

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT
FOUNDATIONS AND COMPARABLE ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The select committee met, pursuant to call, at 2:40 p. m., in room 104, Old House Office Building, Hon. Brooks Hays presiding.

Present: Representatives Hays (presiding), Forand, Goodwin, Simpson, and Reece.

Also present: Harold M. Keele, counsel to the committee.

Mr. HAYS. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Reid, will you be sworn, please?

Mr. REID. May I affirm, Congressman?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, indeed.

Do you affirm that the testimony you shall give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. REID. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRA D. A. REID, HAVERFORD, PA.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Reid, I believe it is at your request that the hearing is conducted today for the purpose of giving you an opportunity to make a statement with reference to testimony presented under oath to the subcommittee.

Mr. REID. Yes; you are right, Congressman.

Mr. HAYS. I will turn the examination over to our general counsel, Mr. Keele.

Mr. KEELE. Will you state for the record your name, your residence, and your profession, Dr. Reid?

Mr. REID. Ira D. A. Reid, 2 College Lane, Haverford, Pa., professor of sociology at Haverford College.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Reid, you wrote us, I think, 2 or 3 days ago asking for a transcript of the testimony of Mr. Budenz relative to his naming of you in his testimony, did you not?

Mr. REID. Yes; I did.

Mr. KEELE. And then you called by telephone, and by arrangement you came to Washington; is that right?

Mr. REID. Quite right.

Mr. KEELE. And you have asked for the opportunity to appear here under oath, in open session, to deny the charges that were made against you by Mr. Budenz; is that correct?

Mr. REID. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. All right. The committee now is willing to hear what you have to say in that respect.

Mr. REID. The statement, as I read it this morning in the committee's office, was to the effect that I—though Mr. Budenz did not know definitely, he thought I was a Communist, and that according to the records of three names, with which I am not familiar, he was certain I was a Communist.

I wish to state for the record, as I have stated elsewhere, that I am not a Communist, I have never been a Communist, and therefore regard that as a deliberate untruth as advanced by Mr. Budenz.

It is true that I was a fellow of the General Education Board in 1933-34, receiving a fellowship that enabled me to complete my residence work at Columbia University. I was vouched for that fellowship by the man who was my college president, a very estimable person, the late John Hope, who wanted me to come to Atlanta to teach. After completing that work in residence at Columbia University, I went to Atlanta, Ga., and began teaching at Atlanta University.

Since it seems to be within the province of this committee to determine whether or not a foundation supported a person who was a Communist, I make the statement that I have not been, I have never been; secondly, that no effort was made, nor was I even asked to state anything like what my political interests were at the time.

The one occasion when I was very certain that Communist influence was being brought to bear on the conference held in New York in 1949, I resigned from the program, and we did not appear. That has been thrown up against me several times and offered as proof that I was a Communist. I think as a preliminary statement, Mr. Counsel, that is what I wish to make. It may be elaborated upon, if you wish.

Mr. HAYS. Do any of the committee members have any questions to ask of Mr. Reid?

Mr. SIMPSON. I have no question. I will comment that it is quite a complete denial of the charges made.

Mr. KEELE. I would like to ask one or two questions.

Have you ever been under Communist discipline?

Mr. REID. I do not know what that is, but not if I knew it.

Mr. KEELE. Have you ever received instructions from persons whom you knew to be Communists?

Mr. REID. No, sir.

Mr. KEELE. Very well.

Mr. HAYS. That is all, Mr. Reid.

Mr. REECE. May I ask a question?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Reece.

Mr. REECE. Mr. Budenz referred to communications which he had had from Mr. Jerome and Mr. Stachel, in which they identified you as a Communist. Do you know those gentlemen?

Mr. REID. No, Mr. Reece; I have never heard of them, and know nothing about them.

Mr. REECE. Did you know Mr. Budenz during the period when he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. REID. I have never known Mr. Budenz.

Mr. REECE. You have never met him?

Mr. REID. No, sir.

Will you read the first sentence there, Mr. Reece, in Mr. Budenz' statement about me?

Mr. REECE (reading) :

Dr. Ira Reid, my impression is I've met him as a Communist, but I do not know definitely—

he does not say definitely.

Mr. REID. No. I have never met him, nor have I ever met him as a Communist.

Mr. REECE. However, I misread one phrase there. Mr. Budenz said :

Dr. Ira Reid, my impression is I've met him as a Communist, but I do know definitely, and can state here, that official communications from Stachel and Jerome, Trachtenberg, have definitely identified Dr. Reid as a Communist.

Do you know Trachtenberg?

Mr. REID. I know no one of them nor know of any official reports of that sort. I should be very glad to appear before this or any other committee to face whatever charges there are in that document, which is not known to me.

Mr. KEELE. I would like to ask two or three questions more of Dr. Reid.

Did you sign a petition of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder?

Mr. REID. No, sir. I have submitted to another branch of the Government a statement, duly affirmed, to that effect.

Mr. KEELE. Did you sign a letter defending the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. REID. No, sir. As I have also stated, I know nothing about the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. KEELE. Were you a member of the executive board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare?

Mr. REID. Yes, I was, and during the time that I was a member of that organization, it was a forthright, democratic, good organization, in which a number of us who were interested in the South believed and cooperated, and when it no longer seemed to serve that end, numbers of us pulled out. I, for one, did, and enabled and worked for the setting up of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Ga., with a number of others of the forward-looking people in the South. I maintained that connection with the Southern Regional Council until I left the South in 1946.

Mr. KEELE. When did you resign from the organization known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare?

Mr. REID. I do not know that it was a question of resignation.

Mr. KEELE. I thought you said you pulled out. I believe you said that.

Mr. REID. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. Will you explain that?

Mr. REID. I do not remember the exact date. It was shortly after the meeting in Chattanooga. I do remember that, because that was where several of us became quite concerned over what was happening at that meeting.

Mr. KEELE. Would you explain what you mean by "pulled out"?

Mr. REID. You simply withdrew—I do not know that I was ever high in the council of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. At the time I was there, we had just given an award to Dr. Frank Graham. It was a loose sort of organization, as many of these movements are. The representation in the South very frequently was in

terms of getting some persons of color on the committee, in order to show that we might be working to build together the South, within the democratic condition. I do not know that it was a matter of resignation, except that once you become identified with the Southern Regional Council, it was regarded as antithetical to the duties of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Mr. KEELE. You used the term.

Mr. REID. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. That is what I was asking you to explain.

Mr. REID. I suppose I should have said "resigned." But I use that loosely, because it was not an organization for which you would apply for membership and accept. I had really forgotten that I had been on the executive board of it.

Mr. KEELE. You mean, then, by "pulled out" that you took no further part—

Mr. REID. No further part in the activities.

Mr. KEELE. You did not take any formal action, I gather, in writing a resignation or stating to them orally that you have no further connection?

Mr. REID. No, I do not remember having done so.

Mr. KEELE. You simply proceeded not to take part in it?

Mr. REID. Yes. Then I became very active in the Southern Regional Conference, which grew up out of the meetings of the southern whites in Atlanta and southern Negroes in Durham, N. C., and a joint conference in Richmond, Va., out of which the new organization was formed.

Mr. KEELE. That is all I have.

Mr. REECE. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Reece.

Mr. REECE. Are you familiar with the organizations which the Department of Justice has listed as subversive?

Mr. REID. Some of them.

Mr. REECE. Have you belonged to any of those organizations?

Mr. REID. Yes. Mr. Keele listed some of them—

Mr. REECE. Other than those referred to by Mr. Keele.

Mr. REID. The Southern Conference of Human Welfare was one of them.

Mr. REECE. Other than that one.

Mr. REID. Yes, I belonged to some others that were so listed, also.

Mr. REECE. Would you mind naming them?

Mr. REID. I do not know—if Mr. Keele will help me, I can—

Mr. KEELE. All right. Mr. Reece, I have here the summary of the House Un-American Activities citations with reference to Dr. Reid. Suppose we run down them.

Mr. REID. If you wish; yes.

Mr. KEELE. A statement is made that Dr. Ira D. A. Reid made a testimonial to Franz Boaz at the United Nations in America dinner held under the auspices of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born at the Hotel Biltmore in New York, April 17, 1943, as shown by the program of the dinner.

That is the first one.

Mr. REID. Yes. I wrote a testimonial to that meeting. I see now that the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born—I knew that committee only in two ways: One, when I was

working on my dissertation, the office provided me with some material. Franz Boaz was a former teacher of mine at Columbia University, and I sent a letter of comment on his skill and my appreciation of him as a teacher, which I would have done again and again and again. I do not regard that as a subversive activity.

Mr. KEELE. Now, it was reported in the People's Voice of March 21, 1942, that Dr. Ira D. A. Reid, educator, Atlanta University, signed a petition for the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder. You deny that.

Mr. REID. I did not sign such a petition. I do, sir.

Mr. KEELE. That you signed a statement of the Council for African Affairs, as shown by the Daily Worker of April 26, 1947, page 12.

Mr. REID. I do not know what that statement is.

Mr. KEELE. Did you sign any such statement?

Mr. REID. I have been interested in the Council for African Affairs, because it was one source from which you could get materials on Africa. I do not remember signing a statement. I may have. If so, it was about problems in Africa. But it was not in any connection with anything that might have been called subversive. It was in the province of darker peoples throughout the world, I suppose.

Mr. KEELE. Now, the National Conference on Academic Freedom was held on October 9 and 10, 1948, and was sponsored by a number of leading educators, was arranged by the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and the statement made at that time was that in recognition of the dangers to academic freedom, they formed a bureau of academic freedom to counteract and eliminate these dangers.

It is reported here that Dr. Reid of Haverford College was listed as a sponsor of this conference on the official report of the conference. He spoke at the conference, as shown by an advertisement in the New York Star of October 8, 1948, page 10.

Is that correct?

Mr. REID. I spoke at that conference on the subject, I think, of race discrimination, and academic freedom. I have sent to the Government a copy of that speech, and it was that conference that led to my being asked to speak at the cultural, whatever the meeting was, that was held the next year, and it was only then that I realized that there were connections that were regarded as subversive. Therefore, I did not appear at the other. I did appear and speak at that council on academic freedom at that time on the subject of race discrimination.

Mr. KEELE. You are referring now to the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace that was held the succeeding year in New York City, on March 25-27, 1949?

Mr. REID. At which I did not appear, and to which I sent a telegram stating the reasons for not appearing, saying that I did not believe in the things which it seemed to be sponsoring.

Mr. KEELE. We spoke of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare. The notation here is that you participated at the second Southern Conference for Human Welfare, in 1940, April of 1940. Is that the last one?

Mr. REID. If that is the Chattanooga one.

Mr. KEELE. That I cannot say.

The letter headed "The United States Congress against war" listed you as a member of the arrangements committee of that organization. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. REID. That I know nothing about, nothing.

Mr. KEELE. You were a member, so it says here, of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, according to a page from a leaflet published by that organization on the letterhead dated June 12, 1947, and a letterhead of August 11, 1947.

Mr. REID. At that time I had left the South and was no longer there. I had been a member of the advisory committee of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. In fact, many of us in Negro education in the South were interested in it. We came into it under very, oh, reliable auspices, and I served in those purposes. And it was not until years later that there was any discovery that there was any sort of Communist influence in it. I resigned from that group. I do not remember the exact time, but the cause was, I told the director at the time that I did not approve of the methods that were being used in the South, and I thought that they were exploiting Negro youth by so doing it. And I was never called upon to do anything more, although the names may have remained on the letterhead.

Mr. KEELE. Have you appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee at any time?

Mr. REID. I have not.

Mr. KEELE. Did you know that reference was made to you in the public hearings of that committee on a number of instances?

Mr. REID. I knew of only once, and that was—no. This was in the political campaign of 1948, when the political parties in Philadelphia mentioned it. But I do not know that my name has been mentioned. This is the first time that a specific reference has come to my attention; that is, through this committee.

Mr. KEELE. That was public hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities' exposé of communism in western Pennsylvania, part 2. Is that the one—

Mr. REID. No; I have never seen any.

Mr. KEELE. March 1, 1950?

Mr. REID. I do not know that.

Mr. KEELE. Are there any other organizations which have been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee, or by the Attorney General in his list of subversive organizations to which you belong?

Mr. REID. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. KEELE. You are familiar with those?

Mr. REID. I am familiar with the list.

Mr. HAYS. Are there any other questions?

(No response.)

Mr. HAYS. Thank you, Mr. Reid.

Mr. REID. Thank you very much.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Gellhorn, do you wish to testify?

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. You are not under subpoena.

Mr. GELLHORN. I understand that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAYS. We do not require your testimony.

Mr. GELLHORN. I well understand that, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give to this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GELLHORN. I do, sir.

Mr. HAYS. I will ask Mr. Keele to proceed with the direct examination.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER GELLHORN, ENGLEWOOD, N. J.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Gellhorn, will you state for the record your name, your residence, and your profession or business?

Mr. GELLHORN. My name is Walter Gellhorn. I reside at 186 East Palisade Avenue, Englewood, N. J. I am professor of law at Columbia University.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Gellhorn, it was brought to your attention that you have been named by Louis Budenz in his testimony last week before the committee, was it not?

Mr. GELLHORN. It was.

Mr. KEELE. And you came here today to discuss with the committee and with counsel those charges?

Mr. GELLHORN. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. And you now want an opportunity, as I understand it, to deny those charges under oath?

Mr. GELLHORN. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. Now, you are familiar with it. You have read the record, and you know what was said by Mr. Budenz, do you not?

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes, I do.

Mr. HAYS. The committee will hear any statement, Mr. Gellhorn, that you would like to make.

Mr. GELLHORN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thought perhaps that I might be able to save the committee's time, since I knew its proceedings were drawing to a close, by submitting an affidavit responsive to the comments of Mr. Budenz, but upon further discussion it seemed best to appear personally before the committee, and I am happy to do that.

My statement is this, Mr. Chairman:

Mr. Louis Budenz recently stated to this committee that I am or was a Communist. This is completely and absolutely untrue. I am not and have never been a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Budenz's assertion was completely unsupported by any specific facts or statements. His entire testimony about me in the record appears in 23 words. This is not evidence; it is mere denunciation.

My name first came before the committee in connection with its inquiry into the Rockefeller Foundation. That foundation facilitated a study under the auspices of Cornell University in which I participated. The first results of my work appeared in my book, *Security, Loyalty, and Science*. I have taken the liberty of submitting a copy of that book to the chairman as well as excerpts from a number of book reviews that have appeared in scholarly journals and in the periodical and daily press throughout the country. If the committee's record would not be unduly encumbered by it, I would ask that this summary of excerpts of book reviews be included in the committee's record, and to the extent that any member of the committee is interested, of course, I shall be honored and flattered if my book were referred to.

As stated by the reviews that I have handed to the chairman earlier today, by a number of distinguished, qualified scholars, such as the

president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the book is an objective, factual study of a great problem of our time.

My capacity and integrity as a legal scholar can be measured by the work of 20 years. My principal teaching field is administrative law. I have published books and numerous articles on the subject. At present, on behalf of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, I am making a study of law administration affecting families and children. For many years the only organization, outside my profession, in which I have been active is the American Civil Liberties Union, of which I am a director. I am, and propose to continue to be, a student and advocate of the basic American freedoms—freedoms that are entirely incompatible with the principles and practices of the Communist Party. No Communist or Communist sympathizer could reflect the dedication to these values that has characterized my career.

That, Mr. Chairman, is the statement that I especially wished to bring to the committee's attention in connection with the comments made previously about me.

Mr. HAYS. You say you are now engaged in a survey at the request of the bar of New York City?

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Are you a member of the American Bar Association?

Mr. GELLHORN. I have been, but I am not at the present. I am, in fact, not a member of any bar association.

Mr. HAYS. You are a teacher by profession?

Mr. GELLHORN. I am a teacher rather than a practitioner; yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Have you had any other assignments from bar associations?

Mr. GELLHORN. Some years ago I served on a committee that had to do with the public-utilities problem of the bar association, of the American Bar Association, and I served some years ago on the administrative law committee of the National Lawyers Guild. My present activity is with the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

Mr. HAYS. Your special interests have been civil rights; is that right?

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes, sir; and administrative law, the administration of justice.

Mr. HAYS. Administrative law.

I had in my mind somehow that you were doing a study for the American Bar Association. I thought you might want to put that in the record. If I have not been succinct enough, maybe you can identify what is in my mind. I am sorry that I am not familiar—

Mr. GELLHORN. I think that the matter is in a preliminary stage, Mr. Chairman, and I am not sure that it warrants very extended discussion at this time. The fact is, though, that the American Bar Association, through one of its sections, has been planning a large-scale study of judicial administration of which I have been asked to be the director in New York. But that is in a preliminary and planning stage, and I do not think that it warrants any extended comment at this time, sir.

Mr. HAYS. I have a telegram directed to me from Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison, with reference to you, Mr. Gellhorn, and the committee has authorized the counsel and the chairman to include any statements that pertain to the testimony. If I find that it touches any activities of

that kind that would enlarge upon the committee's knowledge, I will include it. This is the telegram from Mr. Garrison.

Mr. GELLHORN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. HAYS. I thought perhaps I would clarify that point.

That is all.

Mr. Keele?

Mr. KEELE. Yes, just a few questions.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Gellhorn, were you a member of the nonpartisan committee for the reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio?

Mr. GELLHORN. In the year 1936, I was, sir, and that was the only such occasion.

Mr. KEELE. That was cited as a Communist-front organization by the House Un-American, was it not?

Mr. GELLHORN. Will you excuse me just a minute until I get some papers out?

I should like, if I may, Mr. Chairman, to comment on the question that has just been put to me.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GELLHORN. I indicated earlier that the committee in question, though I am not sure this is indicated in the records of the other House committee, Mr. Keele, functioned in the 1936 congressional elections. I do not believe at that time the drift of international affairs in later years, or Mr. Marcantonio's identification with the drift of political international affairs in later years, was in issue. At that time, Mr. Marcantonio was a political protégé of Fiorello LaGuardia, who was then the mayor of New York. He was being backed for reelection by a number of distinguished citizens of the country. I was invited to be a member of the nonpartisan committee of which the chairman was Morris L. Ernst, who is now, I understand, counsel for Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, his personal counsel, although that is only a matter of rumor. I do not testify to that as a matter of fact.

The committee, it seems to me, is being regarded, as a matter of hindsight, as though it were something that had occurred in 1950, or whenever it was that Mr. Marcantonio ran for office.

Mr. HAYS. Did Mayor LaGuardia support Mr. Marcantonio in 1936?

Mr. GELLHORN. He did, indeed, and Judge Samuel Seabury and others of the reform elements of New York. The issue, as I best recall it at the time, was not of the sort that might be drawn 14 or 15 years later.

Mr. KEELE. Were you a member of the International Juridical Association, Mr. Gellhorn?

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes, sir; I was, Mr. Keele.

Mr. KEELE. That was one of these that has been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as subversive organizations and publications, is it not?

Mr. GELLHORN. I am afraid that I cannot answer that unequivocally. I believe perhaps by the House committee, but I know quite definitely not by the Attorney General in his list.

Mr. KEELE. I did not ask you that question. I asked you, Mr. Gellhorn—

Mr. GELLHORN. I am sorry. I cannot answer it unequivocally, because I am not so sure where it is listed—

Mr. KEELE. You knew where it is not listed, but you do not know where it is listed.

Mr. GELLHORN. As I say, I think the House committee has so classified it, but I cannot answer that unequivocally.

Mr. KEELE. Do you know the manner in which the International Juridical Association was organized?

Mr. GELLHORN. I have been informed in recent years.

Mr. KEELE. Would you tell us about that?

Mr. GELLHORN. I can only at second-hand.

Mr. KEELE. Just your understanding.

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes; I know. I just wanted to make it clear that I had no part in the formation of the organization. But I have been told that it was an outgrowth of some sort of conference in Paris, and that it was intended to be an element of an international organization which never came into being, so far as I know. Though the high-sounding name, "International Juridical Association," suggested some internationality, as far as I am aware, it functioned exclusively in this country.

I would be glad to tell you what I do know about the association, if you wish me to.

Mr. KEELE. We will give you an opportunity. And what about the National Lawyers Guild? Are you a member of that?

Mr. GELLHORN. You say, am I a member of that?

Mr. KEELE. Yes; or were you a member of that?

Mr. GELLHORN. I am not now, but I have been a member of that. I might say, just going back to the International Juridical Association, that it terminated its activities in 1942, I believe, and has not been in existence for 10 years.

Mr. KEELE. I think we were talking about the National Lawyers Guild.

Mr. GELLHORN. I was just interpolating that. I have been a member of the National Lawyers Guild but am not now.

Mr. KEELE. Were you a member of the group known as the Open Road?

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes. May I comment on that?

Mr. KEELE. You have answered the question. I would be glad to come back to this, if you want to speak further on it.

Mr. FORAND. What was that name again?

Mr. KEELE. The Open Road.

Mr. GELLHORN. I should be glad to comment on that.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, indeed.

Mr. GELLHORN. I do not want to take up too much of your committee's time, but this is a reference that frankly so surprised me that when I found out that this was a citation in the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I was at some pains to find out, or try as best I could to recapture any awareness of the organization. I was a member of the board of directors of the Open Road, Inc., for 2 years, 1929-31, when I was 23 and 24 years old, and I was then a student in law school.

Mr. FORAND. What is the Open Road?

Mr. GELLHORN. I am just going to tell you, Congressman Forand. That was a nonprofit membership corporation that was formed in 1925. Its function was educational and nonpolitical. Its purpose was to assist students and other Americans to travel abroad,

and, while traveling, to have intellectual and educational experiences which the casual tourist does not ordinarily achieve. It never received a subsidy from any government or front organization. Its chief sponsors during the period of my connection with it were President Neilson, of Smith College; President MacCracken, of Vassar; President Woolley, of Mount Holyoke; President Garfield, of Williams; President Farrand, of Cornell; and other educators of that general stamp.

Now, when this citation to which Mr. Keele refers was brought to my attention, I, for many, many years, had nothing to do with the Open Road, and it had become defunct because wartime travel, of course, was impossible. But, with some effort, I managed to obtain its brochure for 1939, which shows trips to Mexico, the Soviet Union, Scandinavia, a trip through western Europe, to study rural and urban cooperatives, another trip through Europe to study public-housing development, and a trip for music teachers and an international relations trip through western and central Europe, and so on; a number of cycling trips for students through Scotland, England, Holland, and France, and so on, were devised to bring students into contact with peoples of other countries, with the hope that their understanding of the world and its inhabitants would be enriched.

All I can say about the organization is that certainly during the years of my association with it, it had no political orientation or motivation whatsoever. I never heard that it acquired any in the years after 1931, when I dropped out of touch with it, because then I moved to Washington in order to become the law clerk to Justice Stone of the Supreme Court.

The worst that can be said about the young people who were interested in that organization, as I was at that time, is that they entertained the perhaps naive belief that the world would be a friendlier place if its inhabitants became a little better acquainted.

Mr. HAYS. Your identification with the organization was a known fact, was it? It was not a secret membership?

Mr. GELLHORN. Oh, no. There was not anything that was secret about the organization. It was seeking, on the contrary, to sell travel services, and things of that sort.

Mr. HAYS. Was that prior to the time Justice Stone designated you as his clerk?

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes, sir. And I terminated my connection with it when I came down here, because it functioned in New York, and I was going to be in Washington.

Mr. HAYS. How long did you serve as his clerk?

Mr. GELLHORN. For just a little over a year, and then I went on to other things. That was his habit.

Mr. KEELE. Did you have anything to do with the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights?

Mr. GELLHORN. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. KEELE. Did you ever grant permission for your name to be used by the conference as one of the sponsors of antialien legislation?

Mr. GELLHORN. The national conference on alien legislation, did you say, Mr. Keele? I am sorry, I did not quite hear you.

Mr. KEELE. Did you grant permission for your name to be used by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights as one of the sponsors of antialien legislation?

Mr. GELLHORN. I am not sure that I understand the question. But I never granted the use of my name to the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, and happily this is a matter that I can document, because it came to my attention on March 5, 1940, that my name had been listed as a sponsor of that organization. On that date I addressed a letter to the lady, a Mrs. Foss, who was secretary of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. I wrote as follows:

I received a day or two ago a circular letter forwarded from New York signed by Mr. Erskine Caldwell requesting contributions for the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. Enclosed with the letter was a leaflet describing that organization and its sponsors. In the board of sponsors I find my own name. I have no recollection of having consented to the use of my name in this connection. Since I do not remember correspondence with this particular organization, I am naturally doubtful that my prior permission was obtained.

So I requested Mrs. Foss to search her files and to communicate to me the basis on which my name had been included as a sponsor of an organization of which I had never previously heard.

She replied to me on March 18, 1940, referring to a letter that I had written on April 17, 1939, about an entirely different matter, which I shall be glad to go into if the committee wishes to take the time for it.

Mr. KEELE. What was that matter?

Mr. GELLHORN. The other matter was a similarly named thing, in the sense that "National Emergency Conference" appeared in it. The other National Emergency Conference convened here in this city in May of 1939, and it was a conference on a specific, limited purpose, and one that was quite clearly stated. That is, that at that time there were some 60 pending bills that were directed in their initial impact against aliens and naturalized citizens in this country.

I had no recollection of this conference, but when the matter was brought up in the source to which Mr. Keele is now referring I had a search made of the press at that time, and I should just like to read you the lead paragraph from the Washington Star for May 14, 1939, about that conference, of which I was one of the sponsors:

Supported by spokesmen of such varied groups as the American Bar Association, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and university educators, the National Emergency Conference to Combat Repressive Legislation yesterday opened a campaign here to insure the defeat of 70 bills pending in Congress designed to curtail the civil rights of aliens in the United States.

The main addresses on that date, as the newspapers tell me, were delivered by Monsignor Ryan, Senator Murray, and Dr. Urey, who was then at Columbia and now at the University of Chicago, and, as you know, one of our Nobel Prize winners.

The Washington Post contained a long editorial which summarized the bills that were under consideration, and then continued with the following remarks:

There is no valid excuse for repressive legislation of the type which the justly named National Emergency Conference has been called upon to combat. Convening in Washington today, that conference, representing 150 different organizations, will discuss pending measures which are not only a menace to aliens but a threat to the freedom and security of American citizens as well. The sponsors of the conference are men and women who have distinguished themselves in law, science, social work and academic professions. The speakers have been recruited from many different fields of activity.

The Washington Daily News story, may I say, was in exactly the same terms.

Now, it was that organization, that National Emergency Conference, for that limited and specific purpose, of which I was a sponsor. Wholly without any warrant or consultation with me, my name was carried over from that group to the subsequently formed organization of which I had never heard, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. And Mrs. Foss told me that that was the chain of events.

I wrote her on March 20, 1940, that my letter of April 17, 1939, made it clear that the extent of my intended participation was to respond favorably to the request that I support the Washington conference, which I have just described. I added the following sentences:

In the previous correspondence, there was no suggestion of a continuing organization. "Conference" in the context of the previous exchange of letters referred to a thoroughly specific gathering for the named purpose of addressing attention to certain antialien legislation. Since in the case of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights I am unable to participate actively in shaping and directing its policies and since, moreover, it is plain to me that the listing of my name as one of the board of sponsors was a misrepresentation, although no doubt an inadvertent one of the extent of my affiliation with the organization, I now request you to withdraw my name from the board of sponsors.

That, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, is the full extent of my relationship with that organization.

Mr. KEELE. What about the American Rescue Ship Mission? Were you a sponsor of that organization?

Mr. GELLHORN. I was at one time, Mr. Keele.

Mr. KEELE. Was that cited by the House Un-American?

Mr. GELLHORN. That was the one organization of which I have any recollection of ever having been connected with that has been more than cited by the House committee. It is on the list of organizations compiled by the Attorney General. I say, so far as I have any present recollection, that is the only organization with which I have had contact in that category.

Mr. HAYS. You mean, it was designated by him as a subversive organization?

Mr. GELLHORN. Not as a subversive organization—

Mr. HAYS. Or as a Communist-front organization?

Mr. GELLHORN (continuing). But as a Communist-front organization.

I would like, if the committee will bear with me, to go into the circumstances of my connection and withdrawal from that organization, if the committee is patient enough.

Mr. HAYS. Yes. We will hear it.

Mr. GELLHORN. The American Rescue Ship Mission was organized in 1940. Its purpose, its declared purpose, was to help a large number of opponents of the Franco regime who had been driven across the border from Barcelona into France, and as you gentlemen will remember, they had, quite properly, as far as France was concerned, been confined in what we would now call concentration camps, because they were refugees with no means of support.

Mexico and a number of other Latin-American countries formally declared their willingness to receive these people as settlers in their countries if transportation could be provided. I was asked to become one of the sponsors of the American Rescue Ship Mission, which was formed for the purpose of trying to obtain that transportation for

these refugees. I was asked, I say, to become one of its sponsors by Miss Helen Keller.

I might say that the selection of the persons who would be received in the Latin-American countries was entirely in the hands of the governments of those countries. The sponsors of the American Rescue Ship Mission at the beginning were, I think, a very distinguished group of public figures.

But late in 1940, or early 1941—I have not been able to recapture in my mind the precise date—the organization was exposed by a columnist in one of the newspapers as a Communist-front organization, and a number of the sponsors at that time withdrew from it.

I did not instantly withdraw from it, because just before Miss Keller herself withdrew as chairman of the organization, which was in February of 1941, the American Rescue Ship Mission had announced the completion of a charter agreement for a ship which was adequate for the purpose of transporting refugees from the Old World to the New.

I felt unwilling to withdraw from an humanitarian endeavor, as I believed it to be, because of the general exodus which seemed at that moment to me to be a response to fear rather than reason. But I did at that time, in the winter of 1941, send under my direction a young lawyer who was working for me at that time to make a careful check of the organization's books and records, because I wanted to be sure that the funds that it was securing through public donations were going to be used for the purpose that was declared, and not for some other purpose.

He made a close comparison of the receipts and disbursements, and he then reported to me his clear conclusion that the organization was at that time engaged in an honest endeavor to rescue distressed persons.

Early in the next month, that is, March of 1941, the British Government refused to grant the necessary certificate to the owners of the ship that had been obtained. Apparently the owners of that ship were regarded by the British as having used some other vessels in their fleet in blockade running, and at that time, in order to get in and out of the Mediterranean, as I recall it, you needed some sort of documentation from the British, which was not forthcoming.

Then it seemed to me that the whole thing started to collapse. The hope of any success seemed to me to be farther and farther from fulfillment.

A few days after that, I wrote to the executive secretary of the mission saying that the denials of the certificate for the ship that had been chartered and the resulting withdrawal of the Mexican Government's readiness to go on with the venture, seemed to me to be highly damaging, if not fatal to the success of the mission, and said that there should be a careful review of the facts to ascertain whether the mission's program could still be fulfilled.

Then without any consultation with the sponsors at all, the executive officials of the mission announced that it was going to use whatever funds it had obtained for the purpose of reimbursing our State Department and the governments of some Latin-American countries for the cost of repatriating our and other citizens who were held in Franco jails, as well as to grant direct relief to some 2,500 Spanish professionals and intellectuals who had fled as refugees to the Dominican Republic, and who were in need of aid.

On March 10, 1941, I withdrew my sponsorship of the American Rescue Ship Mission. I stated that—and I am now quoting from my letter of withdrawal—

The American Rescue Ship Mission seemed to me at its inception to voice a high aspiration and to offer a dramatic and effective instrumentality for achieving a moving humanitarian purpose.

But as matters had developed in the way that I have just indicated, I felt that the mission had failed, and that acknowledgment of that fact should not be withheld from those who had supported it.

I said the new program that I have just outlined was perhaps worthy enough in itself, but that those were not the purposes for which the mission has been founded, and I was unwilling to continue as a sponsor of an organization that it seemed to me was not candidly stating what it was doing.

I therefore stated in conclusion:

I cannot in all candor continue in association with a venture which seems to me now to come perilously close to sailing under false colors.

I might say just parenthetically, lest there be any thought that I have, as it were, plucked at random from correspondence, that in thumbing through my files before coming down to this session, I found in them, though I had quite forgotten that it was there, a copy of a letter I wrote to my own mother on March 20, 1941. She said that she had been solicited for funds by this organization, and she asked me about it, and I find that my letter to her exactly reviews what I have just reviewed to you concerning my connection with the organization and my withdrawal from it.

Mr. HAYS. Where did she live, Mr. Gellhorn? Where was your home?

Mr. GELLHORN. St. Louis, Mo., Mr. Chairman.

Mr. REECE. Did that organization continue functioning?

Mr. GELLHORN. Not so far as I know, Congressman. I had no further contact with it, after March 20, 1941. I do not know what happened to it. I think that the reason that it is listed by the Attorney General, sir, is this. As later events seemed to indicate, the organization was fostered and encouraged by some one of the Spanish aid groups that is on the Attorney Generals' list. This is, I might say, a covert sponsorship. It was not disclosed to those of us who were asked to be sponsors. I forget what the Spanish aid committee was that was somehow or other linked with the genesis of the American Rescue Ship Mission.

I recall that, as I say, it was Miss Keller who asked me to join it, and I recall that there were a number of other much more distinguished people than I who at that time did.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Forand?

Mr. FORAND. I have no questions.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Goodwin?

Mr. GOODWIN. No questions.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Reece?

Mr. REECE. Did you know or have any knowledge of Mr. Budenz during the period of his admitted membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. GELLHORN. I have never met him, Mr. Reece. I have never had contact with him of any sort.

Mr. REECE. Did you know or have any contact with this Mr. Stachel, Mr. Jerome, or Mr. Trachtenberg?

Mr. GELLHORN. I do not even know who they are, sir.

Mr. REECE. Mr. Budenz states that he had repeatedly had official communications on Dr. Walter Gellhorn. He was from, certainly, about 1942 on, a member of the Communist Party.

You have no knowledge of any association or correspondence or conduct on your part that might have brought you in as a subject of correspondence with Mr. Budenz?

Mr. GELLHORN. There is none, Mr. Reece. I not only have no recollection of such, but I state unequivocally that there is none. My only conclusion from that statement is that Mr. Budenz either confused some names in correspondence, or was mistaken in his recollection of the content of whatever communications he referred to.

Mr. REECE. Did you know Hans Eisler?

Mr. GELLHORN. No, sir.

Mr. REECE. That is all.

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Chairman, I think it might be well at this point, in view of the fact that reference has been made to the word "communication" by Mr. Budenz, to say that Mr. Budenz explained to the committee that "communication" was word of mouth from some of his superiors, and therefore it was more or less hearsay on his part, and therefore he could not testify to his own knowledge, but rather from communications, as he used the term. I believe that should be in the record for clarification of the situation.

Mr. GELLHORN. I appreciate that, Mr. Forand. I only say again that I think that he did not at this late stage have a clear recollection of whatever those communications were, if I was ever involved in them.

Mr. FORAND. Using the term "communication" might indicate correspondence.

Mr. GELLHORN. I appreciate your saying that.

Mr. FORAND. But Mr. Budenz made it clear that that was not what he intended, but rather it was word of mouth from some of his superiors.

Mr. REECE. To carry the question on further, to your knowledge did you ever have at any time association with anyone who you had reason to believe was a member of the Communist Party or working toward the same objectives?

Mr. GELLHORN. Yes; I have known people that I thought to be Communists, if that is your question.

Mr. REECE. No. "Had association with them."

Mr. GELLHORN. I am not trying to be unresponsive, Mr. Reece, but I honestly just do not know what to say to that. I have known Communists. In that sense, I have had association with them, as many people have known Communists. But if you mean, did I ever have association with persons working either toward the objectives of the Communist Party or under its direction, or as instruments of the Communist Party, the answer is unequivocally "No."

Mr. REECE. Did you ever work with these people on any purpose?

Mr. GELLHORN. I think that there have been Communists in organizations like the National Lawyers Guild and the International Juridical Association, about both of which Mr. Keele asked me questions

earlier. But whatever I did in any of those organizations had nothing to do with any of them as Communists.

Mr. REECE. I was not intending for my question to be quite that general. Have you worked with any known Communists on any program in carrying out a purpose in which the known Communists might have been interested?

Mr. GELLHORN. To the end of furthering the Communist purpose? Definitely not. But the reason I am trying to be quite precise in my answer, Mr. Reece, is simply this: The International Juridical Association, about which inquiry was made earlier, was an organization which published a monthly bulletin that had to do with civil liberties and labor problems, and things of that sort. It was a rather well-regarded bulletin while it was being published. It prospered in a period when the Communists were pushing the American line rather than the Russian.

You perhaps remember yourself that at one point they proclaimed themselves as a party of Jefferson and Lincoln; and Marx and Lenin and those fellows were rather ignored. During that period of time that I was interested in the publication of a bulletin on civil liberties and labor rights, some of those fellows were, too, and in that sense I was associated with them, but only in the publication of something that had nothing to do with the Communist Party.

Is that responsive to your question? I am doing my best, really, to pin point it as best I can, rather than otherwise.

Mr. REECE. I rather think so. You stated that you did not know these gentlemen to whom Mr. Budenz referred to, nor Mr. Budenz.

Mr. GELLHORN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. REECE. But that might not necessarily mean, unless you have since come to know them, so that you would be able to identify them, that you might not have had association with them on some programs?

Mr. GELLHORN. I think that I can say categorically that so far as I am aware, the only Communists that I have had any association with in the sense of doing anything with them have been members of my own legal profession, not functionaries of some sort in some broader political purpose.

Mr. REECE. You referred to the fact that you do not now belong to any bar associations. Why did you give up your memberships in those associations?

Mr. GELLHORN. I gave up my membership in the National Lawyers Guild because I was out of sympathy with what I thought were some of its trends. I think I gave up my membership in the American Bar Association out of lethargy, perhaps, more than anything else.

Mr. GOODWIN. The bar associations have no particular—there is nothing in which they are interested that is particularly of interest to a teacher; is that not so? The bar associations are principally for practicing attorneys?

Mr. GELLHORN. That is their chief focus, I should say, sir. There are some teachers who take more active part in bar associations than I ever have.

Mr. HAYS. Is there an association of law-school instructors or professors?

Mr. GELLHORN. There is an Association of American Law Schools which is, as it were, if I may put it this way, the trade association of the recognized law schools.

Mr. HAYS. Is Columbia a member of that?

Mr. GELLHORN. And all the leading law schools are members of that; yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Gellhorn, as I understand, it was at your request, and you appear here to deny the statements in the testimony of Mr. Budenz?

Mr. GELLHORN. I do, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have anything further that you would like to say?

Mr. GELLHORN. No.

I appreciate the committee's courtesy and attention.

Mr. HAYS. If you have nothing further, then that will be all.

Mr. GELLHORN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. HAYS. This concludes the open hearing. The committee will now go into executive session.

(Whereupon, at 3:45 p. m., the select committee retired into executive session.)