bennett College, North Carolina.
21. Mrs. J. D. Kilgore, Tracyton, Wash.
22. Mr. Chester Kingsbury, president, Pacific Northwest conference, MFSA; printer; Seattle, Wash.
23. Rev. Franklin H. Littell, director, student religious association, University of Michigan.
24. Dr. Edgar Love, member, MFSA administrative committee; superintendent, department of Negro work, board of missions, and church extension.
25. Rev. James May, former executive secretary, YMCA; Georgia Institute of Technology; Georgia.
26. Dr. Clyde Miller, Teachers College, Columbia University; copresident, New York City MFSA.
27. Mrs. Floyd Mulkey, president, Chicago MFSA.
28. Dr. C. C. McCown, professor emeritus, Pacific School of Religion.
29. Rev. G. S. Nichols, president, Iowa-Des Moines conference, MFSA.
30. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, bishop, New York area.
31. Rev. Edward Peet, officer, Greater Hartford, MFSA.
32. Dr. Arthur Raper, economic analyst, United States Department of Agriculture.
33. Rev. H. M. Ratliff, Mission, Tex.
34. Miss Matilda Saxton, secretary, central jurisdiction, department of Christian social relations, WDCS; Trenton, N. J.
35. Dr. Charles Schofield, editor, adult publications, Board of Education, Nashville.
36. Miss Mildred Thomson, social worker; president St. Paul MFSA.
37. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, member President's Committee on Civil Rights; secretary, department of Christian social relations, WDCS, Southeastern.
38. Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed, president, Alabama Conference MFSA.
39. Dr. Willard Uphaus, director, Religion and Labor Foundation.
40. Rev. Charles Webber, secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.
41. Rev. Wayne White, New York City; member of MFSA administrative committee.
42. Dr. Elwin Wilson, district superintendent, Portland, Maine.
43. Dr. Ruth Wolcott, Spirit Lake, Iowa.
Youth Members:
44. Mr. George Harper, director, National Conference Methodist Youth.

*We are sorry to announce the death of our friend, Dr. Downes.

45. Mrs. Ann Fitzpatrik Klein, Garrett Biblical Institute, Illinois.
 46. Miss Shippy Sharpnack, Mount Union College, Alliance, Ohio.

(Every standard conference chapter elects one member to the executive committee.)

Nominations for National Committee

(Annual conference chapter presidents are automatically members of the national committee. Standard conference chapters elect five members to the National Committee. Standard local chapters elect two members to the national committee.)

Members at Large (Vote for 150)

These were nominated by the national membership meeting. If you wish to make a substitution, please cross out the names you wish deleted and add the substitutes.

1. Rev. Merrill R. Abbey, First Methodist Church, Madison, Wis.
2. Rev. Albert Allinger, Methodist Church, Cranford, N. J.
3. Rev. Lester Ward Auman, Jackson Heights Methodist Church N. W.; member ad interim committee of the MFSA.
4. Rev. DeWitt C. Baldwin, director, Lisle Fellowship, New York City.
5. Rev. Archey D. Ball, pastor, Paterson, N. J.
6. Prof. Irwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
7. Prof. John F. Bender, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
8. Mr. J. E. Perry, clothing manufacturer, Columbus, Kans.
9. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president, National Council of Negro Women, Washington, D. C.
10. Dr. Henry L. Bibby, physician, Kingston, N. Y.
11. Dr. Hiel D. Bollinger, secretary, department of student work, Board of Education, Nashville.
12. Dr. Harold Bosley, dean, Duke University School of Theology.
13. Mr. E. P. Bowen, General Secretary, Cooperative League of U. S. A.
14. Dr. Edgar S. Brightman, professor of philosophy, Boston University School of Theology.
15. Dr. Edwin A. Brown, Methodist Church, Urbana, Ohio.
16. Dr. Emory Bucke, editor, Zion's Herald, Boston, Mass.
17. Rev. George A. Burchem, Methodist Church, Modesto, Calif.
18. Mr. A. M. Butler, attorney at law, Dows, Iowa.
19. Rev. J. George Butler, South Park Methodist Church, Hartford.
20. Rev. Wendell R. Carter, Methodist Church, Beaver Falls, N. Y.
21. Miss Winifred Chappell, Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion.
22. Rev. Don Chase, Methodist Church, Redding, Calif.
23. Rev. James Chubb, assistant secretary, General Board of Evangelism, Baldwin City, Kans.
24. Rev. George Clary, Sr., Trinity Methodist Church, Savannah, Ga.
25. Dr. George A. Coe, professor emeritus of religious education, Union Theological Seminary; now residing in California.
26. Rev. Elbert Cole, director religious education, University of Chicago.
27. Rev. Elbert M. Conover, director, Interdenominational Bureau of Architecture, New York City.
28. Dr. Russell M. Cooper, professor, University of Minnesota.
29. Rev. Alva I. Cox, executive secretary, board of education, Northeast Ohio Conference.
30. Dr. Clarence T. Craig, professor of New Testament, Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College, Ohio.
31. Rev. Albert Curry, Friendship Park Methodist Church, Pittsburgh.
32. Mr. Gloster B. Current, secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Detroit, Mich.
33. Mrs. J. W. Curry, Christian social relations secretary, South Carolina Conference.
34. Rev. Mark A. Dawber, executive secretary, Home Missions Council.
35. Rev. Harry Denman, Board of Evangelism, Nashville, Tenn.
36. Miss Doris P. Denison, department of Christian education of adults, General Board of Education, Nashville, Tenn.
37. Rev. Mark Depp, Centenary Methodist Church, Winston-Salem, N. C.
38. Rev. James Dombrowski, executive secretary, Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, La.

39. Rev. Caxton Doggett, director of student work, Board of Missions.
40. Rev. M. E. Dorr, Grace Methodist Church, Dayton, Iowa.
41. Rev. James E. Dunning, First Methodist Church, Los Angeles.
42. Rev. L. L. Dunnington, Methodist Church, Iowa City, Iowa.

[Methodist Federation for Social Service, 1947 ballot, p. 2]

43. Miss Clara Dutrow, secretary-treasurer, West Oklahoma MFSA.
44. Rev. Harold Ehrensperger, editor, Motive Magazine, Nashville.
45. Dr. Guy Fox, administrator, Denver Public Schools, Colorado.
46. Rev. Edwin Garrison, Methodist Church, Wabash, Ind.
47. Rev. Victor V. Goff, director, Wesley Foundation, University of California, Berkeley.
48. Rev. Albert Green, Methodist Church, Lamar, S. C.
49. Mr. John M. Grove, Frederick, Md.
50. Rev. Armand Guerrero, Methodist pastor, Chicago, Ill.
51. Mr. Carey Haigler, regional director, CIO, Birmingham, Ala.
52. Rev. William Hairston, Methodist Church, Reidsville, N. C.
53. Mr. Martin Hall, author and lecturer, Los Angeles, Calif.
54. Dr. Royal Hall, chairman, division of social sciences, Albion College.
55. Rev. Paul G. Hayes, McCabe Methodist Church, Bismarck, N. Dak.
56. Dr. John Haywood, president, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta.
57. Rev. L. B. Hazzard, professor of religious education, Illinois Wesleyan University.
58. Rev. R. K. Heacock, pastor, Methodist Church, Llano, Tex.
59. Rev. A. A. Heist, director, American Civil Liberties Union, Los Angeles, Calif.
60. Rev. Myron Herrell, Methodist Church, Hayward, Calif.
61. Rev. Chester Hodgson, Methodist pastor, Newark, N. J.
62. Dr. Mary Alice Hoover, physician, Tacoma, Wash.
63. Mr. George A. Horne, consulting engineer, New York City.
64. Miss Elizabeth Howe, Bellevue, Pa.
65. Mr. I. H. Hull, secretary, Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Indianapolis, Ind.
66. Dr. Harold Hutson, professor, Ohio Wesleyan University.
67. Dr. Charles Wesley Iglehart, professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York.
68. Mrs. Grace Jenkins, president, Portland District, MFSA, Oregon.
69. Miss R. Elizabeth Johns, secretary, Student Christian Movement, New England region, Boston.
70. Prof. Emmett S. Johnson, Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga.
71. Rev. Andrew Juvinnell, Methodist Church, Stockton, Calif.
72. Bishop Paul J. Kern, Nashville area.
73. Rev. Plaine Kirkpatrick, Methodist Church, Indianapolis.
74. Rev. John Kirby, Methodist Church, Fairhaven, N. J.
75. Rev. George S. Lackland, pastor, Indianola Methodist Church, Columbus, Ohio.
76. Prof. John C. Lazenby, Wisconsin State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wis.
77. Prof. C. F. Littell, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa.
78. Rev. Nat G. Long, Methodist Church, Atlanta, Ga.
79. Mrs. Ford H. Longsdorf, officer, Louisiana Conference, MFSA.
80. Dr. Halford Luccock, professor, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
81. Mr. Jesse Mall, locomotive engineer, Hoisington, Kans.
82. Rev. Ray F. Magnuson, pastor, Waverly, Nebr.
83. Mr. William P. Mason, shoe manufacturer, St. Louis, Mo.; district lay leader.
84. Miss Ethel K. Miller, librarian, Hendrix College, Conway, Ark.
85. Dr. John C. Millian, Petworth Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.
86. Rev. Theodore Miner, Methodist Church, Fishkill, N. Y.
87. Mr. William Mitch, United Mine Workers, Birmingham, Ala.
88. Rev. Dr. Alfred Moore, executive secretary committee on world literacy and Christian literature, Foreign Missions Conference.
89. Rev. John V. Murray, Jr., pastor, Bethune, S. C.
90. Miss Eleanor Neff, associate secretary, department of Christian social relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, New York.
91. Miss Candis Nelson, dean emeritus, Seattle Pacific College.
92. Rev. J. Pierce Newell, district superintendent, Madison, Wis.
93. Dr. Charles Noble, dean, Syracuse University, New York.
94. Miss Marian L. Norris, secretary, Wesleyan service guild, Woman's Division of Christian Service, New York.

95. Rev. Spencer B. Owens, district superintendent, Albion, Mich.
96. Rev. James Pless, Methodist Church, Chattanooga, Tenn.
97. Mrs. G. W. Pomeroy, Louisiana Conference, secretary of Christian social relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service.
98. Rev. Fred G. Poole, executive secretary, board of Education, Detroit Conference.
99. Mrs. Fred G. Poole, social worker, division chairman, Christian Social Relations for Wesleyan Service Guild, Detroit.
100. Rev. George Poor, Methodist pastor, Seattle, Wash.
101. Rev. Robert Powell, Mount Union College, Alliance, Ohio.
102. Dr. Karl Quimby, Ridgewood, N. J.
103. Dr. Harris F. Rall, professor emeritus, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
104. Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Miss.; president, Southeastern jurisdiction, Woman's Division.
105. Rev. W. Neal Raver, chairman, social action committee, New Jersey Conference.
106. Rev. Ensworth Reisner, pastor, Milwaukee, Wis.
107. Dr. Lloyd H. Rising, University Methodist Church, Lincoln, Nebr.
108. Miss Miriam V. Ristine, executive secretary, bureau of social welfare, Woman's Division of Christian Service, New York.

[Methodist Federation for Social Service, 1947 ballot, p. 3]

109. Dr. John Rustin, Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.
110. Rev. Don Schooler, Epworth Methodist Church, Chickasha, Okla.
111. Dr. Harvey Seifert, professor, Graduate School of Religion, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
112. Rev. Claude Singleton, director, Wesley Foundation, University of Georgia, Athens.
113. Dr. W. A. Smart, professor, Candler School of Theology, Emory University, Georgia.
114. Prof. Huston Smith, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
115. Mr. Chester A. Smith, executive committee member, New York Conference, MFSA.
116. Rev. Eugene L. Smith, St. Mark's Methodist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
117. Rev. Kenneth Smith, Colorado Springs; executive committee member, Colorado Conference MFSA.
118. Rev. Vaughn Smith, director, Wesley Foundation, University of Oklahoma, Norman.
119. Dr. Ralph Sockman, Christ Methodist Church, New York City.
120. Rev. Elgar Soper, New Windor, Md.; president, Baltimore and Washington, D. C., MFSA chapters.
121. Rev. Carl Soule, World Peace Commission, Chicago, Ill.
122. Miss Martha Stewart, secretary-treasurer, Texas Conference MFSA.
123. Miss Elizabeth Stinson, Macon, Ga.
124. Rev. Everett M. Stowe, Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, New York City.
125. Dr. Samuel H. Sweeney, St. Mark's Methodist Church, New York City.
126. Rev. Daniel Taylor, Methodist pastor, Vancouver, Wash.
127. Dr. Joseph W. Thompson, St. Joseph, Mo.
128. Rev. D. W. Throckmorton, pastor, Modesto, Calif.
129. Rev. Dr. Ernest F. Tittle, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill.
130. Rev. Frank Toothaker, pastor, Oakland, Calif.
131. Dr. Edgar M. Wahlberg, pastor, Dearborn, Mich.; chairman, MFSA labor commission.
132. Dr. Harry F. Ward, professor emeritus of social ethics, Union Theological Seminary; former secretary, MFSA.
133. Rev. Bradford G. Webster, pastor, Gowanda, N. Y.
134. Mr. Charles E. Wegner, executive secretary, Goodwill Industries, St. Paul, Minn.
135. Rev. Wilson Weldon, Methodist pastor, High Point, N. C.
136. Rev. Bruce Wendt, Methodist pastor, Cincinnati, Ohio.
137. Mr. Paul Wengert, farmer, Idaho Falls, Idaho.
138. Dr. John Clark Williams, pastor, Sabina, Ohio.
139. Rev. Morgan Williams, First Methodist Church, Kankakee, Ill.
140. Dr. R. S. Wimberley, attorney at law, Lumpkin, Ga., officer, South Georgia Conference MSFA.

- 141. Dr. Loyd Worley, First Methodist Church, Stanford, Conn.
- 142. Rev. Nelson Wurgler, Methodist pastor, Marfa, Tex.
Youth Members:
- 143. Mr. Robert F. Barker, vice president, Wesley Foundation, Ohio University.
- 144. Mr. Robert Bobilin, Adrian College, Michigan, former chairman, youth section, MFSA.
- 145. Mrs. Dorothy Burnham, Southern Negro Congress, Birmingham.
- 146. Mr. George Crawford, founder, Austin local chapter, Texas.
- 147. Miss Helen Crotwell, teacher, Fort Valley, Ga.
- 148. Mr. Robert Eddy, president, Troy Conference MFSA; New York.
- 149. Mr. Harry Jurey, former chairman, young adult fellowship, East Oklahoma Conference; now in California.
- 150. Mr. Richard Stein, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The minimum annual contribution for voting membership is \$5 for adults and \$2 for youths (25 years of age or under).

I vote for all nominees except where otherwise indicated.

(Signature)

(Address)

(City) (State)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 34

 TWENTY YEARS OF SOCIAL SERVICE

The Methodist Federation for Social Service

150 FIFTH AVENUE, N. W. YORK CITY

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

KEYNOTE: Face Issues Back the Federation!

OBJECTIVES: Every Methodist minister who knows that the religion of Jesus requires the transformation of human society, a supporting member.

Every minister who is not sure, but wants to know, a Bulletin member.

At least one lay member in every local church.

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HARRY P. WARD
WINFRED L. CHAPPELL

October 24, 1928.

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WORTH M. TIPPY, New York
L. E. WILLMAN, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
HERBERT WELCH, Kona
V. O. WARD, Minneapolis
JAMES M. YARD, New York

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 35

June 9, 1947

Bishop Lewis O. Hartman
581 Boylston Street
Boston 16, Massachusetts

My dear Bishop Hartman:

I regret exceedingly that I must resign as a vice president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Through the years, the bulletin of the Methodist Federation for Social Action has been justly proud of its accuracy. People might disagree with its position, but it was very seldom that its statement of fact could be questioned. The larger bulletin, carrying articles, editorials, and personal viewpoints, actually does not lend itself to the research accuracy that characterized the former bulletin. However, the recent attacks upon Mr. John Foster Dulles, Martin Niemöller, and others, have been of such a nature that I do not care to have my name appear as one of the officers of the organization sponsoring these attacks.

I made public reference to the situation at the banquet of the Methodist Federation for Social Action held at the New York East Conference. I recognize the right of anyone to state his views, but regret exceedingly that a Christian leader such as Mr. Dulles should be so attacked without so much as a communication being written to him or a conference being sought to test the accuracy of the position taken. I had planned to withhold my resignation until I had opportunity to check all of the material upon which those who were responsible for this attack based their opinions. However, when a second article comes out, quoting William Howard Melish, it appears that the policy of the paper is to continue its attack upon Mr. Dulles without, as I say, so much as calling upon him or seeking firsthand to know at least his side of the case. I wish to disassociate myself with this method, and therefore am resigning as an officer of the Federation.

Ever sincerely yours,

G. Bromley Oxnam

GBO:adr
cc The Rev. Jack R. McMichael

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 36

THE EPWORTH HERALD

132 (4) March 3, 1934

Young church fellows of draft age must decide something when war breaks out. I say when rather than if, for though the pending war could even yet be stopped if enough people did the necessary thing about it, the fact is that to-day the peace forces are doing almost nothing, while the war makers are as busy as bees and the forces that make for war are running forward headlong.

In general these youth have four choices instead of two as most of them think. First they can conform, yield to the draft, play the game of the war makers, be cannon fodder, get shot or gassed or blinded or deluged or deamed—but, if possible, beat "the enemy" to it and shoot, gas, blind, dearm the fellows on the other side first.

In the second place, they can be conscientious objectors and go to prison. A few score did that during the World War; a few hundred or thousand will do it next time. That takes even more courage than to go over the top. It takes just as much physical courage—the C. O.'s (Conscientious Objectors) who were during the World War were subjected to extremely cruel treatment. And, in addition, it takes moral courage of a type and degree impossible in peace time to measure or comprehend. When the country is suddenly set toward war—when movies, by persuasive picture and radio by persuasive voice, when the press, the pulpit, the schoolroom, the conversation of all the people, the enticements of the blonde or the brunette beauty, are for "patriotism," for defense of one's country, for bayoneting the enemy, that unspeakable, clear-thinking and brave doing it takes to be a C. O.!

If the fellow's parents are with him it helps some—unless the burden of having them held traitors offsets the help it gives. His preacher must be with him. If you will be a C. O., insist that your pastor stand back of you. Our church has spoken. Just now, while peace is still here, the tide in the church is running pretty strongly in the direction of refusal to bear arms. Also in the schools that point of view is getting something more than a hearing. Several Methodist churches this very hour are forfeiting their greatly desired college courses, because they re-

A DECISION MUST BE MADE!

By WINIFRED L. CHAPPEL
Secretary, Methodist Federation
for Social Service

fuse preparation to participate in the war game. In at least one or two of our universities some students and faculty members are preparing to see to it that the resources of the public speaking, the literature, the chemical, and technological departments are not used for war, not, at least, without the public knowing all about it. In Great Britain the famous Oxford Union has publicly stated that it will not, in the event of war, defend king and country.

But now a third choice, hardly so much as even heard of during the World War, appears in this possibility: Stay out of jail—why thus separate yourself from the masses? Why thus let yourself be put out of the game? Accept the draft, take the drill, go into the camp, and onto the battlefield, or into the munitions factories and transportation work—but sabotage war preparation and war. Be agitators for sabotage. Down tools when the order is to make and load munitions. Spoil war materials and machinery, when thinking realistically of this third way, you shrink violently back because you see that it means deceit, lies, by word and deed, the answer is that if you choose the first way, the "honorable" way of patriotism, then also will you have to lie and deceive—that's part of war. Nor will you wholly escape these ungodly practices if you make the second choice. Very likely, for instance, you will be called on to give evidence against other C. O.'s. Will you do it or will you lie in their behalf?

The fourth choice is really a further development of the third. It calls for sabotage but with the deliberate, conscientious, informed intent to get rid of the present economic system, of which war is a part, and to build a new world to the existence of which peace is a necessity.

If you will make this choice, make it now and begin to meet, before war breaks, with others of like purpose and of iron will to carry out the purpose.

This means knowing what selfish capitalism is like, not just in general, but in particular—not flinching even from knowing by name and specific deed the big profit takers who have betrayed the people—how they have profited from the starvation of children; how they have rallied upon police and militia, club and gas bomb and machine gun to put down the workers when they have cried for bread.

And it is not enough to know about capitalism. Also you must know with mind and heart and will to achieve, the kind of new society you want. Those who would build the new world must look with wide, appraising eyes at the good earth's resources and at man's brilliant achievements in converting the resources into usable and beautiful forms, and in forming the organizational power and knowledge to transport the things garnered and made to meet the needs of the remotest peoples. They must want desperately that all the peoples of the world should be set free forever from poverty and given a chance at culture, beauty and spirituality.

Youth in the Christian church must wake up, or they are not going to be the leaders in the programs here described. We church folk are getting little or no teaching or training in the hard work of this new social situation, when it is here, into a deliberate program for a new social order. It is well, then, for the fellows who are earmarked for cannon fodder and for aiming their targets (targets being a soft word for the most diabolical equipment for killing that an age of science and technology can devise) at the boys in the enemy camp, to begin to make contact with others with the same ideals, and begin to study these possibilities—and others you may think of—in the light of Christian teachings.

High ideals will give zest to the task—but it is a grim way. Perhaps church boys (and though I write of boys, the girls have almost precisely the same choice) to make) are right in thinking that for them there are but two choices—war or jail.

(Editor's Note: As in the case of the articles by Al Hamilton and Owen Geer in "The Herald" for February 17, brief replies to this article, for or against, will be welcomed and printed.)

Mr. KUNZIG. There are a few other things. On May 29, 1947, you sent a letter which is marked here as "Oxnam Exhibit No. 38." (See pp. 3774 and 3775.) I believe you sent a letter to "Dear Fellow Workers" of the board of missions and church extension of the Methodist Church, in which you sent out a book. Since you have discussed this fairly recently, I think you know the book to which I am referring. It is Behind Soviet Power, by Jerome Davis.

(Colloquy that ensued was ordered stricken from the record by the committee.)

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to offer in evidence as Oxnam Exhibit No. 39 the record of Communist-front affiliations of Jerome Davis which occupies some 11 pages [typewritten] here, 10 or 11 pages, and I would like to offer that in the record.

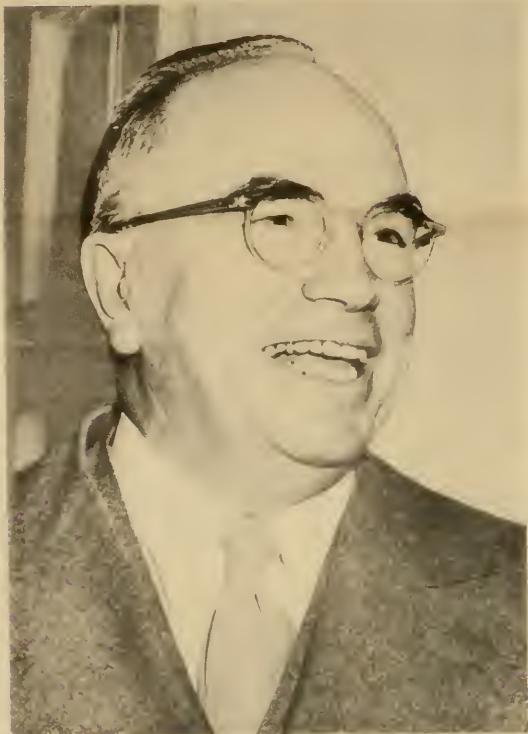
Mr. FRAZIER. May I inquire as to the pertinency of the introduction of that particular article?

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to raise this point; if it is material that the first question and the answer with reference to Mr. Davis be stricken, might it not be well to keep this out of the record until someone checks to know what the fact is?

On the 250th anniversary of
the birth of John Wesley, his
church's founder, a leading
Methodist clergyman outlines
a sound new program that tells . . .

How to Uncover

. . . without throwing mud on innocent people. Here is a



He Has a Program to Protect Us All

from false attacks on our reputations. Yet Bishop Oxnam (above) says: Communist conspirators must be discovered, tried, and if guilty, punished.

COMMUNISM is a clear and present danger. It constitutes the most menacing challenge to freedom and faith of recent centuries.

Governments of free societies are obligated to protect themselves from subversion. That the Communist Party is a conspiracy, no informed man would deny. Conspirators must be discovered, tried, and, if found guilty, punished.

That is plain truth. Congress has the right and the duty to conduct investigations to secure the information upon which sound legislation may be based.

Upon this, nearly all Americans are agreed. *But we dare not, in the name of combatting Communism, allow the practices of the police state to be established in our free state.*

Some investigating committees have set up or condoned practices that strike at the very foundation of American freedom.

The "files" on individuals prepared by its staff for the House Committee on Un-American Activities are a case in point.

They are not made up of evidence collected by competent investigators. They are composed, all too often, of newspaper clippings, letterheads, or mere hearsay.

It Could Happen to You

SUCH FILES are released, yet the Committee assumes no responsibility for their accuracy. Private agencies sometimes reproduce these files, and declare that they are quoting from the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Thus an individual, never interviewed, never heard, never studied, can be misrepresented to the public by a "file," officially released, but for which the Committee assumes no responsibility as to accuracy.

This is a subversive practice, in my opinion. It is at once Un-American, and a threat to the liberty of each of us. (Suppose it happened to you!)

Can we protect ourselves from the Communist threat and at the same time protect the American citizen from such practices?

We must. What good does it do to cry out against the totalitarian threat to freedom if we adopt methods that enslave us? No Communist could want more than to see us divided, suspicious, without trust, fearful, defensive. What can be done?

Some time ago the Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Harold Velde, of Illinois, asked me to propose

Communists

"must" article for every American man and woman . . .

reform. In the practices of his committee I offered him a step-by-step program. It was designed to do vitally important things.

- ▶ To provide the concrete, factual information our Government must have to root out the Communist menace, and
- ▶ To provide ample protection for any private citizen yourself or myself against damaging rumors and suspicions or hearsay which could not be proved.

That program I believe to be good. I also believe that it, or a program like it, is absolutely necessary if we are to preserve freedom. Here it is, and let me urge you to consider it calmly and coolly, as you would anything likely to affect your safety and welfare.

1. No file on any person should mention any organization to which he has belonged unless that organization has been declared subversive by the Attorney General.

2. But suppose the person has belonged to an organization which has been declared subversive.

Then the fact must be proved positively and not merely by means of newspaper reports or listings on letterheads, and the date of membership is established, and it must be shown that it was voluntary and active from the date when the organization became subversive. (Is that difficult to follow? It seems simple; this nobody should have it held against him if he joined a perfectly above-board organization, then got out before that organization was taken over or perverted by Communists. That's simply good sense.)

Always Give Both Sides

3. If substantial facts which are his own should come out about any individual mentioned in the file.

4. If part of the file are released, the material should be released too.

5. Nobody, besides the person involved, the committee members and other members of Congress, ought to see file before they have been reviewed and filed accurately. Only then should they be released, by a majority vote of Congress. The outline seems a strange forward-looking thing about investigations.

It makes sure that when the Government has information about a person that information is reliable.

It gives any man whose reputation is questioned a chance to speak for himself. It also recognizes the fact which I think every American should consider. This is it:

We all know that the Communists infiltrate

and "take over" organizations. Yet many of these organizations may have served socially and patriotic purposes before Reds infiltrated them.

Thus we must recognize that membership in an organization in one year is quite a different thing from membership year later. Yet this fact is not now always recognized. Sometimes the public is led to believe that membership in 1920 in an organization amounts to the same thing as membership in 1950.

Often this is not true, and it is almost never true in organizations which Communists have taken over.

Would This Destroy Inquiries?

ONE MEMBER of the House Committee, Rep. Kit Cloud of Michigan, is reported to have declared these proposals would utterly destroy the investigative process.

I think he's wrong. They would strengthen the investigative process.

But I think he would be tempted to agree with me that yet the proposals would do the whole story.

For the FBI is that over-zealous Communist must take place by a far broader battlefield than merely in the files of Congressional investigating committees.

Again, what next? I do believe:

1. The computer of the real Communist must be discovered. Our FBI is qualified to ferret him out. Its thorough work, its loyalty to American institutions, and its splendid leader, J. Edgar Hoover, in 1947, the record of his life that the task of discovering computer, returned over 1949, to the FBI.

2. We should continue to investigate in American activities. We should continue to pass law to defeat them. But we must recognize that committee, composed of busy members of Congress, have neither the time nor the skill for the vital task of exposing Communist thinking. We can see this lies.

3. The Church is one of our most effective agencies in the destroying the Communist threat to freedom. The Church, teaching faith in God, strikes at the fundamental error of Communism, which is atheism. The Church in teaching a spiritual view of life undermines the Communist philosophy of materialism. Clergymen and laymen who are really qualified, both educationally and spiritually, can best perform this task.

4. Our public school system, staffed by competent, patriotic and devoted teachers, stands as our fundamental wall of democracy.

Doubtless by the patriotic of the church have placed into the hands of the Communist. It is here that we must try for the education that shows the student the real character of Communism. It is here that the fundamental principle of the free society are to be taught.

In my opinion, the men best qualified to do at the vital message of Marx are qualified persons, like Sidney Hook or Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, or Bishop Fulton J. Sheen of the Roman Catholic Church.

5. The leaders of American labor, such as Walter Reuther, George F. Meany and David Dubinsky, are men to whom we must turn to end the Communist threat in labor unions.

6. The American press, the American radio and American television can expose Communism. They should keep up with American teaching, and the citizens fairly informed, can make the Communist threat to freedom vanish.

7. Lastly, the American people, through their Congressional representatives, must pass laws to keep Communist out of our schools. Keep out of our schools the Communist propaganda. This is the duty of our Congress and I urge you to support it.

It is the duty of our Congress to pass laws to keep out of our schools the Communist propaganda. This is the duty of our Congress and I urge you to support it.

It is the duty of our Congress to pass laws to keep out of our schools the Communist propaganda. This is the duty of our Congress and I urge you to support it.

Men like these can do the job.



BISHOP SHEEN, of Catholic Church, is top clerical foe of Reds (see story).



SIDNEY HOOK, of New York University, shows holes in Reds' arguments.



REINHOLD NIEBUHR, a Protestant leader, has exposed Reds' atheism.

AS APPEARING IN

parade

THE SUNDAY PICTURE MAGAZINE

Mr. CLARDY. For your information, Mr. Doyle, may I point out that Jerome Davis was identified by two witnesses. That I know.

Mr. DOYLE. All I know, Mr. Clardy, is that we have withdrawn, we have stricken from the record about Mr. Davis being a Communist. And if this record tries to tie him up, even indirectly, with being a Communist and if we had to strike the reference the first time maybe we had better keep this out until we know what the fact is.

Mr. JACKSON. Since that remark was stricken, the gentleman from Michigan has indicated that there are two identifications of the individual in question as a member of the Communist Party. That is quite a different thing from the somewhat indefinite, to me, mention that was made which I requested to have stricken.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course, if those identifications are from reliable witnesses, unimpeachable testimony, that is another thing. I don't know what that testimony is, nor the reliability of the witness.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask the gentleman from Michigan if those identifications were taken from witnesses under oath?

Mr. CLARDY. In the New York hearing. Mr. Scherer will vouch for my accuracy, and you will find it in the testimony which will be released.

Mr. VELDE. Is there objection to the introduction of the public files concerning Jerome Davis?

Mr. DOYLE. What have the files about Jerome Davis got to do with this witness?

Mr. VELDE. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. DOYLE. I do not want to impede the efficiency of the committee, but I don't know what pertinency it has to this witness.

Mr. VELDE. Will the gentleman answer? Does he object to the introduction of this public file?

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course, the chairman is in a position to state what the pertinency is. I don't know, but it seems to me that unless this witness is being tied in with Jerome Davis in some way, why encumber the record with the record of Jerome Davis? That is my point.

Mr. CLARDY. May I state that Mr. Doyle was not present at the hearings in New York and could not be expected to know because the testimony is not yet in printed form. It is in typewritten form.

Mr. DOYLE. I was not invited to go to New York. I do not want to have it shown that I was expected to be there. May I ask the gentleman from Michigan a question?

Mr. VELDE. Are you reserving the right to object?

Mr. DOYLE. I reserve the right to object and ask this question: Does the testimony in New York show that Bishop Oxnam in some definite way is tied up with Jerome Davis?

Mr. CLARDY. I did not make any suggestion of that kind at all. We are talking about whether Jerome Davis had been identified as a member of the party and I give you my word he has.

Mr. DOYLE. Then why introduce that with this witness?

Mr. CLARDY. I think we will get to that when counsel gets along.

Mr. VELDE. Does the gentleman object to the introduction of this?

Mr. DOYLE. I think I do at this time until some satisfactory statement as to whether it should go in is made.

Mr. SCHERER. I move that it be put in the record.

Mr. CLARDY. I second the motion.

Mr. VELDE. All those in favor signify by saying "Aye"; all those contrary signify by saying "No." The ayes have it and the motion is carried.

Proceed, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. This should be marked as "Oxnam Exhibit No. 39," Mr. Chairman.

(Document referred to was received in evidence as "Oxnam Exhibit No. 39.")

(See pp. 3780-3788.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, this letter dated May 29, 1947, from the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, signed G. Bromley Oxnam and R. E. Diffendorfer says:

DEAR FELLOW WORKERS: The extraordinary statement issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America entitled "Soviet-American Relations" begins with the striking sentence, "War with Russia can be avoided and must be avoided without compromise of basic convictions." Furthermore, the rapid spread of Russian influence throughout the world is a most significant challenge to the World Mission of Christ.

There is a moral obligation to become acquainted with the facts involved in our present relationships with Russia. Too much of the material that appears is partisan. Wise policies do not emerge from emotional reactions unrelated to facts.

As a Methodist minister—

And this was sent to Methodist ministers, to continue:

As a Methodist minister you and your people are having increasing influence in shaping public opinion in the Nation. We are of the opinion that Jerome Davis' recent book entitled "Behind Soviet Power" makes a substantial contribution to understanding of Russia. It should be read in conjunction with other authoritative volumes, particularly in connection with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ's statement referred to above, as well as with Vera Micheles Dean's discussion in the July-August 1946 Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association, entitled "Russia—Menace or Promise?"

In order that our national policy may be at once democratic and Christian the reading of "Behind Soviet Power" will help you to understand the difficult issues now confronting us to the end that international peace may be preserved and progress be made toward world order under the United Nations.

"Behind Soviet Power" is sent to you without obligation. If, however, you desire to help defray the expense of getting the book to you, please put a quarter in the enclosed coin card and mail it at once to Dr. Albert E. Beebe, treasurer, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) G. BROMLEY OXNAM,
President, Division of Foreign Missions.

(Signed) R. E. DIFFENDORFER,
Executive Secretary.

P. S. Additional copies of "Behind Soviet Power" may be secured at wholesale rates by writing to Jerome Davis, 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Conn.

Did you send that book to the Methodist ministers throughout the country?

Bishop OXNAM. If you will rephrase that question, I will answer it in the affirmative. When you ask "Did you send it?" I did not. This was sent by the order of the administrative committee of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. I was the president of the Division of Foreign Missions and did send that letter. It was actually sent by the board itself. I must take responsibility as I was president of the board and did sign the letter, but when you use the term "you sent it," I have to say it was sent by the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church.

Mr. VELDE. Would you describe the composition of that committee which decided to send this book out? There isn't any inference that any of those members of the committee are subversive.

Bishop OXNAM. The Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church is charged with the responsibility of administering the entire missionary program of the Methodist Church throughout the world. It is one of the most important agencies of the Methodist Church. It is supported by the benevolent funds of the Methodist Church. Its members are chosen by the general conference of the Methodist Church and certain other agencies under the law of the church. The executive committee is very large, composed I think of possibly as many as 150 or 175 persons.

The administrative committee is charged with deciding administrative actions rather than policy actions. It meets about once a month. I would judge there may be as many as 30 members on the administrative committee. Have I answered your question, sir?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, I think that is an answer except that I would like to know in this particular matter where this book was O. K.'d, how many were present?

Bishop OXNAM. I cannot answer that, sir. I was not present myself.

Mr. SCHERER. May I see the exhibit, counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. The exhibit so far is not in evidence. It is the letter, OXNAM Exhibit No. 38, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know upon whose recommendation this particular book was selected?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Which individual selected the book—or was it a matter of a subcommittee selection?

Bishop OXNAM. Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, who was the executive secretary of the division of foreign missions, a gentleman who was responsible for founding the International University, a Christian university, in Japan, generally regarded as one of the ablest missionaries of the last generation, and who is dead now, said he thought it would be well for our people to understand the challenge to our faith that lies in the whole Communist movement. He felt this book would make a contribution to it. Methodist preachers know how to read books and can read critically. I said that I thought if this book went out it ought to be accompanied by the statement, at least by the statement that was issued by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America on American-Soviet relations. I had chaired that committee that had drafted this statement. It is no secret, however, that it was written by Mr. John Foster Dulles. We went over it sentence by sentence. Very few changes were made or are ever made in anything that Mr. Dulles drafts because he is extraordinarily effective in those matters. That particular statement contains one of the severest condemnations of communism that I think you will find. It is an intellectual condemnation of communism.

I suggested that other books might be sent and we agreed upon this one of Vera Micheles Dean of the Foreign Policy Association. We thought it an excellent document.

Mr. KUNZIG. I don't think you sent Vera Micheles Dean's book. You just recommended that they might get it.

Bishop OXNAM. I am not quite sure.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is what the letter says.

Mr. CLARDY. Did I understand you to say that you regard this as a good book and one that did not defend Russia?

Bishop OXNAM. What I said was that we regarded that as an excellent factual presentation of a situation by a competent scholar, and I would repeat that, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you read it?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, of course I have read it.

Mr. CLARDY. And I have read it and I have extensive notes and I regard it as one of the most arrogant pro-Communist statements that I have been privileged to read.

Bishop OXNAM. You are expressing your judgment and it differs from the judgment of some of the people, qualified people in this Nation on foreign issues and the Foreign Policy Association.

May I ask, Mr. Chairman, what is the point of that?

Mr. VELDE. Counsel will proceed.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask one question so that I will understand the counsel's question. What was the connection of John Foster Dulles with this book or letter?

Bishop OXNAM. I said that the statement that we sent out accompanying this, that statement went out with the book, if I recall correctly, and that was the statement of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America on "Soviet-American Relations." It was prepared by a large and representative commission. But I said it was no secret that Mr. John Foster Dulles had written it, that it contains an intellectual condemnation of communism that is very, very significant, and the whole point of that, Mr. Chairman, has been completely misrepresented.

Our reason was to let our ministers know what the challenge of communism is in terms of what I may frankly say is a sympathetic presentation of the point of view to understand what is behind Soviet power.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I go ahead, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to make one point clear since there may be some confusion. You are not suggesting that Mr. Dulles sent out this book?

Bishop OXNAM. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let us make that very clear.

Bishop OXNAM. I have made that clear.

Mr. CLARDY. Make it clear that he did not send out the book or approve the book.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question? Did John Foster Dulles have anything to do with the book?

Bishop OXNAM. No, and I particularly made that statement when I discussed the matter with Mr. Jackson.

Mr. CLARDY. I am sorry. I didn't get that at that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 40" for identification, and this document is a bibliography on the Soviet Union for teachers and students. It says it is a list of sources of supplementary teaching materials. It is put out by the committee on education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship,

Inc. There is no need to go further except to say that this is a cited Communist-front organization.

Mr. Chairman, on page 3 of the supplement attached to the bibliography and recommended as reading for teachers and students by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship is quoted "Russia, Menace or Peace" and "By Vera Dean, Foreign Policy Association, 1946." (See pp. 3788 and 3789.)

Would you care to examine that, sir?

Bishop OXNAM. What does it say? I have here a book "Behind Soviet Power" by Jerome Davis and it has the numbers DK 2626 D299. It is in the Congressional Library. Are you recommending that we take it out and throw it into the street? This Congress is appropriating the funds for that book to be there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Nobody is recommending that, but we are wondering why you sent this to all the Methodist ministers throughout the United States of America.

Bishop OXNAM. I will be glad to tell you if you will let me.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the reason was explained because you wanted to give them this viewpoint or a viewpoint so that they could study the material in relation with other material.

Bishop OXNAM. We wanted them to see the real menace of this situation in terms of a sympathetic statement of the case.

I would like, if you will allow me, to have put in the record Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer's full explanation of this which will answer your question once and for all.

This book is recommended by John R. Mott, one of the distinguished laymen of the church; by Grove Patterson, editor of the Toledo Blade; Daniel A. Poling,¹⁸ the editor of the Christian Herald; Raymond Gram

¹⁸ (The following is inserted as a footnote by the committee :)

CHRISTIAN HERALD MAGAZINE

Published by Christian Herald Association
The Leading Christian Family Magazine
27 East 39th Street, New York 16, N. Y.
Daniel A. Poling, Chairman and Editor

FEBRUARY 19, 1954.

The Honorable HAROLD H. VELDE,
*United States Congressman,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN VELDE: My attention has just been called to a paragraph in the testimony of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam in the public hearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1953. Though I had read this report with some care, I had missed the point in question.

Bishop Oxnam is testifying in the matter of the book, *Behind Soviet Power*, by Jerome Davis. In this connection he asked that "Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer's full explanation" be put into the record, and continues as of the report: "This is recorded by Dr. John R. Mott, one of the distinguished laymen of the church, by Grove Patterson, editor of the Cleveland Blade; David A. Poling, the editor of the Christian Herald; Raymond Gram Swing, a well-known newscaster; Raymond Robbins, colonel, commanding American Red Cross Mission to Russia. They were all on the board at the time we saw the document."

It is true that I recommended this book and that my words of commendation were widely published. I have also expressed publicly my deep regret at having done so. Also I have confessed that I spoke in commendation of this book without even reading the manuscript. When my long-time and highly regarded friend, Dr. Diffendorfer, wrote to me of the book and told me of plans to circulate it widely, and assured me that it was a manuscript I would wish to support, I supported it. It was some years later that I actually read the book and found it to be, in my opinion, a belittling of and an attack on American freedom and the institutions of our way of life. I am not to be excused for my endorsement of the Jerome Davis book. But I learned my lesson well. I would not care to have Bishop Oxnam's statement appear in the final record without this explanation. Also, and equally important, is the fact that I was not a member of the board to which he refers, and I am sure that he did not wish to imply that I was a member.

In various statements I have committed myself to the proposition that if I and others do not wish now to be judged by past relationships and statements, we should frankly state our withdrawal from such relationships and make abundantly clear our present-day position.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Bishop Oxnam.

Sincerely,

/s/ DANIEL A. POLING.

Swing, a well-known newscaster; Raymond Robbins, colonel commanding American Red Cross mission to Russia. They were all on the back at the time we saw the document.

Mr. VELDE. What would you like to have inserted?

Bishop OXNAM. This statement of Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, who cosigned this and was the executive secretary of the board of missions and church extension of the Methodist Church, explaining the whole matter be put into the record, because I think it is sufficient answer.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will receive it for insertion in the record. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 38-A, pp. 3776-3779.)

Mr. JACKSON. What was the date of the citation, Mr. Kunzig, of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, if you have it?

Mr. KUNZIG. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was declared subversive in 1944. (See footnote 1 on p. 3601.)

Mr. JACKSON. What was the date?

Mr. KUNZIG. Of the publication of the book, Russia—Menace or Peace, by Vera Micheles Dean?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. That was published in 1946.

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, it is 2 or 3 years following the citing of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in 1944. This was included in their bibliography for teachers and students, is that a correct statement?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Bishop OXNAM. It should be pointed out that at this particular time the Secretary of State of the United States of America in the 18 months of his service traveled some 70,000 miles for the purpose of maintaining what was called the grand alliance of the great war, trying to keep together the permanent members of the Security Council. At this very time that was what was being done by the Government of the United States of America. I could defend this book upon an entirely different basis. I do not want to do it because our purpose was not that. Our purpose was, frankly, to acquaint our people with the challenge that does lie in communism to our faith, but this matter of not noting dates and of recommending that a book appears in somebody else's bibliography, really it doesn't become us.

Mr. JACKSON. Might I ask you if the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship would recommend a book that was not sympathetic and in accord with the Soviet foreign policy?

Bishop OXNAM. I think it would recommend a book because it believed it was telling the truth concerning the facts there. I would recommend a book that tells the truth. I believe that was a good book. I may be wrong. Mr. Clardy feels that there are items in it, and perhaps we can discuss it when we will have our conversation.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you talking about the Vera Micheles Dean book?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. I want to tell you that when they defend what she does, the handling of human beings in Russia—

Bishop OXNAM. What?

Mr. CLARDY. The way they have handled human beings in Russia, I think when you read that you must keep that in mind.

Mr. VELDE. May we proceed in regular order and question the witness on the subject matter on which we are inquiring?

Mr. DOYLE. I want to make this one further remark, and I believe

it is pertinent. You have given the other members the chance to discuss books. I think from my personal experience we have had plenty of talk about book burning in Washington and I hope that no member of this committee is getting into a mental attitude of where we are going to think in terms of book burning or book destruction. I think it is very unfortunate that this kind of question should arise.

Mr. CLARDY. You are not suggesting that that was in my mind, Mr. Congressman?

Mr. DOYLE. I think it is very unfortunate that this kind of question comes up.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you read the book?

Mr. DOYLE. No, but when John Foster Dulles and Mr. Mott recommend it—

Mr. CLARDY. He didn't recommend it.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer into evidence at this time Oxnam Exhibits Nos. 38 and 40, which we have just been discussing. Exhibit No. 38 is the letter addressed to "Dear Fellow-Workers," and exhibit No. 40 is the recommendation of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Mr. VELDE. Is there any objection? Without objection, they will be admitted in the record.

(Documents referred to were received in evidence as Oxnam Exhibit Nos. 38 and 40.)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 38

(Part 1)

**BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH**

150 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

DIVISION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

May 29, 1947

Dear Fellow-workers:

The extraordinary statement issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America entitled "Soviet-American Relations" begins with the striking sentence, "War with Russia can be avoided and must be avoided without compromises of basic convictions." Furthermore, the rapid spread of Russian influence throughout the world is a most significant challenge to the World Mission of Christ.

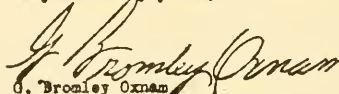
There is a moral obligation to become acquainted with the facts involved in our present relationships with Russia. Too much of the material that appears is partisan. Wise policies do not emerge from emotional reactions unrelated to facts.

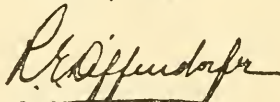
As a Methodist minister you and your people are having increasing influence in shaping public opinion in the nation. We are of the opinion that Jerome Davis's recent book entitled "Behind Soviet Power" makes a substantial contribution to understanding of Russia. It should be read in conjunction with other authoritative volumes, particularly in connection with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ's statement referred to above, as well as with Vera Micheles Dean's discussion in the July-August 1946 Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association, entitled "Russia - Menace or Promise?"

In order that our national policy may be at once democratic and Christian the reading of "Behind Soviet Power" will help you to understand the difficult issues now confronting us to the end that international peace may be preserved and progress be made toward world order under the United Nations.

"Behind Soviet Power" is sent to you without obligation. If, however, you desire to help defray the expense of getting the book to you, please put a quarter in the enclosed coin card and mail it at once to Dr. Albert E. Beebe, Treasurer, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

Very sincerely yours,


G. Bromley Oxnam
President, Division of Foreign Missions


R. S. W. Henderson
Executive Secretary

P. S. Additional copies of "Behind Soviet Power" may be secured at wholesale rates by writing to Jerome Davis, 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Conn.

A WORLD SERVICE AGENCY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 38

(Part 2)

"Behind Soviet Power"

A Review in Zion's Herald By Walter G. Muelder, Dean of Boston University, School of Theology

What does Russia mean to us in America? This is a question which must be answered intelligently if we are to plan an intelligent foreign policy. The peace of the whole world depends on what we do to and with Russia. Jerome Davis' book is of inestimable value in relation to these issues. His knowledge about and acquaintance with the Soviet Union goes back to its earliest days and before. As a man who has command of the Russian language, Dr. Davis has been able to penetrate through the "iron curtain" of American linguistic ignorance and to participate in the drama of Russian life on an intimate basis.

The book is rich in up-to-date concrete material. Facts, incidents, events, biographical sketches, and interpretations of crises. It is a significant survey of historical development and present realities. In a fascinating and readable form, Dr. Davis outlines the problems and prospects of a constructive and peaceful relationship with the Soviet Union. Now that the situation with Russia has become so critical, it is urgent that all Americans get a fresh understanding of the factors that provide the key to resolving misunderstanding.

For Dr. Davis the key is primarily Stalin. This man should be understood if Russia is to be understood. "He symbolizes the wishes and aspirations of the masses of Russian people." It may be argued successfully that too much of a role is assigned to Stalin in this book which deals with the secret of Russian power. But certainly Stalin is the focus of Russian economic and political purpose. If Mr. Davis' theses are right, then American foreign policy needs fundamental revision. We are inclined to believe that he is essentially correct. (By Jerome Davis, N. Y.: The Readers Press, 1946)

A Comment by President W. J. Hutchins

"Your book ("Behind Soviet Power") is thrillingly interesting. One sees the long, pathetic epic struggle of a great people. You speak with authority and not as the numberless scribes. Your knowledge of the language, your long and varied experience in Russia, your acquaintance with the spiritual vernacular of the people fit you admirably to serve as interpreter. Your sympathies do not blind you to the hardness and ruthlessness of certain acts, but you do help us to understand the reasons behind the acts."

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 38-A

(Part 1)

THE REPLY
THE READER'S DIGEST
REFUSED TO PUBLISH

BY

BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

*A gentle rejoinder to Stanley High's article
"Methodism's Pink Fringe,"
To which is appended a statement
By Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer*

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 38-A

(Part 2)

STANLEY HIGH AND "BEHIND SOVIET POWER"

By RALPH E. DIFFENDORFER

What did Dr. High say in his article "Methodism's Pink Fringe" regarding the distribution to Methodist preachers of Jerome Davis's book *Behind Soviet Power?* The following are his words:

"Dr. Davis's book, *Behind Soviet Power*, is one of the cleverest, most all-out pro-Soviet books yet published in America. It was sent, free of charge, to all the 22,000 Methodist preachers in the United States by two prominent Federation members. With the book went a letter, signed by these high officials, and written on the official stationery of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions and Church Extension, recommending that the book be read."

If written correctly (i.e. to give the correct impression and if reference had been made to this distribution at all in a "Pink Fringe" article) the paragraph might have been somewhat as follows:

"In his Foreword to *Behind Soviet Power*, Dr. Davis says as the purpose of his writing the book: 'It is the job of every thinking, responsible, American citizen to know what Russia means for us.'

"In the introduction, Joseph E. Davies, formerly Ambassador of the United States to Russia, says: 'This book contributes much to enlighten public opinion. . . . Those who are

concerned with being honestly and intelligently informed about our ally, the Soviet Union . . . will find much of value in it.'

"On the cover of the book are endorsements by Dr. John R. Mott, Grove Patterson, Editor of the *Toledo Blade*, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Raymond Swing, and Col. Raymond Robins. Dr. Mott says: 'It is necessary, timely, fair-minded. Should be read by all.' Dr. Poling says: 'The most challenging and at the same time most objective study on Russia.'"

The book was sent free of charge to all Methodist ministers on authorization of the Administrative Committee of the Division of Foreign Missions of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church. With the book went a letter signed by (Bishop) G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the Division, and Ralph E. Diffendorfer, Executive Secretary of the Division, written on the official stationery of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church. This letter, dated May 29, 1947, was as follows:

"The extraordinary statement issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America entitled 'Soviet-American Relations' begins with the striking sentence, 'War with Russia can

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(Part 3)

be avoided and must be avoided without compromise of basic convictions.' Furthermore, the rapid spread of Russian influence throughout the world is a most significant challenge to the World Mission of Christ.

"There is a moral obligation to become acquainted with the facts involved in our present relationships with Russia. Too much of the material that appears is partisan. Wise policies do not emerge from emotional reactions unrelated to facts.

"As a Methodist minister you and your people are having increasing influence in shaping public opinion in the nation. We are of the opinion that Jerome Davis's recent book entitled 'Behind Soviet Power' makes a substantial contribution to understanding of Russia. It should be read in conjunction with other authoritative volumes, particularly in connection with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ's statement referred to above, as well as with Vera Micheles Dean's discussion in the July-August 1946 Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association, entitled 'Russia — Menace or Promise?'

"In order that our national policy may be at once democratic and Christian, the reading of 'Behind Soviet Power' will help you to understand the difficult issues now confronting us to the end that international peace may be preserved and progress be made toward

world order under the United Nations."

A comparison of these two statements makes necessary very little additional comment. It might be pointed out, however, that the intent of sending out Davis's book was just the opposite from the implication given by Dr. High.

It would appear in High's paragraph that the book was recommended to be read by Methodist preachers because of its pro-Soviet character and that the sending of it was an endorsement of Sovietism by these "high officials." Nothing could be further from the truth.

The most significant statement in the above letter is "... the rapid spread of Russian influence throughout the world is a most significant challenge to the World Mission of Christ." The word "challenge" is well known in the missionary world and it is always used to indicate a force which Christianity must take into account and never indicates propaganda on behalf of any point of view. For instance, if one used the statement that "Pan Islam is the greatest challenge to Christianity in the Middle East, Southern and South-eastern Asia," no one would ever think that the user of that sentence was advocating the merits of Islam. The meaning is quite the contrary.

It will be noted, also, that the letter accompanying Dr. Davis's book asks that other material be read in connection with his book.

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(Part 4)

The statement of the Federal Council was prepared by Dr. John Foster Dulles and in one paragraph practically condemns communism. Everyone is acquainted with the point of view of the Foreign Policy Association.

When Dr. High's article was ready for publication a researcher from the *Reader's Digest* called me on the telephone and read what Mr. High had written. She asked my judgment on one or two matters. In this conversation I called attention to the letter that was sent with the book and begged that, if reference was made to the distribution of *Behind Soviet Power*, the letter also should be published and that comments should be made on the statement "a most significant challenge to the World Mission of Christ." I further stated that the appeal in the letter was to get acquainted with the facts and that there was no justification whatsoever for including this project in anything that had to do with the Methodist Federation of Social Action. The intent of the distribution was to arouse Methodists to the importance of understanding Russian communism as a challenge to Christianity.

The association of Bishop Oxnham and myself, the signers of this letter, with membership in the Federation in connection with this project was entirely uncalled for because the Federation had absolutely nothing to do with it. Both Bishop Oxnham and myself later

resigned our membership in the Federation. The letter regarding the distribution of the Davis book was dated May 29, 1947. I resigned from the Federation on July 20, 1948, because of a difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of an address I made before the General Conference of The Methodist Church in Boston in May 1948. At that time I advocated the policy that all missionaries going into countries where communism was an issue should be trained in Russian ideology and practices of communism so as to be able to meet the issue intelligently in their fields of labor. My letter of resignation called the comment of the Federation on this speech "untrue and misleading" and "treated flippantly my stand on this matter in a manner entirely uncalled for." In this letter of resignation, I also objected to the criticism of the address of Mr. John Foster Dulles before the same General Conference. The Federation Bulletin reported Mr. Dulles "as advancing the country along the road to war." The fact is, the speech of Mr. Dulles before the General Conference was an appeal to the world not to be stampeded into war — just the opposite of the Bulletin's inference.

Thus, any intelligent person can see that Dr. High's use of the sending of Davis's book in connection with his article on "Methodism's Pink Fringe," was entirely unwarranted.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 39

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 15, 1953.

Subject: Jerome Davis.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning Jerome Davis. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by this committee nor findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual referred to is not necessarily a Communist, Communist sympathizer, or fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

In an article entitled "U. S. Union Visits to U. S. S. R., Now 10-Year Tradition," the Daily Worker of March 2, 1937 (p. 2) reported as follows:

"The invitation from the Central Council of Trades Unions of the U. S. S. R., made public several days ago by the National Committee of the American Friends of the Soviet Union, calling for a delegation of American trade unionists to visit the Soviet Union this May Day, recalls that it is exactly 10 years since the first such delegation of American workers went to the U. S. S. R.

"At that time, in the spring of 1927, the United States had not extended diplomatic recognition to the workers' republic.

* * * * *

"Equally notable was the representation of progressive economists and sociologists * * * and Jerome Davis, now president of the American Federation of Teachers."

In public testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on September 9, 1939, Benjamin Gitlow said that about 1925, "the party, upon instructions of the Communist International, started the work of organizing what was to be known as an impartial delegation of American trade unionists, who were not Communists, who would visit Soviet Russia, travel over the country, investigate conditions, and submit an impartial, unbiased report to the American people on what were the actual conditions in Soviet Russia * * * the traveling expenses and all of the expenses involved in the organization of this delegation were paid by Moscow, and when its report was printed, the payment for printing the report also come from Moscow." On the list of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union, which Gitlow submitted with his testimony, Jerome Davis is listed on the technical and advisory staff as "Jerome Davis, Ph. D., professor, practical philanthropy, Yale University, expert in Russian affairs; author, The Russian Emigrant, etc." (Public Hearings before the Special Committee, pp. 4699-4700.)

The Daily Worker of July 1, 1936 (p. 3), listed Jerome Davis as one who was scheduled to speak at the American Youth Congress, and a pamphlet entitled "Youngville, U. S. A." (p. 63), lists him as a member of the national advisory committee of that organization. He also signed the "call" to the Congress of Youth, as shown in the Proceedings of the Congress, July 1-5, 1939 (p. 2).

The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as "controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 16), cited the American Youth Congress as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line * * * under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization."

The Daily Worker of March 19, 1938 (p. 2), listed Dr. Davis as one of those who signed a petition to the Japanese Ambassador from the International Labor Defense; Equal Justice of November 1938 (p. 4) listed him as a sponsor of the Christmas drive of the I.L.D.

The Attorney General cited the International Labor Defense as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The group was cited pre-

viously by the Attorney General as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686). The special committee in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 75-78), cited the International Labor Defense as "the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States." The congressional committee in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 1 and 2), cited the International Labor Defense as "part of an international network of organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers." At a conference held in Detroit, Mich., April 27-28, 1946, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties merged to form the new front, Civil Rights Congress.

Jerome Davis' book, *Behind Soviet Power*, was offered for sale at the headquarters of *Soviet Russia Today*, 114 East 32d Street, New York City, as shown in the June 1947 issue of that publication (p. 30). In a letter which was published in the July 1947 issue of *Soviet Russia Today* (p. 3), Jerome Davis wrote that "I want to congratulate you on the high quality of your magazine in the past few months. It has such fine articles that I have recommended them to my students for reading."

Soviet Russia Today was cited as a Communist-front publication by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 167), and the congressional committee in its report on the Congress of American Women, October 23, 1949 (p. 108).

The *Daily Worker* of June 17, 1948 (p. 7), revealed that Dr. Davis was scheduled to speak at a meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; he sent greetings, under the same auspices, on the 31st anniversary of the Russian Revolution (*Daily Worker* of November 10, 1948, p. 11).

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 156), cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian * * *."

Dr. Davis was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, as shown in the conference program (p. 14). Identified with Oberlin College, Jerome Davis was listed as one of the sponsors of a conference of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, held October 9-10, 1948, as shown by a leaflet entitled "To Safeguard These Rights * * *" which was published by the Bureau on Academic Freedom of the National Council. A mimeographed list of signers attached to a letterhead of July 28, 1950, listed Dr. Davis (with address given as Boulder, Colo.) as one of the signers of a resolution against atomic weapons issued by the National Council. Dr. Davis was listed in *We Join Black's Dissent*, a reprint of an article from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 20, 1951, by the National Council of the Arts, as a supporter of a rehearing of the case of the Communist leaders before the Supreme Court. He was scheduled as a speaker at a "restore free speech" rally of the National Council on July 25 (1951), at Carnegie Hall, as shown by the *Daily Worker* of July 23, 1951 (p. 3). He endorsed a resolution of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions calling for a hearing of Tunisia's demands in the United Nations as reported in the *Daily Worker*, June 2, 1952 (p. 3). The *Worker*, February 8, 1953 (p. 15), reported that Dr. Jerome Davis, past president of the American Federation of Teachers, former Yale faculty member, and author of *Peace, War, and You*, spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Philadelphia Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions during the preceding week. Dr. Davis' speech was quoted at length in this article.

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization by the congressional committee in its *Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace*, arranged by the National Council, and held in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, April 19, 1949 (p. 2); in this same review, the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace was cited as a Communist front which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

The *Protestant Digest* magazine for January 1940 (p. 1) and February-March 1941 (p. 1) and the *Protestant* for June-July 1942 (p. 1) and December-January 1946-47 (p. 1) list Jerome Davis as an editorial adviser.

The *Protestant Digest*, later known as the *Protestant* was cited as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise

of being a religious journal," by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 48).

In an article which appeared in the January 19, 1948, issue of the Daily Worker, it is noted that "Dr. Jerome Davis, well-known educator, reports that the people of Europe are seeking a new social order, socialism, [and] he praised what he saw in the Soviet Zone in Germany." Excerpts from Dr. Davis' article which was written for the January People's Lobby Bulletin, are quoted as follows: "I found all Europe seething with unrest and postwar difficulties. The fundamental problem was not a conflict between communism on one side and democracy on the other as we have been led to believe in the United States. The real clash was between the old order ("things as they used to be," private ownership of production) and an emerging new social order. The representatives of the new order want socialization—they are, in essence, for socialism. In this great conflict the United States is ranged on the conservative side. Nowhere in Europe is there great hysteria against Russia as there now is in America. Prof. Harold Laski, former chairman of the British Labor Party executive told me that he thought America was the real danger spot in the world today. I was privileged to visit the Russian Zone in Germany. It appeared to me that in many ways Russia had done a better job in her zone than we had in ours."

The booklet, Can You Name Them? (p. 3) lists Jerome Davis as having endorsed the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, and a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead of the organization dated January 17, 1940, lists him as one of those who signed a petition sponsored by the group.

The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers by the special committee in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 13).

On a letterhead of the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Washington, D. C., March 2 and 3, 1940, Jerome Davis was listed as a sponsor. A letterhead of the group concerning bills which were to be brought up in Congress in January 1940 listed Dr. Davis as a member of the organization's advisory board. In 1950 he signed the American Committee's statement against denaturalization, as reported in the Daily Worker of August 10, 1950 (p. 5).

The Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

Dr. Davis endorsed and was a delegate to the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, as shown on an official letterhead of January 6-8, 1939 and in the Daily Worker for January 6, 1939 (p. 2). A letterhead of the national labor committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated February 8, 1939 listed Dr. Davis as vice chairman of the national committee of the league; the league's letterheads of July 12, 1939 and May 18, 1939 list him as a member of its national committee. He was listed also as a national sponsor of the league on a letterhead of April 6, 1939, according to a photostat in committee files.

The special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 105), cited the American Congress for Peace and Democracy as a Communist front advocating collective security against the Fascist aggressors prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hiliter pact. The American League for Peace and Democracy was formed at the above congress.

The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union. * * * The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International." (Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684.) The special committee, in its report dated January 3, 1939 (pp. 69-71), cited the American League as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States."

A letterhead of the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War dated

August 10, 1940, contains the name of Jerome Davis in a list of the sponsors of that committee.

"After Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, the Communist-led Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War * * * came forth to oppose the national-defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other 'war-mongering' efforts." (Special Committee, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 99 and 105.)

A booklet entitled "These Americans Say: * * *" lists Dr. Davis as one of the representative individuals who advocated the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain; the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo prepared and published the booklet.

The special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 137 and 138), cited the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.

Jerome Davis was a member of the National Advisory Committee of Commonwealth College, as shown on a letterhead of January 1, 1940; he endorsed the reorganization plan of the college, as shown in *Fortnightly*, the publication of the college (issue of Aug. 15, 1937, p. 3).

Commonwealth College was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released April 27, 1940. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 76 and 167), cited the Commonwealth College as a "Communist enterprise".

Jerome Davis signed the "call" to the Conference on Pan-American Democracy as shown by *News You Don't Get* for November 15, 1938 (p. 3). A pamphlet entitled "Economic Trends and the New Deal in the Caribbean" published by the organization in 1942, names Jerome Davis as a member of the executive committee of the group.

The Conference on Pan-American Democracy (known also as Council for Pan-American Democracy), was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 161 and 164), cited the Conference on Pan-American Democracy as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Dr. Jerome Davis was a member of the Labor Advisory Committee of Consumers Union as shown by a letterhead of the organization dated September 28, 1939, and an undated circular, *Workers as Consumers*.

*Consumers Union*⁴⁹ was cited as a Communist front headed by the Communist, Arthur Kallet (whose party name is Edward Adams). Ben Gold and Louis Weinstock, both well-known Communists, were also members of the labor advisory committee of Consumers Union. (Special committee report, March 29, 1944, p. 153.)

In 1936, Jerome Davis was dropped from the faculty of Yale University School of Divinity, according to the *Daily Worker* of October 23, 1936 (p. 2), which reported that "Dr. Jerome Davis, whose book, 'Culture and Capitalism,' contained a chapter criticizing directors and trustees who hamper academic freedom, has been dropped from the faculty of the Yale Divinity School. These officials, Dr. Davis said in his book, are largely drawn from banking, utilities, and big business and turn thumbs down on any free discussion of economic and social problems."

The following reference to Dr. Davis' dismissal from the Yale University School of Divinity is found in Edwin Seaver's column, *Books of the Day* in the November 16, 1936, issue of the *Daily Worker* (p. 7):

"The current issue of the *New Republic* has an eight-page supplement on the Yale-Jerome Davis case. Professor Davis, it will be recalled, was recently dismissed from the Divinity School of Yale University, after some 12 years' service as an associate professor, during which period a full professorship was denied him.

"The *New Republic* supplement, entitled 'Yale on Trial,' prints a statement by Yale University and the report of an investigation made of the case by

⁴⁹ After the date of this hearing, in its annual report for the year 1953, H. Rept. 1192, 83d Cong., the committee made the following statement: "After hearings and thorough study the committee finds there is no present justification for continuing this organization as one that is cited and future reports and publications will reflect that this organization has been deleted from the list of subversive organizations and publications."

Profs. Charles A. Beard, Paul H. Douglas, Colston E. Warne, and Edward A. Ross.

"The university says that 'no abridgment of academic freedom or liberty of speech is involved in this case.' The investigation proves this is a lie.

"Among Professor Davis' crimes are: (1) a notable book on Capitalism and Its Culture; (2) a study of prisoners in the Connecticut jails; (3) the instituting of workers' educational classes in New Haven; (4) speaking on behalf of the Soviet Union; (5) condemning the Insull interests as racketeers; (6) inviting Senator Nye to speak at Yale; (6) [sic] accepting the findings of Professors Fay and Barnes on the question of responsibility for the origins of the World War.

"The American Association of University Professors presents unimpeachable evidence that Professor Davis' dismissal from Yale is a clear-cut case of suppression of academic freedom. Yale University has not heard the last of this matter by a long shot.

* * * * *

"Coming back to Prof. Jerome Davis. There's an article by him in the big third anniversary issue of Fight. It's about the status of the college teacher today."

In 1937, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers, meeting in national convention in Denver, Colo., passed a resolution protesting dismissal of Jerome Davis, professor at Yale University and president of the American Federation of Teachers, because of his liberal social opinions and activities. (Public Hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, October 25, 1938, p. 1970.)

In 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities reported that the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America was one of the unions affiliated with the CIO in which it found Communist leadership "strongly entrenched" (Rept. 1311, March 29, 1944, pages 18 and 19). It is noted also that the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers (successor to the United Cannery, Agricultural * * *) was expelled from the CIO, effective March 1, 1950, on grounds of Communist domination (CIO Fact Sheet for the Press, 12th Constitutional Convention of the CIO, Chicago, Ill., November 20-24, 1950).

A circular entitled "and tell the folks that I'll be home if * * *" issued by Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, named Jerome Davis as one of those who endorsed the drive to bring the wounded boys home.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was cited as a Communist front organization by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 82 and 125).

In November 1937, Friends of the Soviet Union issued what it chose to call the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union and in addition, a 100-page edition of its official publication, Soviet Russia Today, eulogizing Soviet Russia on its 20th anniversary. (Public Hearings, vol. 1, p. 518.) From the same source, we note that Jerome Davis was one of the speakers on the program when the Golden Book was presented to President Kalinin at the 20th anniversary celebration, sponsored by the organization, Friends of the Soviet Union. Anniversary greetings from Dr. Davis are found in the November 1937 issue of Soviet Russia Today (p. 77), and an article by Dr. Davis entitled "The Soviet Union in 1938" is found in the November 1938 issue of that publication (p. 38).

The Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union was cited as a "Communist enterprise" signed by hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 102).

Citation of Soviet Russia Today is found on page 2 of this memorandum. [P. No. 2 refers to typewritten memorandum; see pp. 3645 and 3781 of this publication.]

Friends of the Soviet Union was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, June 1 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special committee * * *, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 78), cited the Friends of the Soviet Union as "one of the most open Communist fronts in the United States" whose purpose "is to propagandize for and defend Russia and its system of government." It "is a section of an international movement directed from Moscow." The Friends admit "they penetrate our industrial sections."

The name of Jerome Davis appeared in a list of national sponsors of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy on a letterhead of the organization dated July 6, 1938.

The special committee * * *, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as a Communist-front organization.

A press release issued by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, February 23, 1940, named him as a member of the board of sponsors of that organization; he signed an open letter of the organization, as reported in the Daily Worker of May 13, 1940 (pp. 1 and 5). On the program of the Second National Negro Congress which was held in October 1937, the name of Jerome Davis appears as one of the discussion leaders of the congress. Dr. Davis signed an open letter to American liberals, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 12, 1937 (p. 2) and in Soviet Russia Today of March 1937 (pp. 14-15). A letterhead of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., dated March 20, 1926, shows that Jerome Davis was a member of the advisory board of that organization.

The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special committee * * * in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 48 and 102). The congressional committee * * *, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 12), cited the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights as follows: "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communist-built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."

The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General who noted that A. Phillip Randolph, president of the congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 "on the ground that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.'" (Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688.) The special committee * * *, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *."

The special committee * * *, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 21), cited the "Open letter to American liberals" as follows: "In March 1937 a group of well-known Communists and Communist collaborators published an open letter bearing the title given above. The letter was a defense of the Moscow purge trials."

Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., was cited as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor, by the special committee * * *, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 76).

He was an advisory editor of Champion magazine, according to the October 1936 issue (p. 2).

Champion was cited by the special committee * * * as the "official organ of the Young Communist League and also of the International Workers Order" (report, June 25, 1942, p. 17).

Identified as a writer and lecturer of New York, Prof. Jerome Davis was named in the Daily Worker of February 1, 1951 (p. 2) as a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade; a February 1951 letterhead of the crusade listed him as an initial sponsor.

The congressional committee * * *, in its statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951, and House Report No. 378, on the Communist "peace" offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 51), cited the American Peace Crusade as an organization which "the Communists established" as "a new instrument for their 'peace' offensive in the United States" and which was heralded by the Daily Worker "with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives."

Dr. Davis, author and lecturer, West Haven, Conn., signed an open letter urging defeat of President Truman's arms program which was sent to Senators and Congressmen by the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact (letterhead of August 21, 1949). He also signed a statement calling for international agreement to ban use of atomic weapons which the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives issued, as shown by a statement attached to a press release of December 14, 1949 (p. 5), in which source he was identified as a visiting professor, University of Colorado; West Haven, Conn.

The Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact was cited as a meeting called by the Daily Worker in July 1949, to be held in Washington, D. C., and as having been instigated by "Communists in the United States (who) did

their part in the Moscow campaign" by the congressional committee * * * in its report on the Communist "peace" offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 56).

The congressional committee * * *, in its report referred to above, cited the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact as an organization which was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, and which was located, according to a letterhead of September 16, 1950, at 30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 2, Ill.; and to further the cause of "Communists in the United States" doing "their part in the Moscow campaign."

Dr. Jerome Davis, West Haven, Conn., was a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace, as shown on the call to the conference. An undated leaflet entitled "Prominent Americans call for * * *" received by this committee on September 11, 1950, lists Professor Davis of Boulder, Colo., as one of the endorsers of the World Peace Appeal.

The congressional committee * * *, in its report on the Communist "peace" offensive, referred to on page 9 of this memorandum, cited the Mid-Century Conference for Peace as a meeting held in Chicago, May 29 and 30, 1950, by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and as having been "aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda."

In this same report, the congressional committee * * * cited the world peace appeal as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950; as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he has the duty to rise to this appeal"; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist Parties throughout the world."

In response to a questionnaire issued by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Dr. Davis answered in favor of recognizing the Chinese Communist government, as shown in Far East Spotlight for December 1949-January 1950 (p. 25).

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released April 27, 1949. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

Dr. Davis spoke at the 15th Annual Conference of the Teachers Union, an affiliate of the United Public Workers of America (Daily Worker, issues of March 23, 1951, p. 4 and April 9, 1951, p. 9). He was scheduled to speak at the convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, as shown in the Daily Worker of September 11, 1950 (p. 9).

In 1946 the United Public Workers of America was formed by a merger of the United Federal Workers of America and the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, both of which were found to have Communist leadership "strongly entrenched" by the special committee * * * in report 1311 of March 29, 1944 (pp. 18 and 19). The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers was cited in the same manner in the same report of the special committee. Both unions were expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations on February 15, 1950, on charges of Communist domination (CIO Fact Sheet for the Press, 12th Constitutional Convention of the CIO, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 20-24, 1950).

Jerome Davis signed a brief in behalf of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo which was submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States in the October, 1949 term by the Cultural Workers. Lawson and Trumbo were 2 of the Hollywood 10 who were cited for contempt of Congress as a result of their refusal to affirm or deny Communist membership before this committee.

Jerome Davis was one of the sponsors of a meeting in New York City, arranged for the purpose of greeting the new Soviet Constitution (Daily Worker of November 30, 1936, p. 5).

The following reference to Jerome Davis was made in the special committee's report of March 29, 1944 (p. 75): "A tabulation of some of the benefactions of the American Fund for Public Service reveals the extent to which it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises * * * The Vanguard Press was established by the fund with a donation of capital amounting to \$139,000. A series of propaganda books on Russia, edited by Jerome Davis, was one of the first large publishing projects of the Vanguard Press."

The New York Times of May and June 1943 contained several articles concerning a libel suit for \$150,000 which Jerome Davis brought against the Curtis Publishing Co. and Benjamin Stolberg. (See New York Times of May 18, 1943,

p. 27; May 20, 1943, p. 46; May 25, 1943, p. 24; May 28, 1943, p. 13C; June 2, 1943, p. 3; June 3, 1943, p. 23; June 4, 1943, p. 9; June 8, 1943, p. 23; June 9, 1943, p. 23C; and June 10, 1943, p. 23C.)

According to these articles, the Saturday Evening Post of September 2, 1939 (pp. 5, 6, 32), printed an article about Mr. Davis, written by Benjamin Stolberg. Mr. Davis stated that the article had called him a Communist and a Stalinist, and because of it, he did not receive appointment to a position with the National Youth Administration which had been promised him by Aubrey Williams. Arthur Garfield Hays was counsel for Davis.

The Times reported on testimony of witnesses both for and against Mr. Davis. Among the witnesses who testified for Davis, Dr. Sherwood Eddy stated that Davis was a "loyal American who has always attacked the evils of communism as I have." Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, former secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, testified that she did not consider Dr. Davis as a Communist but felt that he was "motivated by humanitarianism" and was not "tagged with the Communist label." Dr. Halford E. Lucecock, professor of Homiletics at Yale Divinity School, testified that Dr. Davis had the reputation of being a liberal, not a Communist, and added that Dr. Davis had criticized Soviet Russia for its "disregard of the human value of free speech and its intolerance of religion," and was against the use of violence and terrorism. Dr. Ned H. Dearborn, executive vice president of the National Safety Council, and former dean of education at New York University, denied that Dr. Davis had been defeated in 1939 for the presidency of the American Federation of Teachers on the issue of communism.

Those who testified in the trial against Dr. Davis were: Matthew Woll, vice president, American Federation of Labor, who stated that he was "frank to say that some of the Communists believed Dr. Davis was a Communist"; Eugene Lyons who said that Davis' book, *The New Russia* (1933) showed a type of Soviet propaganda by its omission of certain data in presentation of Russian conditions; Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, vice president of Georgetown University, who said that Davis "accepts the ultimate objective of communism and belongs psychologically and morally to the group that advocates it" but is short of 100 percent in his advocacy; Dr. John L. Childs, professor of education at Teachers' College, who said that he had resigned from the Teachers Union in 1938 because it was dominated by or controlled by the Stalinist or Communist Party group.

It was brought out in some of the testimony, according to the Times that William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, had written a letter to Davis on January 11, 1939, asking him to take decisive action against communistic influences reported in the Teachers Union, Local 5, New York. Mr. Davis said, "personally I didn't think the charges were true."

Many excerpts from Mr. Davis' book, *Capitalism and its Culture* were read during the trial. One of the excerpts, as quoted in the Times articles, gives something of Davis' views at the time: "There is of course no certain guaranty when capitalism will be overthrown. If the people wish to remain subservient serfs in a profit economy they can do so. A revolutionary transition era may necessitate a measure of dictatorship, but the country should always be controlled primarily for the benefit of the workers both of hand and of brain."

On June 7, Davis increased the amount for which he was suing to \$250,000. On June 8, the case went to the jury, Justice Carew charging the jurors "* * * no man has a legal right to be a Communist." The jury failed to agree and was discharged. Harold Epstein, of counsel for Davis, moved immediately to set a new trial for the following Monday, because Dr. Davis was departing for Russia on June 25, and was unlikely to return before February. Judge Carew denied the Monday trial, but without prejudice to application before the judge in charge of calendar assignments.

Mr. Davis did go to Russia as a special correspondent for International News Service. The Washington Post of November 29, 1943 (p. 1), contains one of his articles on the Nazi massacre at Kiev; and another article by Mr. Davis, with a Moscow dateline, concerning the impact of American supplies on the Russian war and home fronts, appeared in the Washington Post on February 20, 1944 (p. 3B).

Jerome Davis gathered questions from the members of an unofficial United States labor delegation to Russia in 1927 for an interview of 5 hours which they had with Stalin, according to Robert W. Dunn, in an article by Virginia Gardner printed in the Daily People's World of April 3, 1953 (p. 7M) and the Daily Worker of March 22, 1953 (pp. 3 and 12). Davis was identified in these sources as a

professor at Yale University in 1927, previously in charge of YMCA work in Russia early in World War I.

Reviews of Dr. Davis' book, *Peace, War, and You* are found in the December 21, 1952, issue of the *Sunday Worker* (p. 7M), and the February 9, 1953, issue of the *Daily People's World* (p. 7).

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 40

(Part 1)

BIBLIOGRAPHY
ON THE
SOVIET UNION

FOR
TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

List of Sources
and
Supplementary Teaching Materials

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
OF THE

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
114 E. 32nd STREET N.Y. 16

MU. 3-2080

TEN CENTS

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
National Council of
American Soviet Friendship
114 East 32nd Street
New York 16, N. Y.

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 40

(Part 2)

* * * * *

SOVIET POLITICS, At Home and Abroad, Frederick L. Schuman, Alfred A. Knopf, 1946..... \$4.00
 "...The present volume, like the previous writings of the author, is notable for the breadth of its perspective, the vigor of its style and the abundance of its factual contents.....The author's conclusions are of a challenging nature...."

* * * * *

SOVIET FAR EASTERN POLICY, Harriet Moore, Princeton University Press, 1945..... \$2.50
 A scholarly work based on Soviet sources.

U.S.S.R. FOREIGN POLICY, Victor A. Yakhontoff, Coward-McCann, 1945..... \$3.50
 A systematic, well documented review of the Soviet's international relations based upon recent documents.

* * * * *

<p><u>THE GREAT CONSPIRACY</u>, Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, Little, Brown and Company, 1946..... \$3.50 Boni & Gaer, paper covered edition..... \$1.00 A painstaking, careful expose of the forces and individuals working against United States-Soviet understanding. Thoroughly documented.</p>
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* * * * *

Pamphlets:

RUSSIA, Menace or Peace, Vera Dean, Foreign Policy Association, 1946..... \$.35

WHAT RUSSIA DID FOR VICTORY, Sergei Kournakorr, Soviet Russia Today, New York, 1945..... \$.25
 A valuable and well documented account of the cost of the war to the Soviet Union - human and material. The role of the Air Force, Navy and guerrilla fighters.

RELIGION TODAY IN THE U.S.S.R., Rev. William Howard Melish, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1945..... \$.15
 Describes existing religious institutions. Answers questions on the status and freedom of religion. Based on latest documents and first-hand reports by churchmen.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE:Fiction:

TOOTKA, THE LITTLE RUSSIAN TRAIN, American Society for Russian Relief, Inc., 1945..... \$.50
 An amusing tale about an engine on one of the children's railroads of the Soviet Union. 3-6 yrs.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you, on occasion, speak at Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman's church in Los Angeles? (See Oxnam exhibit No. 41, p. 3795.)

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I am going to answer this and I think you are going to reprimand me, sir, but this is a very vicious procedure. Dr. Fritchman held a very high position in the Unitarian Church. He was the editor of the Christian Register. He subsequently became—

Mr. VELDE. Would you be good enough to answer the question?

Bishop OXNAM. I cannot answer it without doing myself damage and there has been enough of that.

Mr. VELDE. The reason I ask you that is that it has been standard procedure to ask the witness to answer the question first and not make—

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that on April 4, 1952?

Mr. VELDE. Now will you proceed?

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; thank you. Dr. Fritchman was the editor of the Christian Register, which is the official paper of the Unitarian Church. He, I believe, was dismissed from that office. He became the pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles. When I lived in Los Angeles I knew the minister of that church who was named Backus. I had hoped we could have good relations between the churches called the Unitarian and the Trinitarian.

I received an invitation to lecture at a forum which was held at the First Unitarian Church. I also lectured at the Santa Monica forum and at the Westwood Hills Methodist Church. I had no knowledge whatsoever that Mr. Fritchman was in any way related to the Communist Party.

May I say this, that since that time and I will not name the men, but two prominent officials of the Unitarian Church have conferred with me and gave me information that gave me grave doubts concerning Dr. Fritchman, and had I known what they informed me I would, of course, not have lectured at his church. I did not know before that time what they alleged and I take it what is going to be done now is going to be the same procedure that somebody is going to say that he was identified by somebody else as a Communist and they will begin to draw inferences as far as I am concerned in the matter of lecturing in his church. I think that that is basically unfair and I respectfully request that kind of procedure, if it is a procedure, end.

Mr. JACKSON. In all of the city of Los Angeles there is perhaps no individual who has been so closely associated with the Communist Party or Communist-front organizations over a period of many years as has Reverend Fritchman. He appeared before the committee over a year ago and declined to answer questions as to his membership in the Communist Party on the grounds of the fifth amendment. His record has been so spectacular that it seems almost unbelievable to me that even the most cursory examination of it by anyone on the street corner would not have indicated to the reader that he had appeared before the committee and had declined to answer.

Bishop OXNAM. How do he appear, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. How?

Bishop OXNAM. When was it, I meant? I am sorry.

Mr. KUNZIG. September 12, 1951.

Mr. JACKSON. The Fritchman file has not been declassified by the committee and I do not want to go into detail on what his testimony was, but he refused to cooperate and relied upon the provisions of the fifth amendment, which he had every right to do.²⁰

Bishop OXNAM. I have stated all the facts that I know in this matter. I don't know whether we can abbreviate this or whether we have to have the long process of all of this and never get to the questions I came to consider.

Mr. KUNZIG. We have talked about many of the questions you came to consider, pages and pages and pages of them, as I think you will agree.

Mr. FRAZIER. I suggest that the bishop be allowed to deal with the questions that he has come here to answer. His counsel will have to leave in a very few minutes.

Mr. CLARDY. We put in at the beginning the two-page printed document in which you went, one at a time, down the line with the faults that you found with the file, and then we have put in your suggestions in Parade, which you yourself suggested.

Now I think that has covered most of the documents that we had intended to ask you about. Now, aside from the two articles or two things you mentioned that I told you I had never heard of, is there anything else that we haven't covered at the moment?

Bishop OXNAM. I simply referred to these items because 15 minutes would not allow me to deal with them and I had wished to deal with them, and how can I clear the record if you don't know what I believe to be false in it?

Mr. VELDE. We have made an exception in this particular case to allow you some time to explain your objection to the file, and in all fairness I must say that that was at the insistence of the gentleman from California, Mr. Jackson, that we do depart from the regular committee rules and inasmuch as you have been granted the privilege of inserting these articles and giving us the various articles and complaints that you have, they are in the record and I do not think there is any reason that we should go into anything further at this time. We do want to get this hearing over with.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, so do I, very, very much, but I listed certain items that have not been considered here at all and which illustrate the method of the files that I think is objectionable.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you mean over and above objections to the information released by the committee in which you publicly answered certain of the items in the file? Whether these are over and above those things which are already in the record, is the point that I am making because of the insertion at the outset of the hearings of all of those things which related to the report and to your answers.

Bishop OXNAM. Some are and some are not.

Mr. JACKSON. Those particular items which were covered in the original report and in your newspaper reply have been given entry into the record. I was wondering if there are other matters which are not covered in that case. I for one have no objection to—

²⁰ The testimony of Stephen H. Fritchman was released by the committee on July 31, 1953.

Bishop OXNAM. I wonder if I could run down the list very briefly and close the matter. I have been here all day hoping that one might deal with some of these items, and it is getting toward midnight. I am tired and so are you.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to make this statement for the record. We have dealt with many, many of these items which you raised.

Bishop OXNAM. I mentioned seven.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned seven specific items, some of which we dealt with, and you mentioned also in your answer in a Washington newspaper a whole large group, many of which we went into in detail. We have gone through many of these for hours. I do not want any implication that we have not touched any of these.

Mr. VELDE. And recommendations that you made to me in a personal letter which was taken up before the full committee and considered.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes; I received a letter from you.

Mr. VELDE. I can see no further reason why we should go into this in this manner. After all, this committee is composed of members who are elected by the people and who are obligated to do a duty which was imposed by the full House of Representatives and of course we are trying to do the job the best that we can in that fashion.

We welcome your criticism and always have from any individual. We have had criticism from other people on the other side which we must pay some attention to, in all fairness. So I say that I think we have been more than fair in recognizing your objections to the file of this committee and I ask, therefore, that we proceed in regular order and ask that counsel will ask any further questions that he might have.

Mr. DOYLE. As I understand, I object to your ruling, Mr. Chairman, because if this witness feels he has a material point in connection with the files concerning him and which have not been presented yet and that is why we are here, I request that this witness have the opportunity to present any material point involved of the files which has not been presented, either by our counsel or by him. That was the purpose of this meeting. I think you ought to reconsider your ruling, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. I think all matters have been touched upon to which there were objections.

Mr. CLARDY. I think I asked the witness to tell me those items that had not been covered by the method we suggested, and he did not give me a clear answer. I would like to ask if I am not right about this. I think there are only two things in there, really, and those are things on which I have no knowledge and I cannot find anything about it and if you would reverse the ruling, find out from him when and where and how the things got out into the public view.

Mr. VELDE. How long will that take, Bishop?

Bishop OXNAM. I will take but one instance and I think I can do it in 3 minutes, if you will allow me to do it.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly.

Bishop OXNAM. I have made reference to the article which I think was most unfortunate, but this will indicate the misrepresentation that occurs because I think of incompetency or slanted selection, and I am now quoting from a release that Mr. Wood himself made.

Mr. CLARDY. When was this, Bishop?

Bishop OXNAM. This was October 26, 1951. The Washington Star of February 10, 1930, carries a news item datelined Indiana State Reformatory, February 9.

The article refers to a speech made by Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, president of DePauw University, to the inmates of the reformatory. Dr. Oxnam is reported as decrying the practice of nations in entering into secret treaties and declaring that the slogan of the "America First" must be interpreted as meaning "America first in world service" and not "to be the first to go into Mexico to steal lands."

Mr. VELDE. Was that a quotation from a newspaper?

Bishop OXNAM. Part of that is a quotation from a newspaper.

Mr. VELDE. Would you name the newspaper and the date of it?

Bishop OXNAM. This was the Washington Star as of February 10, but actually the Indiana newspaper carried it extensively.

Now, the point I am trying to make is this: That by selecting that particular quotation, putting it in there and I will show it was not a quotation in a moment, and not including what was available to a research staff in the newspaper which is something that was available at the very same time, this condemns me, whereas if they had quoted what was available in the full articles of the Indiana newspaper, they would have given the people an entirely different impression.

Now, I read to you what did appear in the Indianapolis Star of February 13, 1930. This was available to your research staff:

The words referred to were taken from two different sections of the speech and combined by the reporter. I stated that one of the causes of war was selfish nationalism. I said, "There is a right kind of nationalism. It is the nationalism that manifests itself in such love of country that one is willing to give all he possesses, his life, if need be, to lift the life standards of his people. It is the kind of nationalism one feels when viewing America with its poignant line, 'Land where my fathers died.'"

I interject this statement that since my father's death I could understand the meaning of that splendid line.

"It is the kind of nationalism one feels when he looks upon the towering skyline of New York when returning from Europe and knows that that is his country, not a Shylockian people bent upon grasping gold, but after all a people of idealism. There is a right kind of nationalism, but there is a wrong kind, and that is selfish nationalism. It is revealed in the slogan 'Germany Over All,' 'Britannia Rules the Waves,' 'Ourselves Alone,' or 'America First.' If we mean by 'America First' 'America first in world service,' it is a sublime slogan, but if we mean America first and because our oil reserves may some day be depleted, we will allow certain groups to stir up public opinion that we will enter Mexico and steal her oil reserves because we need them, then that slogan will do for us what it did for Germany a short time ago."

I will stand back of that statement.

Now, I suggest to you, sir, these two quotations say two fundamentally different things, and when President Coolidge sent Ambassador Morrow to Mexico you solved that problem.

Mr. VELDE. Were you misquoted in any of the files?

Bishop OXNAM. That isn't the question, sir.

Mr. VELDE. I think it is definitely. Were you misquoted in the Washington Star?

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, when you take one quotation from a newspaper that puts me in a bad light, an accurate quotation from a newspaper, and do not quote from another newspaper available at the same time that reports what I did say and puts me in a different light, that is a procedure that misleads anybody, you included.

Mr. VELDE. I have to insist. Did you say that you were misquoted in the Washington Star?

Bishop OXNAM. No. That quotation, I said, put together 2 sentences completely apart so that they did not say at all what I said.

For instance, Mr. Jackson recommended to the American people that they read Jerome Davis' book. That is a clear sentence that is in there. But taken out of there, that is what it says, but actually Mr. Jackson did not say that at all.

Mr. JACKSON. We were discussing a matter which had been thoroughly aired, a matter on which the previous allegation was dealt with in the reply which was inserted in toto in the record. I had thought we were going to go to a point which had not been covered in order that we might get it clarified.

Bishop OXNAM. I did not take up Mr. Jackson's letter and Mr. Tavenner's letter because I think we would be in debate and could not do it in 3 minutes. I am perfectly willing to call this a day. I think it would be significant. You cannot hear that and unless there are other matters which you want to present, I will call it a day.

Mr. VELDE. It seems to be the concensus of opinion of the committee that we should hear all of the objections that you have. As I say, I would like to get out of here myself, but if you do have any objections, regardless of the time, will you do it?

Bishop OXNAM. Would you let me send a communication to the committee and the committee can consider the communication and do what it will. It would be saying what I would be saying now and I would be doing it in a formal fashion.

I would request permission to file a bibliography of what I have written on communism and Communists. I would appreciate the privilege of having that included. (See Oxnam exhibit No. 1-A, p. 3590.)

Mr. VELDE. Is the gentleman from California satisfied, or do you insist?

Mr. DOYLE. If he is satisfied, of course I am.

Bishop OXNAM. I will say I am satisfied at this hour. I would have much preferred to have gone down the line earlier but I cannot trespass upon this committee forever. You gentlemen have duties tomorrow. You have said I might send a letter, and under those circumstances I am satisfied.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "Oxnam Exhibit No. 41" which was back when we were discussing the Fritchman situation which was the listing of Bishop Oxnam being at Fritchman's church, and I should like now to offer it into evidence.

Bishop OXNAM. I stated I spoke there.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be so admitted.

(Document referred to was received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit No. 41.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, there are just 2 or 3 small matters. I have a document called An American Churchman in the Soviet Union by the Reverend Louie D. Newton, president of the Southern Baptist Convention. This is a publication of the American Russian Institute, which is cited by Attorney General Clark in 1949 as Communist.

There is in this pamphlet an introduction by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. (See pp. 3797-3799.)

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 41

(Los Angeles Daily News, March 29, 1952)

L. A. DAILY-NEWS
UNITARIAN
 2936 W. 8th St. Just East of Vermont
 Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
 Church School and Nursery—10:45 a.m.
PORTRAIT OF AN AMERICAN:
LUTHER BURBANK
 Sermon by Mr. Fritchman—11:00 a.m.
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW ON
"PEACE OR WAR"
 Dramatic Readings—8:00 a.m.
 JEFF COREY DAVID WOLFE
 ANNE BARTON DAN BARSON
 UNITARIAN TIME ON KFWB—10:15 P.M.

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM
 Friday, April 4, 8 P.M.
BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
 Methodist Church, New York Area
"THE CLERICAL THREAT
TO AMERICAN FREEDOM"
 Admission Free—Collection—Questions

*This Church Welcomes Persons of
 All Races and Creeds*

MAR 29-1952

The question is, do you recognize this book marked as "Oxnam Exhibit No. 42," and did you write that introduction, sir?

Bishop OXNAM. I do recognize it and I did write it, and having answered the question, may I explain it, Mr. Chairman, in accordance with your procedure?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Bishop OXNAM. Dr. Louie D. Newton is one of the most distinguished ministers of the Baptist Church. He was the president of the southern convention. Dr. Newton went to Russia. I have been related to the national council. We have always hoped that some day our Southern Baptist brethren might be in the national council. Dr. Newton is a dear, personal friend. When he returned from Russia, he asked me if I would write an introduction to a booklet he was bringing out describing his visit. I would suggest the committee read it. I would like it introduced.

I had no knowledge of what organization was to publish it. When it came out, I noticed it was put out by this agency. I have no relation to that. I wrote an introduction to a booklet written by a friend, a distinguished clergyman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your statement is that you did not know that this introduction would be put out by the American-Russian Institute?

Bishop OXNAM. I did not know who was to publish that document. I wrote that for a dear friend and a distinguished leader of the church.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know the date, to the best of your recollection? There is no date published on this book.

Mr. CLARDY. My information is that it was 1952, but I cannot state that positively to be correct.

Bishop OXNAM. I think that it is not correct.

Mr. CLARDY. I would like to know because, in the Soviet magazines, that was advertised continuously during the year 1952, but they did not tell the date in which it was published. Incidentally, I find it a considerable apology for the Soviet Russian system.

Bishop OXNAM. If you do, let me say I do not. This man is fundamentally opposed to communism. He was a journalist, was trained as a journalist and was writing this as he saw it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was it within the last 5 or 10 years?

Bishop OXNAM. I will be glad to check and give you the date so it will be accurate. I should judge it was within the last 5 years, but I wouldn't want to say without checking the record.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer this pamphlet, An American Churchman in the Soviet Union, and ask that it be marked as "Oxnam exhibit No. 42."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted in the record.

(Pamphlet referred to was received in evidence as Oxnam exhibit No. 42.)

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a photostatic copy marked "Oxnam exhibit No. 43"——

Bishop OXNAM. I have been a lot of trouble to this committee. I am sorry. Forty-three exhibits is amazing.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me first ask, Did you know Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, a Negro leader?

Bishop OXNAM. No, I simply cannot say. I am afraid I don't know. I have heard his name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did Dr. DuBois ever speak at your church?

Bishop OXNAM. I think not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you explain this exhibit marked "Oxnam exhibit No. 43"?

Bishop OXNAM. What year are you talking about?

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me show it to you. It states that he was listed to speak. The question I asked you was did he ever speak at your church.

Bishop OXNAM. Frankly, I cannot answer that. It is way back. This was in 1927. I would have to check the records of the church. I do not recall ever having met Dr. DuBois. I cannot answer that.

Mr. VELDE. At the present time your recollection is that Dr. DuBois——

Bishop OXNAM. I have no recollection of it, but when somebody brings up a document that is 26 years back, that is a little difficult for anybody, even from this committee, to answer.

Mr. VELDE. I think the Chair would defer receipt of that until the bishop has had an opportunity to check it.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think it should be withdrawn.

Bishop OXNAM. Mr. Chairman, I am leaving for Europe. I hope it will not be a discourtesy if I have to get this information after I get back. I do not think I could do it in a day or two before I go.

Mr. VELDE. I am sure that the committee will wish you godspeed upon your journey.

Mr. CLARDY. It may interest you to know some of us are going over

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 42

(Part 1)

10c

An

AMERICAN CHURCHMAN IN THE SOVIET UNION

by

The REVEREND LOUIE D. NEWTON
President of The Southern Baptist Convention

*With an Introduction by
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam,
President of the Federal Council of
the Churches of Christ in America
and a Statement
About Religion in Russia, issued
by the Union of Evangelical
Christian Baptists of the U.S.S.R.*

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OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 42

(Part 2)

Introduction

by

BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

President of the

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

DR. LOUIE D. NEWTON, distinguished and devoted preacher, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, begins his interesting and informing report on Soviet Russia with the statement, "I am not an expert on Russia." Unlike some visitors to Russia, Dr. Newton is wise enough to know that a brief sojourn in that vast and complex land does not give an individual the right to pose as an expert. His articles are honest reporting by an honest man. In them is no pretense. He tells what he saw, and allows the reader to draw his own conclusions. Dr. Newton had his eyes open. He did not enter Russia wearing glasses that give everything a roseate hue nor glasses so smoked by prejudice that they reflect simply the views held before the trip began.

Dr. Newton believes that he was free to go where he pleased, to see whom he pleased, and to ask what he pleased. Other members of the delegation hold the same opinion. He reports that his Baptist co-religionists are of the opinion that they are free to preach what they believe and to practice their beliefs without any hindrance of the State. Descriptions of the ruined cities, of the devastated areas, are vivid, and should be read with care in these hours of tension. The Russian people suffered perhaps more than any people during the War. They felt the full impact of the German attack, and were crushed beneath brutalities so bestial as to beggar description. The story of the sixteen Partisans, re-told in speech at once heart-breaking and challenging, should be pondered by Americans.

The "Yearbook of American Churches, 1945" reports 72,492,669 church members in the United States. This is the largest number of church members and the highest percentage of church members to population in the history of the nation. Many millions more are related to the churches, because, in the majority of Protestant denominations, but a small percentage of the children are included in the membership. Consequently, a discussion of religion in the U.S.S.R. is of great interest to the American people.

In 1926, after interviews with many leaders of the Soviet Government, an American Commission was requested to report its impressions to the Russians. It fell to me to discuss religion. I tried to point out that dogmatic atheism was as unscientific as dogmatic theism. I sought to stress the social teachings of Jesus and His insistence that men and not things were the goal

OXNAM EXHIBIT NO. 42

(Part 3)

of social living, His proclamation of the solidarity of the human family, His stressing of the supremacy of the common good. I argued that democracy itself rested upon the basic Christian teaching of the supremacy of personality. At the close, a distinguished leader in education arose and said, "I understand you are a man of the schools, but I do not understand you. Religion is a tool used by the capitalist to keep the worker in subjection. It is superstition. It is not necessary for us to attack it; we shall train the children of tomorrow in the scientific attitude of mind and in a philosophy of materialism. Religion cannot survive." But religion was attacked.

Recently a fundamental change of policy was announced.

Has the innate yearning of the Russian people for God, their deep mysticism, proved stronger than the attack of the Atheists? Is Russia about to make a fundamental contribution to the religious life of the world? In a word, during the decades of struggle to establish social justice, has Russia held fast to an underlying faith in the Father of us all, to a basic loyalty to Jesus of Nazareth, and now are such faith and such loyalty ready to summon the world to the social application of the ethical ideals of religion? Or is all this a political accommodation upon the part of the Soviet Government to the actualities?

Dr. Newton does not attempt to answer these questions. He describes what he saw in churches and reports what he learned in interviews.

The Church leadership in the United States of America among the Protestant communions looks forward to increasing participation of the Eastern Orthodox Churches in the World Council of Churches and to fuller cooperation by such Protestant communions as the Baptist Church with the Baptist Church in Russia. The Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Protestant communions are fundamentally democratic in organization, in spirit, and in doctrine. It is possible that the cooperation now developing between the Protestant communions and the Eastern Orthodox Churches, involving such nations as Great Britain, the United States of America, and Russia may provide the unifying force so essential to the United Nations.

With so much at stake, understanding must be reached. The report of Dr. Newton is a contribution to this understanding. I trust it may be widely read.

In the extraordinary statement on Soviet-American Relations recently released by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, it is declared, "War with Russia can be avoided, and must be avoided without compromise of basic convictions." The report deals with the unavoidable tensions that do exist in the realm of belief, and calls upon both the American and the Russian people to renounce, in their efforts to spread abroad their ways of life, the method of intolerance. It deals with the avoidable tensions and the method of adjustment. It then considers national interests and international cooperation, and calls for an interchange of views or a flow of understanding from one people to another. Dr. Newton has made significant contribution to this high end, and his booklet deserves careful consideration by thinking Americans.

to see what they are doing with Uncle Sam's dollars too, and don't forget the little private session you and I will have when we get back.

Bishop OXNAM. We will have a good time, and you told me you were Irish, and we will have a wonderful time.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions to ask this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions, but I would like to ask that we interpose the citations in each instance of the various organizations, and I request that in cases of organizations where there are citations that those citations be included at the appropriate point in the record.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, that will be so done.

Bishop OXNAM. Does that include organizations to which I do not belong?

Mr. JACKSON. My motion deals with the organizations upon which you have been questioned and in which there are exhibits.

Mr. VELDE. Does the gentleman reserve the right to object?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, unless our printed record also shows the date on which it was found to be subversive, if it was. In other words, that the finding of the Attorney General will show the date upon which he arrived at the conclusion that it was subversive, if it was.

Mr. VELDE. The gentleman knows that the files include those facts.

Mr. DOYLE. I have seen some files that do not include that fact.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no objection to that.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question?

Mr. VELDE. Let us get this matter straightened out first. Does the gentleman have objection to the listing of the citation if the date of the citation is mentioned?

Mr. KUNZIG. The date is mentioned in every instance.

Mr. CLARDY. I think there is cross-examination that identifies that, but I think it is customary to have it in and I would like to see it there.

Mr. DOYLE. I think I will not object to that.

In answer to a question I think it has been very unfortunate and a lot of organizations have been referred to which, only by inference, could this witness be entitled to have any connection with, even indirectly. I was hoping that it would not be printed and go out in the United States. It will be taken inferentially and we all know it will. Those people will not read the fact that he was never a member of it, and the fact that his name was identified with it will be enough for them and the fact that he has testified he was not a member of it, and we have no evidence that he was a member, and I think that is the damnable part of it. I use that language because I feel just that way about it.

Mr. VELDE. I understand the gentleman has no objection, so, without objection, the citations as asked by the gentleman from California, Mr. Jackson, will be inserted after each organization, and may the Chair say this, I believe that if the bishop would not object to having this material in the record along with your denial, and it may be true as the gentleman from California says that some people may not read the bishop's statement regarding this but unfortunately the chairman cannot do anything about that. (See footnotes 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16.)

Mr. DOYLE. I was going to add to Mr. Jackson's request that it be plainly stated in our print, whatever we make opposite every list in

which the bishop's name appears, that he has testified that he was not a member of this organization, and then if that page is torn out and used by some sneak thief we cannot help it, but I believe the bishop is entitled to that protection.

This witness has said in a statement and said 2 or 3 times, that he was never a member of the Communist Party. I did not hear any member ask him plainly whether or not he ever had been. I want to ask him whether or not he has ever been.

Mr. CLARDY. I want to object to it and I think that being in the record leaves a bad inference. I object.

Mr. DOYLE. I ask that if this committee has any evidence that this witness was ever a member of the Communist Party that we now produce it. We have tied him up with a lot of organizations that we know have been identified as Communist fronts and so that there will be no question about what this committee has in the way of evidence, whether or not this witness was ever a Communist, I am asking that if we have any such evidence we now produce it. That will be helpful in clearing this man's record without any mistakes in this hearing.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask the bishop a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. You have been here all day and haven't you heard us make it abundantly clear what we think about that, and aren't you satisfied with what we have said?

Bishop OXNAM. I appreciate what Mr. Doyle has said. I do recall what Mr. Clardy has said, but it seems to me that the record that included what Mr. Doyle has said might be helpful. I don't know if this committee learned how its documents are misused by organizations that deliberately seek to destroy one's character, and it seems to me that that protection of that kind should be given, and I am not speaking for myself but for others, and it is a very valuable matter, and I appreciate this and understand what Mr. Clardy said.

Mr. VELDE. What was the gentleman from California desiring in the listing of these citations? Will you ask unanimous consent or move?

Mr. DOYLE. I move that the record show in these hearings that this committee has no record of any Communist Party affiliation or membership by Bishop Oxnam.

Mr. JACKSON. I second the motion.

Mr. VELDE. Is there objection to the motion of the gentleman from California? If not, the motion is carried.

Mr. DOYLE. I make the further motion that after every listing of the bishop's name in any group which we have discussed today that it be clearly printed wherever the bishop has denied membership that he did deny membership, and let the record stand on that so that any person reading the list of names in this publication, in our committee publication, will see it right before him that the bishop said he was never a member of that organization. We cannot do less. That is what the bishop testified to. Why not let the people know what he testified to?

Mr. JACKSON. We have been here for many, many hours taking testimony of denial or affirmation in the instances where it was pertinent. The record is voluminous, and it will speak for itself as I believe it should speak for itself. Therefore, I am constrained to object to the motion.

Mr. DOYLE. May I say that my distinguished colleague from California well knows that there will be some pages of what we print that will be read and some pages not, and many times in the testimony of this witness that he was not a member of this organization or that one it will never be read by the people. They will read portions and they will never read his testimony that he was not a member. Consequently, the bishop will again be done a rank injustice. I see no harm. It will not cost us any more money to say that Bishop Oxnam was not a member of that organization.

Mr. VELDE. After the citation?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. It is only one line to print.

Mr. VELDE. Does the gentleman from California object?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, on the ground that the positive denial is a matter of testimony. It is set forth not only once in most instances but several times due to duplicating questions from committee members or counsel. It is affirmatively set forth in all instances where the bishop was not a member of the organization, and it is so positively affirmed, and I believe that will be perfectly clear to anyone who reads the record that such a denial was in there. I am constrained to object to the motion largely due to the fact that it might establish precedent for further hearings where we would be forced into the position of having to annotate or make substantial additions to the actual physical testimony which is taken. Therefore, I object.

Mr. CLARDY. It is doing the very thing that everybody objects to, of making this committee draw conclusions they should not be drawing. What are you going to do in the case of the organizations to which the bishop freely and frankly admitted he belonged? Are we going to put in yes, he belonged to that organization? You are doing him a disservice.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, the gentleman from Michigan is again wrong. I am not asking any such thing as he has indicated. The gentleman from Michigan and my distinguished colleague from California want our printed record to be as clear as crystal that this witness has testified that he is not a member of this organization, identified the organization. Can that hurt anybody?

Mr. JACKSON. On ground that the printed words will be just as clear as crystal, I object.

Mr. VELDE. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle.

All those in favor of the motion signify by raising their right hand; all those opposed to the motion signify by raising their right hand. Those in opposition are greater in number. The motion is defeated.

Bishop OXNAM. Before Mr. Jackson goes, may I be permitted one word? I would like to say this, Mr. Jackson; you suggested that you were going to call on me after our debate. That did not work out but I would like to sit with you some day and point out the total amount of time that I have given to any one of the organizations referred to here today and add it up and if it amounts to more than 3 months in 30 years of service I will have to say that there was some truth in the statement that I served the Communist front down through so many years. But if it shows that the total is less than 3 months, I am sure you would feel that the statement you made was an exaggeration and certainly after all it did not really represent your heart and, may I say, your mind.

Mr. JACKSON. May I say with relation to the meeting which has been mentioned, that when the hearing date was finally established it occurred to me that I was in something of a quasi-judicial capacity as a member of the committee and it would probably not be appropriate to have such a meeting until after these hearings had been held. That is the reason we did not get together.

Mr. CLARDY. I will ask some other questions when you come into my office, and at that time I shall want you to set at rest a number of things that have been troubling me. I think you have some fair idea of what they are. You have indicated and I told you that I am partly Irish. I am one of the Protestant members of this committee. Your statement might have left a different impression.

Bishop OXNAM. Oh, no; there are many Irish Protestants, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. So I suspect. I could ask him questions the rest of the night and keep him from sailing, but I will not do that.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Walter, do you have any further questions?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Bishop OXNAM. I would like to thank you personally for your courtesy throughout the day. I know at times I have talked at length. At no time have you rapped the gavel, and I appreciate that very much.

Mr. VELDE. I hope you appreciate that the chairman has a duty which is not always easy, not only to the members of the committee but to the Congress and the country as well.

Bishop OXNAM. Yes, sir; I do appreciate that.

Mr. VELDE. I want to say to the witness that the members of the committee appreciate the manner of ironing this matter out and as I have stated before if you have further information about any of these matters the committee will appreciate hearing it.

Bishop OXNAM. Thank you very much.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 a. m., Wednesday, July 22, 1953, the hearing was adjourned.)

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